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THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT

THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT

BEING THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF ITS LITERARY GROWTH AND ACCORDING TO THE DATES OF THE DOCUMENTS

Bible N.T. Eng. Moffatt 1901.

A New Translation

EDITED WITH PROLEGOMENA, HISTORICAL TABLES, CRITICAL NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX,

BY

JAMES MOFFATT, B.D.

32762

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1901

The historical rather than the dogmatic character of Christianity, its transmission at least to us in an historical form, is becoming more and more evident. If this be so, how are we to make it yield its voice to the human conscience and to human hopes? We cannot use it as an oracle. We must take possession of it as a history, before we can construct it as a system. Thus to pass behind the veil of antiquity is the only method of rising to a genuine appreciation of the mind of Christ, or of attaining a clear vision of the perfect religion which it enshrines.—**Martineau.**

Chaque livre de la Bible, appelé à son tour, devra marquer sa place dans l'histoire et révéler à la conscience spirituelle son degré de l'inspiration. Suivant les réponses qu'il aura faites, une part plus ou moins directe lui sera dévolue dans l'œuvre de reconstruction du fait de la révélation, à l'aide des sources historiques du canon. Et c'est alors, mais alors seulement, que l'on pourra tenter, avec quelque chance de succès, d'écrire sur la doctrine chrétienne un livre qui réponde à la réalité.—**Westphal.**

Ich bin überzeugt, dass die Bibel immer schöner wird, je mehr man sie versteht, d.h. je mehr man einsieht und anschaut, dass jedes Wort, das wir allgemein auffassen und im besondern auf uns anwenden, nach gewissen Umständen, nach Zeit- und Ortsverhältnissen einen eigenen, besondern, unmittelbar individuellen Bezug gehabt hat.—**Goethe.**

TO

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

IN GRATITUDE AND LOVE AND REVERENCE

I DEDICATE

WHATEVER OF MY OWN WITHIN THESE PAGES MAY BE TRUE AND WISE

FOR IT IS THEIRS

Autrement on l'accuse de ne rien dire de nouveau. Mais si les matières qu'il traite ne sont pas nouvelles, la disposition en est nouvelle. Quand on joue à la paume, c'est une même balle dont on joue l'un et l'autre ; mais l'un la place mieux.—**Pascal.**

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PREFACE

Apart from the translation, the main feature of originality within these pages consists of the leading idea which dominates the volume, and of the way in which this idea has been executed. The critical materials constitute what either are or ought to be more or less familiar positions upon the lines of modern NT research; but they are grouped under a scheme which, so far as I am aware, is quite unique.[1] Briefly put, the design is to arrange that selection of early Christian literature which is known as the "New Testament" in the order of its literary growth, and at the same time to indicate the chief grounds upon which such an order may be determined or disputed. This aim, with its difficulties, utility, and limitations, I have discussed in the Prolegomena.

The Historical Tables will explain themselves. Most of them represent an endeavour to further one of the subsidiary objects for which this edition has been prepared, namely, the need of seeing and setting the NT writings in vital connection with one another and with the main currents of contemporary thought and history. Occasionally this connection becomes obvious at a glance. Sometimes it is indirect. Often it may be a matter of interest rather than of relevance. But

[1] When my work was almost completed, I came across the following sentence quoted by Dr. Walter Lock from a friend's letter (*The Exegesis of the NT*, 1896, p. 19): "You don't want to know about animals and plants and musical instruments; the real Bible is overlaid and smothered by all this . . . I should like to see an English NT with the contents in a different, *i.e.* a chronological order."

upon the whole the significance of a NT writing is never reduced—now and then it is immensely heightened—by juxtaposition with its antecedents and context, even in the outlying history and literature which are lightly named "pagan" and untruly judged as alien. To approach and analyse the NT in the sphere of the unconditioned, is an indefensible mistake: unfortunately it is a mistake which has been hitherto confessed rather than avoided in several schools of criticism. The NT may stand by itself; but the full secret of its genius will be yielded only to the research which goes patiently behind and outside the limits of the canonical collection. Of all unhistorical or semi-historical methods, none has operated so disastrously upon the interpretation of the NT as the tendency to insulate its form and contents; and it is to supply some materials for a mental impression that may counteract such an error, that these Tables have been compiled. In the Jewish and early Christian literature (it is only fair to add), while the various documents have been dated in view of the most recent and reliable criticism, one cannot hope to assign much more than an approximately accurate position to a number of the records, where so considerable a portion of the field is disputable and disputed.

As the printing of the NT text has reduced the available space, I have been obliged substantially to cut out a Historical Introduction written to accompany the Tables, in which the origin and development of the NT literature was sketched from 30 to 150 A.D., in relation to the external context of the Roman Empire as well as to the inner forces at work within the Christian Communities. Some paragraphs from this have been incorporated in the Prolegomena and Notes, and its outlines are reflected throughout the volume. But I wish to take this opportunity of reiterating the need for treating these subjects in connection

with each other, since the impression often left upon most people's minds by the average NT Introduction is that the literature in question lies unrelated and accidental, resembling either

> A lonely mountain tarn,
> Unvisited by any streams,

or a series of deep scattered pools, one book or group of books coming after the other in a more or less haphazard fashion. Such a dead and spiritless disconnection is to be strenuously repudiated. It is essential for the modern reader to detect the running stream of life that winds, for all its eddies and back-waters, steadily between and through these varied writings. They possess remarkable cohesion. But it is a cohesion which is either misinterpreted or wholly invisible until you stand beside the life they presuppose, and out of which they rise. In fact, NT Introduction and the History of early Christianity are two departments of research which cannot be prosecuted with entire success, so long as they are held apart. Each gains in vitality as it approaches the other.

For similar reasons of brevity, the critical Notes are limited to what is practically a condensed statement of results. Anything like a detailed or continuous account of the processes of argument which lead up to the conclusions underlying the printed text, has been impracticable. I have merely attempted to collate some of the chief results of modern research upon the NT along its literary and historical sides; although even there many details have been left unelaborated, and some almost untouched. At one or two points, I am afraid, this lack of space and scope in which to deploy argument[1] has given an appearance of summary

[1] The compression will be felt most where affinities of language and style come up for discussion. These factors often contain important criteria for dating or placing a given document, and their evidence is repeatedly used throughout the Notes. But the complete grounds for one's judgment in this class of problems are so delicate and various that they cannot be stated, much

treatment or of arbitrariness; but in order to partially obviate this defect, the Notes have been drawn up in such a way as to include copious references to the bibliography of recent criticism. What is offered is no catena or inventory of opinions. It is merely a conspectus of relevant authorities, together with a note of the main arguments in support of each position. One hopes thus to be able to take a line of one's own, without producing an unfair impression or incurring censures like that once passed by Bacon upon tradition and knowledge "which is for the most part magistral and peremptory, and not ingenious and faithful; in a sort as may be soonest believed, and not easiliest examined." Whereas, he rightly proceeded, "in the true handling of knowledge men ought to propound things sincerely with more or less asseveration, as they stand in a man's judgment proved more or less." My plan, then, in the Notes has been to indicate in a handful of sentences the leading data for each book's origin and object, the division and preponderance of authorities upon the question, and finally—by means of sifted references—the select literature. The latter includes for the most part what has proved of chief service in my own work; but the plan also involves a series of references, as any trained observer will detect, to some works which are to be regarded in the main as landmarks and beacons for progressive study. The wealth and the complexity of modern literature upon the NT make selection and economy imperative in drawing up Notes of this kind. But although the method becomes now and then depressingly utilitarian, it will always serve to

less discussed, except at a length which would unduly distend the volume. The result is, one has had to rest content with merely indicating the more salient linguistic parallels upon which the position adopted in the text depends. The whole argument from such parallels and affinities in regard to the filiation of early Christian literature is one of several problems that still await discriminating treatment. Hitherto its use has been mainly characterised by arbitrariness and artificiality, and in this respect the critical and the conservative wings of scholarship are equally to blame.

furnish materials by which the view adopted in the text may be corroborated or modified or refused. Both in the Notes and in the Appendix one has constantly felt, indeed, as the translators of the AV put it in their shrewd and neglected Preface, liable "to weary the unlearned, who need not know so much, and trouble the learned, who know it already." As it is never easy to know how far an acquaintance or sympathy with the subject can be presupposed, and to what extent critical processes in this particular department are as yet naturalised, it is hard to judge what materials should be inserted or omitted. However, it is annoying to find that authoritative references are sometimes as inaccessible as the accessible are unauthoritative, and I have therefore chosen in the bibliography to err upon the side of fulness; all the more so, seeing that the present state of NT criticism in this country is still marked by immaturity in many vital sections. Not a few of the arguments in this volume, and indeed whole pages of it, would have been gladly omitted, had there been (for example) any modern and thorough NT Introduction to which an English student could be referred with safety or satisfaction. The lack of such a volume is only one of many *desiderata* felt at every turn by the English worker in NT research. Here, perhaps more than in most branches of historical science, investigation continues to be hampered by the resurrection of the obsolete, the survival of the unfit, and the prominence of the irrelevant; as if the subject itself did not bring with it sufficient obstacles and problems. It is devoutly to be hoped that in the next century some of the enterprise and enthusiasm which have made the OT blossom like the rose during the past fifty years, may be spared by English scholarship to the task of handling with truer reverence and courage the more central problems raised by the NT literature. Few of these are solved; some are scarcely stated yet in proper form. Indeed, for some time to come it is to be

feared that the prospects of free and full NT criticism in this country will be hampered by the fact that not all the results already gained seem to have been perfectly assimilated, while the very methods by which alone conclusions can be formed or adequately tested are often misunderstood or sadly misapplied.

Conditions such as these, to say nothing of the movements within criticism itself, make any enterprise like the present extremely tentative. But I believe it is timely. Unprejudiced treatment of the historical element in Christianity is one of the most immediate needs for faith and truth alike. For if holiness has not its sources in history, the supreme expression of religious thought and conduct has come to us in a historical form, and any intellectual neglect of that form is an error which cannot long be harboured with impunity.

More things than wisdom are best left to be justified by their works, if they are to be justified at all. But a word must be added here upon the translation; especially as that has been an after-thought, or rather an after-necessity. Owing to the difficulty of securing permission to reprint the RV, the only practicable course was evidently to undertake the preparation of an independent version, and it is the result of this difficult and audacious attempt which is now offered to the reader, with extreme diffidence. It is neither a revision nor an adaptation of any previous translation, but has been made directly from a critical study of the literature itself. The task originally lay as far outside my plan as it has proved beyond my powers. Still, I am in hopes that, despite its many drawbacks, the present rendering will contribute something to that mental impression of change and progress in the NT literature which it is the aim of the whole edition to accentuate. Translation, like peace-making, is always a delicate and often an ungrateful business. The translator pleases nobody, not even himself. But his task

in Biblical literature is additionally severe, as three-fourths of his readers instinctively compare his version, not with the original, but with an English classic which has unrivalled associations of literary rhythm and of religious experience. The one claim of the present version is faithfulness. I have tried to make it accurate and idiomatic, besides presenting, to some extent, the *nuances* of individual writers. At the same time, I see very little literary or religious gain in making a fetish of over-precision in the verbal reproduction of the original. There is no obvious reason why the translator should not be allowed to exercise his right of inheritance to something of the same freedom that would be granted him if he were dealing with a Greek classic. Accordingly, while I admit that any version of the NT must incline to be literal, the following pages are not intended for the purists who expect to find in a translation those complete materials for stylistic and grammatical research which only a lexicon can properly afford. If a translator's first duty is to reproduce his text as exactly as possible, his final duty is to write English. As I conceive it, he is not bound to dislocate style in the pedantic attempt to eschew a reasonable use of English synonyms, or to rehearse at any cost Oriental and Hellenistic idioms that come uncouthly to the modern ear. Transliteration is not translation ; nor is a paraphrase. The latter tends to looseness and weakness, while an absolutely literal version is often the most inaccurate, as it is sometimes the most hideous thing in the world. To be crabbed is the temptation of the one ; to be diluted, of the other. If I have in any degree attained the ideal of my conception, it has been by steering between these two shoals. Attention has been carefully paid to the more recent investigations by Hatch, Kennedy, and Deissmann into the linguistic features of the κοινή, as well as to a series of grammatical studies in Hellenistic Greek by Viteau, Blass, Jannaris, and Schmiedel. I have further attempted, with

some hesitation, to reproduce, so far as that is possible or desirable in a translation, one or two of the rhythmical and rhetorical features (*σχήματα*) that mark the structure of the NT literature. These are due, in the main, to either of two influences. One is the gnomic method of parallelism, antithesis, and climax, pervading the older Semitic poetry, and especially the Wisdom-literature, upon which the NT writers, in company, *e.g.*, with the author of 4th Esdras, have drawn in form and spirit to a much larger degree than is commonly suspected. Along with this influence (discussed by Jebb and Wilke) another falls to be placed, due to the rhetorical and artistic spirit of the later Greek and Roman prose, which had a vogue not merely in oratory but in the philosophical compositions of the period (Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, Anhang I., "Ueber die Geschichte des Reims"; and Wendland, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie u. Religion*, 1895), where, as in the older Hebrew literature, poetry never lay far from what we should to-day distinguish as prose. It would be artificial, indeed, to rigidly reproduce all these strophic features in print. Some, like assonance, live only in the original. Some have to be felt rather than exhibited. Others again appeal to the ear more subtly than to the eye. Still quite a number of them are obvious, as Heinrici, Blass, and J. Weiss have seen in Paul, D. H. Müller (*Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüng. Form*, 1896, I. p. 216 f.), and Briggs (*Expository Times*, viii. pp. 393 f., 452 f., 493 f., ix. p. 69 f.) in the gospels; these it is well to mark, so far as is legitimate, in order to preserve the freshness of their literary charm, no less than for the sake of their occasional bearing upon the larger questions of exegesis and interpretation.

The translation is substantially based upon the critical text which Professor Eberhard Nestle has recently edited with accuracy and success (*Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto*,

Stuttgart, 1898; *Zweite Auflage*, 1900). Wherever I have been obliged to adopt a different reading, the departure is noted at the foot of the page. I am also responsible myself for the arrangement and punctuation of the text. Passages within brackets denote either displaced sections or interpolations belonging to a date subsequent to that of the writing as a whole. Single brackets imply that there is no MS evidence for the interpolation, while double brackets are used when such external evidence does exist. Darker type denotes a passage incorporated from some earlier source, and phrases or quotations from the OT are printed throughout in italics, although it is rather difficult in many cases to ascertain whether the use of OT language is due to direct reminiscence, to indirect allusion, or merely to the current religious vocabulary of the age. For the evidence upon most of the bracketted passages, as well as for a discussion of some critical points raised throughout the Notes, the reader is referred to the Appendix. The plan of the edition has not permitted any statement of the grounds upon which the Greek text has been determined.

As I have explained in the Prolegomena, one is extremely conscious of the limitations which beset a pioneering edition like the present, both in idea and in execution, particularly when it has to be done practically single-handed. At point after point one has felt the lack of that width of survey, that minuteness of research, that balance of judgment, which are essential to any valid advance in a subject so wide and complex. Most of the volume also has been written and re-written at some distance from libraries, and apart from errors it is more than possible that some important literature has slipped through the editorial meshes, just as some has unfortunately proved inaccessible. I hope that such gaps or slips will not seriously

interfere with the utility and use of the volume.[1] Under the Spartan maxim, *Tout bien ou rien*, it could not have been produced. But I am confident that it is upon the right lines at any rate, and that its general plan will be serviceable even to those who may dislike its presuppositions or dispute several of its particular results. Such as it is, it is offered as a secondary aid to the more exact appreciation of that early Christian literature, the study of which is bound up with so many vital problems in our modern faith.

My warmest thanks are due to those who have aided me during the preparation of this book with literature or suggestions. I wish particularly to thank the following scholars who have revised different parts of my translation: Professor Denney and Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, who have read over the Pauline epistles (with the exception of 1 Corinthians, which has been undertaken by Rev. David Smith, M.A.); Dr. Marcus Dods (Hebrews and the Catholic epistles); Rev. Canon I. Gregory Smith (Mark); Rev. E. F. Scott, B.A. (Matthew); Rev. Ll. M. J. Bebb (Luke and Acts); Dr. George Reith (the Johannine literature); and Professor Walter Lock (Pastoral epistles). To these scholars I am indebted for the time and care they have generously bestowed upon another man's work. It is only right to add that they are not to be held responsible for any opinion or position expressed throughout the course of the volume, or even for the final shape in which the translation now appears. Mr. Scott and Dr. Reith have done me the further service of reading most of the proof-sheets.

[1] I specially regret that my edition has to appear before the completion of such important critical enterprises as Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by Dr. Sutherland Black and Professor Cheyne, and the *Expositor's Greek Testament*. For some literature which has come to hand or appeared during the printing of this volume, the reader is referred to the Addenda on pp. 709–710.

I should not like these pages to appear without also acknowledging how much they owe to the late Professor A. B. Bruce, without whose impulse and direction they would hardly have been written. Some years ago he was kind enough to look over the sheets and give me the benefit of his advice as the MS began to take shape. But one is indebted to him for much more than even the characteristic generosity which he showed to his old pupils and the demands for work with which he honoured them. His abiding service was one of stimulus; he naturalised critical processes, and with singular open-mindedness resisted tradition and intellectual torpor in handling the NT as a subject either for writing or for preaching. Few of us can take many steps in this department of study without realising more and more keenly that the very possibility of such an advance in this country is largely due to the work done by our old master upon these lines. Where he ventured, others follow. Both by teaching and example he has rendered to many in this generation a timely service of liberation not unlike that which in another sphere America is said by Lowell to have gained from Emerson: "He cut the cable and gave us a chance at the dangers and the glories of blue water." Dr. Bruce's work thrust his students upon the responsibilities of freedom. It awakened them especially to the subtle and comfortable peril of antiquarianism in dealing with the Christian facts, while at the same time it steadied them on the conviction that no genuine faith had ultimately anything to fear from strict and fair enquiry. This was conspicuously brought out in his treatment of the historical basis and element in early Christianity; within that department of theology, those who remember his unsparing methods of research will be the first to feel that the truest loyalty to their distinguished teacher lies not in the slavish repetition of his own ideas or in the reassertion

of his own positions—little he cared for echoes, and least of all for echoes of himself—but in continuing to employ those methods with something of his spirit, sharing his reverent and brave conviction that even the faults and mistakes of candid enquiry somehow work together for the truth, that truth is the surest defence of faith, and that faith is the justification as it is the germ of real criticism. Historical truth and genuine religion were to Dr. Bruce inseparable allies. He wrought this vital conception into his pupils, with the result that any effort upon their part to carry out this principle in its details is naturally felt by them to be primarily derived from his instruction and incentive. Certainly none of them can prosecute enquiries into the development of early Christianity without being sensible of a recurring debt of gratitude, not so much for the actual results of their master's criticism, though these were often fresh and independent, as for the spirit which he habitually inculcated in dealing with that period and with its literature. Under such obligations to him, personal and general, this volume lies. Yet, after all, they form but a single item in the long fragrant debt which, in common with the rest of his pupils and those wider circles who knew him mainly as an author, one is conscious that one owes to the personality of a great Christian scholar, who has done more than almost anyone throughout this country during the last quarter of the present century to make the knowledge of Jesus and his Christianity welcome and rich and reasonable.

A te principium, tibi desinet!

JAMES MOFFATT.

DUNDONALD, AYRSHIRE,
December 1900.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

AA . . . *History of the Apostolic Age*—
McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (1897).
Weizsäcker, Eng. tr. of *Das Apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche* (2nd ed.).
J. Vernon Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age, its Life, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity* (1900).

AJT . . *The American Journal of Theology.*

BI . . . *A Biblical Introduction* (1899). The NT section, p. 275 ff. by Prof. W. F. Adeney.

CGT. . . *The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.*

Chron . . W. Brückner, *Die chronologische Reihenfolge in welcher die Briefe des NT verfasst sind* (1890).
Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe* (1894).
Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Zweiter Theil: die Chronologie der Literatur bis Irenaeus* (1897).

Class. Rev.. *The Classical Review.*

CR . . . *The Critical Review* (ed. Principal Salmond).

CRE. . . Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (5th ed. 1897).

DB . . . *A Dictionary of the Bible* (1898–1901), ed. Dr. Hastings.

Einf. . . *Einführung in das Griechische NT* (Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage 1899), by Professor E. Nestle.

EB . . . *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.).

EBi . . . *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1899–), ed. J. S. Black and T. K. Cheyne.

Einl. . . *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*—
Hilgenfeld (1875).
Mangold-Bleek (1886).
Holtzmann, H. J. (3rd ed. 1892).
Jülicher, A. (2nd ed. 1894).
Zahn, Th. (1897–1899).
Trenkle, F. S. (1897).
Schäfer, Aloys (1898).

EWK . . Ersch und Grüber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste.*

ExGT . . *The Expositor's Greek Testament* (1897–).

Exp . . . *The Expositor* (ed. Dr. Nicoll. Small superior numbers ^{2,3,4,5,6} refer to the series).

ExpT . . *The Expository Times* (ed. Dr. Hastings).

GGA . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.*

GK . . . *Geschichte des NT Kanons* (Zahn), 1888– .

Hausrath . Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Eng. tr. of 2nd ed. 1895: "The Time of the Apostles").

HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* (H. J. Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Lipsius, and von Soden).

HD . . . *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr. of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, (1894–1899).

HJP. . . Eng. tr. of Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*[2] (1886–1890), entitled, "A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ."

ICC . . . *The International Critical Commentary*.

IH . . . *International Handbooks to the NT* (ed. Dr. Orello Cone), 1900– .

INT. . . *Introduction to the New Testament*.
Weiss B. (Eng. tr. of *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*,[2] 1886).
Davidson S. (3rd ed. 1894).
Salmon G. (8th ed. 1897).
Godet, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament—I. Les Épîtres de S. Paul* (1893). Eng. tr. 1894. II. (div. 1) 1899.

JpTh . . *Jahrbücher für protestant. Theologie*.

JTS . . . *Journal of Theological Studies*.

KAP . . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. Alten Testaments*, ed. Kautzsch (1898–1899).

Keim (i.–vi.) Eng. tr. of *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*.

Laurent . *Neutestamentliche Studien* (1866), by J. C. M. Laurent.

LC . . . *Literarisches Centralblatt* (ed. E. Zarncke).

–Meyer . . Meyer's *Commentar zum NT* (latest editions).

NTTh . . *New Testament Theology*—
Weiss, Eng. tr. of 3rd ed. (1888).
Bovon, *Théologie du NT* (1893): deux tomes.
Beyschlag, Eng. tr. (1896).
Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1896).
Stevens (1899), Internat. Theol. Library.

PG . . . *Philology of the Gospels*, Blass (1898).

PM . . . *Protestantische Monatshefte* (1897– , ed. Websky).

Reuss . . E. Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften NT* (Eng. tr. of 5th ed. 1884).

Réville . . A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth: études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus* (1897, deux tomes).

RLA . . Prof. E. de W. Burton, *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* (1895).

RTK . . *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. Hauck) 1896– .

SBBA . . *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.

SK . . . *Studien und Kritiken* (ed. Köstlin and Kautzsch).

SPT. . . Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895).

Syr-Sin . . The Four Gospels translated from the Syriac of the Sinaitic palimpsest (Lewis, 1894).

TQ . . . *Theologische Quartalschrift*.

TR . . . *Theologische Rundschau* (ed. Bousset).

TU . . . *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (ed. Harnack and Gebhardt).

ThA. . . *Theologische Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet* (1892).

ThLz . . *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (ed. Harnack and Schürer).

ThS . . . *Theologische Studien Herrn Prof. D. Bernhard Weiss dargebracht* (1897).

Urc . . . *Das Urchristenthum*—Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum* (1887). Spitta, *Zur Geschichte u. Litteratur d. Urchristenthums* (1893–1896).

WH . . . *The New Testament in Greek*, Westcott and Hort.

ZKWL . . *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben* (ed. Luthardt).

ZNW . . *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* (ed. Preuschen).

ZSchz . . *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* (ed. Meili).

ZThK . . *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.*

ZwTh . . *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (ed. Hilgenfeld).

The other abbreviations employed throughout the volume are either obvious or familiar. In addition to what has been already said, however, upon the types employed in the translation (p. xxi), the reader is requested to observe that where OT quotations occur in the body of an earlier source (*e.g.* pp. 189, 295), they are always printed in italics, as elsewhere throughout the volume, although they must in these cases be strictly regarded as part and parcel of the darker type which forms their immediate context. Also, in Tables IV.–V. the straight lines represent more or less direct literary filiation, while mere affinities or indirect influences are marked by means of dotted lines.

PROLEGOMENA

It may be said of all that is told of Jesus Christ, that it is written as a *lesson* for us. That is a consideration which in our controversies is often unduly overlooked ; but it is in keeping with the object of the oldest writers, and the practice of the oldest teachers. In matters of religious tradition it is the peculiarity of much that passes for historical, that the spiritual meaning to be found in it is its most important feature. Where something is maintained as an historical fact, it is more often than not a defence of the article of faith bound up with it.—**Harnack.**

Just as the mind which comes to the New Testament has grown historical, it has become more historical to the mind, *i.e.* the mind has been able to discover a more historical character in the literature.—**A. M. Fairbairn.**

Criticism is part of historical exegesis. Criticism is the effort of exegesis to be historical. The effort can never be more than partially successful. But though there may be many failures, the idea of historical exegesis is valuable, because it gives us the right idea of Scripture, which is the reflection of the presence of the living God in human history.—**A. B. Davidson.**

PROLEGOMENA

THIS edition of the NT literature has been planned with the single purpose of exhibiting the documents in a special arrangement, which may be called "historical." The term is slightly ambiguous, but it has been chosen in default of one more suitable. As employed in the title it bears upon the order of the writings, not of the events, and in this way comes to possess a double reference. Primarily it denotes that one after another the books are consistently arranged as they were composed. In this aspect "historical" becomes practically equivalent to "chronological," when that term is taken in a literary sense; so that a "historical" order amounts to the same thing as the successive and natural order of the writings, when these are considered as literary products. Such a principle has its own value and interest. But from it flows a further inference. Writings thus arranged *seriatim* reveal themselves more vividly than before as expressions of a contemporary and continuous movement in thought, action, and feeling, for which again they furnish indirectly much evidence. Now in this sense also the "historical" principle has helped to determine the present edition. Here the NT writings are viewed and sorted in their original sequence as a collection of evidence for the history of early Christian reflection and experience. Take any writing as a historical document in this light, and three elements have to be adjusted—(*a*) the directly retrospective reference of the book to the period of which ostensibly it treats; (*b*) the semi-retrospective reference, which it implicitly

contains, to changes in the social and inward situation of things between that period and the date of the book's composition, along with (*c*) the contemporary reference of the writing—always indirect but often of supreme value—which helps to expose its own surroundings, authorship, and motives. The last-named is the starting-point of historical research. Criticism always requires to have access to this standpoint as a subsidiary base, and it is partly in order to facilitate such access that the present arrangement of the literature has been compiled. "Historical" study in this, no less than in the other, sense of the term has been intended and included in the following pages.

The special advantage which is claimed for this principle of arrangement, is that it preserves one of the vitally significant features in a NT writing, namely, its witness to the period and situation at which it happened to be composed, and into which it is able, when properly interpreted, to throw some rays of light. This correspondence of book and period requires to be emphasised in historical research, particularly as neither the devotional nor the dogmatic use of the NT suggests it, although in reality both rest upon it. The historical spirit has this task placed before it in the field of the NT literature, to examine and determine the successive forms of the Christian consciousness with their change and flow and sequence, so far as these are consecutively preserved by the extant records, in order that through the literature, as Mommsen somewhere remarks upon the evidence for the provincial life of the early Roman Empire, one may "work out by means of the imagination—which is the author of all history as of all poetry—if not a complete picture, at any rate a substitute for it."

Hence the project of presenting the NT[1] literature as far as possible simply in the order of its literary growth,

[1] "New Testament," of course, is a phrase which rises out of a later ecclesiastical terminology not long before the age of Tertullian. Strictly speaking, one has no right to use it in a historical discussion of the writings in question, especially as it is associated with ideas of formality and exclusiveness which are foreign to the literature grouped under its title. Still the term may be retained, like "gospel," for the sake of practical convenience. It must

any given book being placed not according to the time of the event which it records, but purely with reference to the date at which that record is known to have been substantially or finally composed. Chronology of documents is the leading concern. Each writing is allowed to lie in its locality, or as close to its original *venue* as can be ascertained from the extant data. This order of the books in point of composition furnishes, I believe, a fairly good order for not a few purposes of study, and the practical compensations of naturalness and reality must be allowed to outweigh the loss of elegance and symmetry. The idea is to set out the various strata of the literature as these indicate themselves to have been laid down. One after another, as the history proceeds, the records are found to have been deposited in a certain structural order, neither uniform nor—as we handle them usually—undisturbed from their original position, but showing traces of process and accumulation. This is acknowledged upon all hands. Why should it not be expressed? To some degree the very fragmentariness which occurs in the geological record of organic life is paralleled by gaps and fractures in the extant expression of early Christian thought and feeling; but it is common sense to recognise at any rate what may be described as the stratified character of the latter, admitting, *e.g.*, that the Galatian epistle precedes that to the Colossians, and Colossians again the fourth gospel, just as one places the Cambrian formation below the Devonian, the Devonian under the Cretaceous, and the Pliocene over all three.

Some such rearrangement, it has been felt, is among the present desiderata of NT study. The practical necessity for it rests upon two grounds: the general considerations involved in historical research, as well as the special character of the ordinary canonical collection of the writings in

remain one of the paradoxes in this subject, that the age commonly named "the New Testament times" is precisely the age in which no New Testament existed. A similar proviso attaches to the employment of "Mark," "Matthew," "Luke," "John," throughout the following pages. They are used merely as convenient titles for the canonical gospels, and have no reference to the supposed authors or compilers of these books.

question. These requirements now fall to be successively discussed.[1]

I.

In common with any other period, the apostolic age calls into play that faculty of sympathetic judgment, comparative analysis, and historical appreciation, by the exercise of which the relevant literary expression and evidence[2] become transformed into an uncoloured window looking out directly upon the actual field and horizon of the time. One primary principle of such research is a careful and clear recognition of the difference which may exist between the literary date of a writing and the period of time to which its contents principally refer. The two certainly reflect upon each other. Not infrequently their positions are determined through a comparison of their relative aspects. But initially and ideally they must be held separate. Any document may be avowedly a witness to previous facts and feelings. Unconsciously and as really, however, it carries now and then traces of its immediate environment; and it is with this latter, secondary, and indirect relationship that historical criticism has to begin its work. In some cases a NT writing is almost exactly contemporaneous with the period of which it treats: the epistle to the Galatians and that to Philippi are ex-

[1] In a recent novel (of all places!) by Thomas Hardy, the idea has been curiously and roughly anticipated. "Jude, will you let me make you a *new* New Testament, like the one I made for myself at Christminster?" "Oh yes. How was that made?" "I altered my old one by cutting up all the epistles and gospels into separate *brochures*, and rearranging them in chronological order, as written, beginning the book with Romans, following on with the early epistles, and putting the gospels much further on. My University friend, Mr. ——, said it was an excellent idea. I know that reading it afterwards made it twice as interesting as before, and twice as understandable" (*Jude the Obscure*, p. 187).

[2] Heinrici, *Theologische Encyklopädie* (1893), pp. 51–53. On the use of historical method in relation to documents, see Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches* (1882), pp. 2–17; and, for the importance of source-criticism in modern research, Professor J. B. Bury's edition of Gibbon, vol. i. pp. xlv, xlvi. "We have lived to see an age of source-criticism," says Preuschen, referring to NT research, "which can only be compared to the morphological and biological investigations of natural science" (*ZNW*, 1900, p. 3).

cellent instances. Indeed, taking the word in a fair although somewhat loose sense, we may argue that all the epistles, as well as the sources which underlie the synoptic gospels and the Acts, are "contemporary."[1] In this respect they compare not unfavourably even with most ancient histories, as will be seen from the appended table, which roughly gives some instances of the relative distance between events and their record in the older Jewish and classical literatures. In fact, judged by ordinary standards, the bulk of the NT

Book.	Date of Composition.	Interval.	Main Period of Reference.
Thucydides, . .	403–396 B.C. (?)	32–15 years	435–409 B.C.
1 Maccabees, . .	90 B.C. ±	85–45 ,,	175–135 B.C.
2 Maccabees, . .	*c.* 80 B.C.	95–80 ,,	175–161 B.C.
Josephus, "Wars" (bks. 2–7), . .	75–79 A.D.	10–5 ,,	66–71 A.D.
		260 years and upwards	–161 B.C. (bks. 1–12)
,, "Antiquities,"	93–94 A.D.	260–100 years	161 B.C.–6 A.D. (bks. 13–17)
		100–28 ,,	6 A.D.–66 A.D. (bks. 18–20)
Tacitus, "Annals,"	115–117 A.D. (published)	130–50 ,,	14 B.C.–68 A.D.
,, "History,"	103–106 A.D.	35–10 ,,	69–96 A.D.
,, "Agricola,"	97 A.D.	57–3 ,,	40–94 A.D.
Suetonius, "Vitæ XII. Imperatorum,"	*c.* 120 A.D.	180–24 ,,	60 B.C.–96 A.D.
Mark, . . .	65–75 A.D.	45–40 ,,	26–29 A.D.
Matthew, . .	75–90 A.D.	80–60 ,,	6 B.C.–29 A.D.
Luke, . . .	80–90 A.D.	90–60 ,,	,, ,,
Acts, . . .	90–100 A.D.	65–35 ,,	29 A.D.–62 A.D.
Fourth gospel, .	95–115 A.D.	85–80 ,,	26–29 A.D.

literature affords a fairly direct and clear witness to its period. Still, even here, with so remarkable a measure of historic credibility (though trustworthiness does not necessarily increase as the gap between fact and writing diminishes),

[1] In a note to chap. iii. book IV. of his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, Prescott incidentally defines "contemporary" evidence. Speaking of Herrera, the author of *Historia General de las Indias*, he points out that this Spaniard's evidence is "little short of that of a contemporary, since it was derived from the correspondence of the Conquerors, and the accounts given him by their own sons."

between the period recorded and the recording literature some space does intervene, varying from a few years up to nearly a century. Any of the historical writings, then, may be considered with some reason to represent a more or less extended period which has elapsed between the time of its historical reference and the date of its composition. This factor of distance between the life and the corresponding literature is cardinal, and it is necessary to get a sight and sense of it. The difference of time is always significant, though not always to the same degree: it demands in any case to be estimated and weighed. By all scientific research, indeed, this feature is steadily presupposed, while its consequences and bearings upon questions of accuracy, historicity, subjective characteristics, and the like, are paramount and abundantly obvious.

It is worth while to start from the very clear and accepted instances of this principle offered by OT criticism. To take an extreme case, the books of Chronicles are significant, not merely for the period of the monarchy, but also and especially as witnesses to certain ideas and feelings in regard to the law and history of Israel current some five or six hundred years later in the age between the Return and the Maccabean Revolution. In P, the priestly document of the Hexateuch, we obtain not (some would prefer to say "not only") a record of primitive history, but, to some degree, the hopes and religious emotions of an author who wrote in the later monarchy or under the actual shadows of exile and captivity. Similarly the book of the Judges, as we have it, presents a conglomerate of narratives which have been finally recast in the Deuteronomic spirit fully six or seven centuries subsequent to the date of the events which it professes to record. The period of the NT is considerably smaller than that covered by the OT, barely extending beyond a century and a quarter at the most. But its phases, none the less, are varied and successive; and if they are to be defined with any historical lucidity, the above-noted principle must be carried into the criticism of the NT literature and fairly tested there. This need is patent at the very outset. To the historical

student who is engaged in working back, by aid of sources, to the facts, the Christ of the apostles is the forerunner to the Jesus of history. Through the witness of the one we reach the presence of the other. Even with the help of the vivid emotion and imagination current in the apostolic age, we see the central figure as through a glass darkly; but without that age and its memorials we would not see him at all. Certainly the primary question in regard to early Christianity is not what the early Christians believed about Jesus, but what Jesus himself believed. His faith, not faith in him, forms the spring of his religion as a historical force (Meyer, *Die moderne Forschung ü. d. Geschichte des Urc.* 1898, p. 1 f.). Yet for the investigator the faith of Jesus is only accessible through a preliminary survey of the faith which others had in him. Personally he left no written statement or expression of his views and deeds. For these, as well as for the sense of his personality, we are absolutely dependent upon the reminiscences of an after-age, together with the impression produced by him on one or two men of exceptional ability who subsequently joined his cause. Jesus is the author and finisher of the faith. But to arrive at any historical estimate of his conceptions and character, the inquirer must first of all be prepared to spend no slight research upon the materials furnished by the writings of the apostolic age. These are the indispensable record of the ways by which the early Christian faith was formed, transformed, expressed, and propagated.

The sense of confusion, which commonly rises in this mental passage from the naïve to the scientific conception of the NT writings, is due for the most part not to the discipline itself so much as to the fact that it is a comparatively unpalatable and unfamiliar task for us to take into account this very factor of retrospective reference. Each document, we now discover, contains a standpoint as well as a subject. In using the records, one has to keep oneself alive to that, and to be ready to make allowance for what may be termed "the contemporary equation." The trial-task of criticism is in fact to comprise not only the direct reference

of a book to some previous period, but also such delicate and elusive, though not unsubstantial, considerations as those of the place and time in which, the motives for which, and the author by whom, it was composed. For the sake of book and period alike, a just estimate refuses to leave out of account these contemporary tendencies and conditions. Historical inquiry seeks, often and chiefly from the data of the book itself, to determine the precise extent and unravel the actual character of the influence exerted by any particular period upon its literary products. By this means it is enabled to work back to some keener insight into the period itself, while at the same time it becomes competent to estimate with finer accuracy the varying value of the evidence which the writing in question offers with regard to the earlier period of which it treats. This procedure is legitimate, healthy, and remunerative. Tendency-criticism has become a detected idol. It stands exposed as a fanciful and arbitrary method of research. But it is quite another thing to ascertain the mental and social latitudes in which an author seems to have written, to use his work in common with other aids for the discovery and illustration of these latitudes, and again to use these for the elucidation of the book itself. This reflex method of study forms a delicate and necessary practice. Between a writing of the NT and the period at which it was finally composed there exists a more or less direct correspondence. To some extent any writing is moved by its atmosphere, while the period in its turn is set off and indicated by the contemporary writing—

> "Like as the wind doth beautify a sail,
> And as a sail becomes the unseen wind."

The classic and abused instance of this relationship has been the book of Acts; but when fairly employed the principle touches almost the whole collection. Paul's writings are the most objective. Their standpoint and subject are practically one, and the date of their composition falls not far from the period of their historical reference. All that needs to be done, as a rule, is to put them in chronological order. That determined, they lie actually parallel to the life which thus

tells its own tale. On the other hand, the more historical narratives point often this way and that; their standpoint is considerably later than their subject, and sometimes different from it. In the criticism of these books—more especially of the synoptic gospels—the real problem is raised. Each falls to be read in its own character and circumstances; and the consequence is that as books they have all to be placed far down the history, considerably later than the events which they discuss and narrate, subsequent even to the Pauline letters. The best defence of this arrangement is an explanation of its significance for the study either of the literature itself or of the age, along with some account, given in suggestion rather than in detail, of the character and functions which actually belong to the gospels as historical records of the NT.

The conception of Jesus in the gospels represents not only the historical likeness so far as its traits were preserved in the primitive evangelic tradition, but also the religious interests of the age in which and for which these narratives were originally drawn up. It is in the balance and adjustment of these two elements that one real problem of NT criticism will always lie. For while such interests were in part created by the original and impressive personality of Jesus as his spirit continued to work upon receptive natures in the church ("ut quisque meminerat, et ut cuique cordi erat," Augustine), some of them (and in particular the Messianic idea) are also to be viewed as later and partially independent reflections; for all their filiation to, or sympathy with, the primitive Christian consciousness, these cannot have exactly corresponded to it in every feature, and therefore may be conjectured to have inevitably coloured in some degree the delineation of its contents. Year by year the spirit of the historical Jesus went on quickening his receptive followers, and shaping[1] in them a life of wider and wider capacities.

[1] This obvious and practical interest prompted the composition of early notes which contained sayings or deeds of the Master. But there is no evidence to prove any similar interest in the primitive apostolic deeds and speeches. These were occasional, not authoritative, and had no special importance at the

They remembered him, and they awaited him. Tradition was the main channel through which this force came to be transmitted. Christ's words were a law, his service and reign a life. The disciples, realising more freshly and fully than ever as the years passed, the contents of their original faith in him, turned ultimately back to reflect with increasing solicitude upon the facts of its historic origin. The reflection had to be put into writing. To preserve these recollections was quite a spontaneous form of literature, and it was from such rudimentary sketches and reminiscences that the first gospels germinated by a process whose intermediate stages are no longer articulate. "La plus belle chose du monde est ainsi sortie d'une élaboration obscure et complètement populaire." Dr. Abbott (*Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. xi) suggests an interesting parallel in the oral tradition of the Mishna, whose contents have been handed down in a concise and even elliptical form, obscure through its very brevity. If the original evangelic tradition was transmitted by notes compiled in so condensed a fashion, and occasionally requiring some expansion to render them intelligible, a clue might be got to explain the divergent interpretations of the same incident or saying in the synoptists. Some passages, at least, are cleared up in this way (*op. cit.* pp. xxvii–xxxix). And in any case the Mishna throws light upon two facts—(*a*) the retentiveness of memory, and (*b*) the persistence of oral tradition, among the contemporaries of the evangelists. Whatever may have been the steps, however, in the process of this literary evolution whose results lie before us in the synoptic gospels, the point is that its motives and surroundings differed seriously from those which would have belonged to the environment of a similar attempt some thirty or forty years earlier. It stands to reason that the outcome of the

moment for their contemporaries. Consequently one must differentiate between the disciples' careful memory for Jesus and the subsidiary interest and impression produced by the early disciples themselves upon one another. That is to say, one cannot fairly argue from the early composition of "logia" to the equally early composition of notes and reminiscences like Ac 1–5 (16).

apostolic age did not take the form of what a diary composed by a contemporary and companion of Jesus would have been. Yet at the same time this difference is not necessarily a drawback. For in observing the lineaments of Jesus, the right focus was given not by his death nor even by his departure, but in the subsequent discipline of memory and obedience among his followers. Their increasing distance from the object tended in some degree to correct earlier mistakes of judgment in the direction of exaggeration or of undervaluing; by removing certain obscurities the very lapse of time helped to purify and widen in the Christian community the powers of accurate appreciation. Hence the character and date of our extant gospels. Just as the full significance of the traits and issues bound up in the faith of Jesus could not be grasped by his original disciples until he ceased to move beside them — he left them and they knew him—so it proved practically an impossibility for them, even after their subsequent experience of reflection and reminiscence, to achieve the task of creating a final and adequate record. For that they could merely supply materials. It was enough in this for the disciples to be as their Master. Like Sokrates and Epiktetus, he was no author. He wrote once—and that upon the dust. His real epistles were to be found in the character and experience of his followers (2 Co 3^3). Nor was it otherwise with them. For other hands than theirs the work of evangelic composition was reserved. It was completed, as perhaps it only could have been, by the *epigoni*. Even those who had received the tradition of the historical Jesus, *κατὰ σάρκα*, from his personal companions, found that his life in subsequent years opened out for them (Jo 12^{16} 14^{26} 16^{13}); it

> "Orbed into the perfect star
> They knew not, when they moved therein."

But this insight of a second generation was not necessarily inferior at all points. On the contrary, it had some invaluable advantages. In the strict sense of the word, the gospels are not contemporary records. Even the earliest of

them implies an interval between the facts and their record —bridged though that interval may be by continuous tradition and surviving witnesses. But so far from this distance being an altogether regrettable defect, it is in some aspects a profit. Until development has reached a certain stage, analysis will always remain inadequate; indeed, it is hardly possible for it to exist. Lapse of time is essential to a real conception of this as of any other history, for it is only after such an interval of experience and reflection that the meaning and bearings of the life in question come out in their true and sure significance. Interpretation is not bound fast to the contemporary standpoint. It requires facts, but it requires them in perspective. The gospels in reality do more for us, written between 65 and 105, than they would have done if composed before 35. Drawn up after at least one generation had passed away, and written in a world rich with religious passion, speculation, and achievement, these writings give a wider and deeper account of their subject than any that would have been afforded by records composed in the morning of the Christian religion. During the actual lifetime of Jesus, or even immediately after his death, the vital principle of the Life was not to be grasped in its real unity and relationships. Paul understood the secret of Jesus more thoroughly than many who had trodden the roads of Galilee in his company, and listened to his arguments and teaching in the synagogues; and the writers of the Christian biography were not necessarily placed at any serious disadvantage for their task and mission by the fact that their vision was one not of sight but of insight, not of memory but of sympathy. "The living do not give up their secrets with the candour of the dead; one key is always excepted, and a generation passes before we can ensure accuracy."[1] That canon applies most forcibly to the synoptic gospels,[2] and their subject. Their best

[1] Lord Acton, *The Study of History* (1895), p. 4; cp. Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, vol. ii. pp. 215–228.

[2] If we qualify its second statement, Keim's remark *à propos* of Matthew (in his view, the earliest gospel) holds true of all the three synoptists: "The interval was too short really to sweep away a historical life, the circles of Judaism and Christianity were too disciplined and sober to replace facts by

purposes were excellently served by this interval of years; in fact, it was essential to their value. Letters are immediate and contemporary; they touch directly the things of the day. Histories can only be written from materials gathered close to the period and subject, but they cannot be written until after the lapse of years, during which the past has come to be seen in its true bearings and intelligently construed. Thus, while the materials for this history consist in part of contemporary evidence, furnished by the quick and eager memory of the church,[1] the handling of them belongs to later days. Working with a sympathetic conscience and a religious aim, this age could best produce due records of the earlier period. They are not primitive, indeed, but they are primary. In their present form the synoptic gospels are not the work of men who were originally disciples of Jesus. The latter, with their Jewish habits and Christian hopes, were evidently ill adapted for a task which rightly fell to the activity and insight of a later generation, whose very position of remoteness turned out to be in some respects a vantage-ground for appraising the great Past. Upon the whole the age of Jesus was understood, its essence grasped, its significance reached by means of the refracted light thrown by its issues and expression across the institutions and character of rising Christianity, more adequately than it would have been at a time when its inner nature had only the promise and rudiments of life in which to reveal its inner self. Had it not been for the experience of the church,[2] the character of

dreams, an Eastern memory was naturally too tenacious, and, moreover, witnesses of the life of Christ still lived" (i. 78). Réville's discussion is in the main quite fair and accurate (i. p. 255 f.).

[1] Cp. Zahn on "the unwritten gospel" (*Einl.* ii. pp. 158–172). The allusion "to this day" (Mt 11^{12} 27^{8} 28^{15}) betrays accidentally, as in the case of Deuteronomy (2^{22}, etc.), the lapse of time between the period and its record in literature.

[2] This general atmosphere of early Christian experience is as important for the criticism of the gospels as are the idiosyncrasies of the individual evangelists. Even were the personalities of the latter better known than they are, the transmission of Christ's words and deeds, upon which they all depend, is affected in the first instance by the experience, needs, and aims of the apostolic communities rather than by the special cast and colour of particular reporters.

Jesus, we may say, would not have been portrayed with such sympathy and understanding. It needed the four decades between 30 and 70 to render the period before 30 luminous. *Facere celebranda* and *celebrare facta* are two different forms of human energy. It is not often given to one age to accomplish both, and certainly it was not given to the first three decades of our era.

On the other hand, the possibility of such an interval developing less desirable qualities in the tradition (Iren. III. 2. 2, 12. 12) must also be admitted. For example, the two main requirements for the genesis of what is supposed to have been the mythical process, are (*a*) the Messianic and miraculous[1] conceptions of the early Christians, and (*b*) a certain time to allow of these ideas passing[2] into concrete form as incidents and stories (for a list of passages, cp. Stanton, *Jewish*

Indeed, the position of the gospels as compositions in and for the apostolic age supplies one of the most valid criteria for distinguishing the words of Jesus from those of his reporters. That the latter have given a trustworthy and accurate impression of his life is outside reasonable doubt. But the large amount of material which authenticates itself as genuine is bound up with materials which are as patently evidence for the mental and moral inferiority of Christ's reporters to himself. Such inferiority occasionally has caused misapprehension in the record, but on the whole it ensured a good report, better perhaps than would have come from men less impressed by their own subordinate ability, and therefore more apt to have given rein to the activity and inventiveness of their imagination. The profile of Jesus is clear in the gospels, chiefly because the writers were content to view it from below.

[1] The supernatural excitement of the first century seems to have made the rabbis who lived towards its close extremely shy of miracles as a religious proof (*vide* Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, p. 230 f.).

[2] On the quick transformation of fact in Eastern popular tradition, and the bearing of this upon the historicity of the NT, Professor Ramsay has a good statement (*SPT*, pp. 368–370). The miracles of Thomas à Becket are a suggestive illustration of this rapid growth under different conditions. Some of these miracles, as Freeman has shown, were chronicled at the very moment of their occurrence, several within half a dozen years after his death. For a recent discussion of this quick legendary growth in its relation to historic testimony, especially upon the NT, see Dr. E. A. Abbott's *Kernel and Husk*, pp. 158–224, and his *St. Thomas of Canterbury* (1898); also Mackintosh's *Natural History of Christian Religion* (1894), chaps. xi–xiii, and Réville's, chapter ii. pp. 61–85. More conservative statements upon the miraculous elements in the woof of the gospels are given by Bruce, *Miraculous Element in Gospels*[2] (1890), pp. 79–153, and Steude, *Der Beweis d. Glaubens* (1897), pp. 89 f., 138 f., 189 f.

and Christian Messiah, pp. 368–370). "The simple historical structure of the life of Jesus," wrote Strauss, "was hung with the most varied and suggestive tapestry of devout reflections and fancies, all the ideas entertained by primitive Christianity relative to its lost Master being transformed into facts and woven into the course of his life. The imperceptible growth of a joint creative work of this kind is made possible by oral tradition being the medium of communication." The modicum of truth which underlies this exaggerated estimate is not visible until the age and conditions of the gospels are understood. It was not a pre-dogmatic age. The Jews brought many dogmas into the Church, including scenic, semi-material, Messianic categories, and the evidence shows us how much activity in primitive Christianity was devoted to fixing the relations between the old dogmas and the new experience (cp. Cone, *The Gospel and its Interpretations*, 1893, pp. 138–151). The fresh movement triumphed by mastering its inheritance and developing original forms for itself under the limitations of that inheritance. For the nascent religion had to formulate itself. Intuition turned to reflect and justify itself, and by the time that the gospels and even the Pauline letters were composed this tendency had been widely felt in most quarters of Christendom. So with the didactic aim. This again did not necessarily involve any deliberate looseness in reporting facts of history; but it seems to have fostered methods of adapting or creating[1] narrative, according to the

[1] "Can we conceive of an evangelist stepping out of the actual into the possible, in order that he might have ampler scope for the embodiment of his conception of Jesus than the grudging data of reality supplied, especially in the case of a life of so short duration? . . . Viewing the matter in the abstract, we are not perhaps entitled to negative dogmatically as inadmissible such use of ideal situations for evangelic purposes" (Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 459, 460). The question is one of the subtlest problems in NT criticism, either as an inquiry into the deliberate aims of the evangelists or as an analysis of the unconscious tendencies under which they worked. Upon the intellectual temper in these days and its relation to religious truth, see Dr. Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica*, pp. 148–158; also, for the influence of subsequent ideas upon the narration of facts and events, Dr. A. B. Davidson in *Exp.*[6] i. p. 16 f. The Alexandrian temper and spirit probably affected even the earliest synoptic tradition to a larger extent than is commonly suspected or admitted. The

predominating tendency of the Oriental mind to cast argument and counsel in the form of stories. The extent, nature, and limits of this feature belong to the inner criticism of the gospels (see Carpenter's *First Three Gospels*, chaps. v., vi., an outline of competent and serious treatment; also Dr. G. L. Cary, in *IH*, i. pp. 74–77). It embraces the origin of the "doublets"—one incident existing in two slightly different forms, and finally shaped into two separate events—the phenomena upon which the mythical hypothesis rests, and also the three *veræ causæ* which, as even Dr. Sanday allows (*DB*, ii. 625), were "to some extent really at work" in shaping the miraculous narratives: (*a*) the influence of similar OT stories which naturally prompted the disciples to imitate them as they recorded the life and wonders of Jesus; (*b*) the translation of metaphor into fact, or of parable into the clothing of external reality, by which misunderstandings of language are the origin of certain

synoptic account of the baptism of Jesus is a case in point. Here the endowment of Jesus with spiritual power at this initial crisis of his career is explained pictorially by the descent of the holy Spirit in the form of a dove. So naïve a way of representing a religious experience was more than a popular conception; it formed an accepted category of thought in current Hellenistic and Rabbinical Judaism, where, as in Philo (Usener, *Religionsgeschichte*, i. p. 50 f.; Holtzmann, *HC*, i. pp. 62, 63; Conybeare, *Exp.*[4] ix. pp. 451–458; Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. 59, 60) wisdom or the divine spirit (λόγος) was symbolised by a dove. In the third gospel the metaphor is more pointedly transmuted into fact. But evidently the process had already begun before the evangelic tradition acquired its most primitive form (Mk); which is an instructive piece of evidence for the mental atmosphere in which the sources and traditions of the gospels, no less than the gospels themselves, germinated. This method of representation, however, is analogous to the Eastern love of an apologue, with its circumstantial narrative, as the most suitable means of conveying instruction. To present the idea is the main point. "The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine, are in themselves real or fictitious. . . . To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity" (C. J. Ball: Speaker's Commentary, *Apocrypha*, vol. ii. p. 307. See also Cheyne on "the unconscious artists of the imaginative East," *Hallowing of Criticism*, pp. 5–7).

narratives (a good example, *e.g.* in the cursing of the fig-tree, Mk $11^{12-14.\ 20-25}$ with Lk 13^{6-9}); (*c*) the exaggeration of what were originally quite natural occurrences. However such phenomena be estimated,[1] they are not intelligible unless the writings are set in their true place as influenced by the dogmatic and didactic aims of a later age. Their contents must be judged from their function and atmosphere, as well as from the interval elapsing between their subject and themselves.

It appears, then, that under this common historical law the interval between the subject and the composition of a writing such as any one of the gospels, involves two aspects of reference—the retrospective and the contemporary. These do not in every case conflict, nor is the proportion between them uniform. It varies, and varies above all with the precise nature of the interval in question. For the significance of this interval is not to be estimated simply by the number of its years, any more than contemporaneousness is to be made a test of credibility (cp. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 46, 47). It depends rather upon the aggregate and importance of the changes in belief, feeling, and situation which have occurred within the period. These may be as revolutionary in five years as in fifty, so that the mere space of time gives no proper clue to the inner spirit of the intervening age. But whenever any of the more serious forms of change occur, be it in manners or opinion, one consequence is that the past is rendered thereby less intelligible than ever to those who now live upon the other side of the gulf. The book of Acts is a case in point. Here the antagonisms of the early Church are sketched in a smoother and less violent form, so much so that the atmosphere of distant reflection tends occasionally to blur the sharp outlines of the past. But this feature proceeds not so much from conscious purpose or from ignorance, as from the inevitable change of interests which takes place whenever any movement is passing—as

[1] Nothing better has been written upon the correct standpoint for such an estimate than Harnack's few paragraphs in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), pp. 16-19.

undoubtedly Christianity did from between 50 and 80—through rapid and urgent phases of development. The completer the development, the sharper the cleavage, the less able in proportion are posterity to realise with proper sympathy and accuracy a situation which already lies at a comparative distance from their surroundings and even their immediate antecedents, so rapidly has time turned it into what is almost a foreign memory. Thus the value of any historical reconstruction, like that offered in a gospel, varies rather with the character than with the area and the extent of its retrospect. The elements of that value consist in (*a*) the veracity, object, and opportunities of the author; (*b*) the psychological climate of his age, especially the relation, continuous or interrupted, between itself and the period which is being treated; (*c*) lastly, and only lastly, the amount of the intervening years. The framework of chronology is apt in this connection to become misleading; it does not correspond unerringly to the real historical "distance." The fact is, no truth is more general in historical research than that a term of years may possess a real content quite other than that suggested by the space it occupies upon the printed page.

When account is fairly taken of this factor of "interval," any one of the historical narratives discloses itself at once as, in some scale and shade at least, a work of contemporary reference. It has been written at a certain distance from its subject, after the lapse of more or less significant changes, in a period of characteristic feelings and facts, by an author of certain sympathies and capacities. Put these elements together, and they throw upon the narrative a light of their own. Alongside of the primary retrospective aspect, they bring out the somewhat elusive "contemporary" aspect of its pages. This latter is set out with special emphasis when a gospel is dated according to its composition. Written not as abstract treatises, but for the practical requirements of their age, the gospels—even Luke's, which most nearly resembles a biography of Jesus—indirectly witness here and there to the circumstances and conditions of the situation in which they originated. They are very far from being theological

pamphlets. The purely objective interest of the life they portray must have been absorbing in the highest degree. Yet even this could not altogether obliterate the reflection of that religious and social background,[1] with its interests, oppositions, changes, developments, and beliefs, during the years 65–105; this the gospels, along with the other Christian documents and the Jewish literature, enable us to fill in with some detail of historical acquaintance. The synoptic narratives carry us into the life lived by Jesus among men. They also carry us into the life men set themselves to live "in Jesus," a life moulded by his sayings and directed by his spirit, yet including ideas and experiences which could not have existed previously to A.D. 30.

The gospels, then, are not relentless automatic photographs. They are pictures, or rather portraits. Adequate justice is not done to them by resting, as we commonly and naturally tend to do, upon them as objective records which represent with substantial accuracy the life and teaching of Jesus. They are that, first and especially. But they are something more.[2] In all of them lies an element due to the questions and movements of the age in which they rose. It was their function not only to exhibit conceptions of Jesus which were dominant in the primitive communities, but also to present these impressions accurately and vividly in view of the religious and moral needs which pressed upon various circles of Christendom at the time of their composition. From and for the church of the second generation they were compiled.[3] In

[1] *Vide*, for example, Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evglien.* chap. v., "Die s. Evglien. als Geschichtsquellen," especially §§ 26–28, and *HC*, i. pp. 18, 19; Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 161–166, 283–310; Bovon, *NTTh*, i. pp. 47–198; Harnack, *HD*, i. §§ 3, 4; and Gardner, *Explor. Evangelica*, p. 478 f.

[2] Especially in the fourth gospel, it is not easy to determine always where the record ends and the interpretation begins, either in regard to the sayings or to the events. For the latter, cp. a significant concession from the conservative side by Dr. Sanday (*Contemporary Review*, October 1891); also his articles in *Exp.*[4] iv., v., in reply to Schürer's *Vortrag*.

[3] For their use as addresses in the church of the second century, cp. Justin Martyr's *Apol.* i. 67. On this "historical" element and its religious significance for modern faith, cp. Prof. Mackintosh's *Essays tow. New Theology*, pp. 384–396, and Herrmann's *Verkehr* (Eng. tr.), pp. 56–64, 177–183, with his

this factor of contemporary and practical reference, partly deliberate and partly unconscious, are involved the selection, omission, alteration, and addition of incidents and sayings in the tradition of Christ's life, possibly the creation of certain scenes, the naïve and actual attribution to him of ideas which were ultimately due to his spirit (as the later OT writers anticipate the course of development, and attribute to the pioneers and founders of Israel institutions and ideas which actually represent the later issues of their influence on the nation), the standpoint from which he is viewed in relation to Jew and Gentile, the hopes and experiences by which his life is coloured, and finally, the arrangement of the whole story. In many cases the authors could not help being subservient to the general tone and spirit of their age, or of the particular circle in which they moved. In some cases we can see they did not care to be indifferent. Even the opening words of Mark are a reminder that the evangelic motive [1] in composition was devotional and didactic (to narrate history as "a normal precedent for religious belief and conduct": Zeller), and it was natural—indeed necessary—that the visible and pressing interests of the church should occasionally dominate and modify their minds [2] as they worked upon the materials of the record. They express and they interpret. As will be noticed below, the variety of the synoptic gospels implies even more than this general atmosphere. Either their sources existed in very divergent forms—that is to say, different recensions had come into circulation under the memory and creative spirit of the primitive church to meet varied require-

article in *ZThK* (1892), pp. 232–273. The topic is often discussed in contemporary Ritschlianism. Also Kähler, *Der sogen. historische Jesus u. der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*, "Die Evangelien als biographische Quellen," pp. 14–127.

[1] Renan (*Les Evangiles*, p. 441): Écrire l'histoire *ad narrandum, non ad probandum*, est un fait de curiosité désintéressée, dont il n'y a pas d'exemple aux époches créatrices de la foi. Cp. the important paragraphs in von Soden's essay, "Das Interesse des apost. Zeitalters an der evang. Geschichte" (*ThA*, pp. 135–165), and Reischle's article, *ZThK* (1897), pp. 171–264.

[2] The failure to make tangible allowance for this reflex influence exerted upon the gospels by the age of their composition, is one flaw in Keim's great study of Jesus. No attempt to understand the age of Jesus or the age of the apostles will prosper if it uses the gospels as absolutely achromatic documents.

ments—or the insight of criticism must be carried further on, past the common atmosphere, to clear up the individual characteristics which are prominent in each gospel. This latter method of research into their idiosyncrasies and predilections holds true, quite apart from questions of their authorship. Unless these extant peculiarities are merely differences which have previously grown up in a varied tradition, and been more or less unconsciously transcribed by an editor from his sources (as, *e.g.*, Weizsäcker inclines to imagine, *AA*, ii. pp. 32–71), they must be due chiefly to his own initiative and personal intuitions. The motives of this initiative are often hard to discover. But the variations [1] can usually be explained by considerations of the unconscious affinities and conscious prejudices of the writer through whose mind the truth was filtered, the special requirements of the circle for which he was writing, and the character (not to say the amount) of the sources to which he had access, and in the use of which he exercised his own discretion. Several of these prepossessions are quite patent, *e.g.* Matthew's delight in making Jesus fulfil the Messianic rôle (Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,[2] pp. 46–67), his antagonism to the libertine tendencies of Gentile Christians (7^{22} 13^{41} 24^{12}) in Asia Minor, and his general reflection of a more liberal Jewish Christianity, such as that for which Peter furnished the prototype; along with Luke's (*a*) palpable interest in the Twelve who become

[1] Every historian works by a similar process of sifting and selection, which is regulated partly by his own point of view, partly by the materials which he has at his command. He chooses certain definite aspects, brings the central elements into prominence, and keeps the ancillary in due subordination. For a brilliant and sane discussion, in English, chiefly of the Lucan variations and characteristics, cp. Professor Bruce's *Kingdom of God* (5th ed. 1893), espec. pp. 1–37; Carpenter's *First Three Gospels* (2nd ed. 1894), a careful, lucid sketch, written mainly from the standpoint of Pfleiderer's *Urchristenthum*, covers a wider field. Havet's paragraphs are dominated as usual by an ultra-radical scepticism (*Le Christianisme et ses Origines*, iv. pp. 225–296), and add little or nothing to the classical discussion in Weizsäcker's *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*[2] (1891), erster Theil. In a recent work, *Horae Synopticae* (1899), the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., has made a candid and original attempt on scientific lines to exhibit statistically the linguistic evidence of the synoptic gospels, with its characteristics and implicates; and Wernle's *Synoptische Frage* (1899), pp. 1–108, is a reliable summary of the whole case.

"apostles" in his pages, and are less unflinchingly treated than in the preceding gospels (cp. the omission of Mk 10^{35}, Mt 20^{20}, and the insertion of ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, Lk $22^{45\,b}$), his (*b*) more frequent use of the term "Lord" (κύριος) for Jesus upon earth, and (*c*) his abridgment of Christ's polemic against contemporary Pharisaism. But explicit or not, the fact of variation in temper and attitude among the synoptists is conspicuous and irrefragable. Instances are too numerous and familiar to require quotation. They can be found in any good edition of the gospels. Still it is of essential importance to keep the general principle steadily in mind as one reads the historical narratives, so as to understand by dint of legitimate inference the bent and motive of the author. Each gospel has a *cachet* of its own, as it gives not a mere reproduction of external objects and past events, but the writer's attitude to these and his impressions of them. Each is looking back into the previous history. But the way in which each looks on things necessarily qualifies the character of the narrative; and the amount of qualification that is due to this refraction, whether serious or insignificant, is far from being uniform. The relationship between each writer and the subject varied with the personal endowment and environment of the former. Their common business was to exhibit the actual life of Jesus impressively, to stir the inward vision, to raise the mind, to discipline the conscience; yet none could carry through the task without allowing some characteristic infusion of personal hopes, convictions, and experiences to affect the form and even the contents of the narrative (cp. Holtzmann, *NTTh*, i. pp. 28–110, 399–453, and Brandt's too radical discussion, *Die evangelische Geschichte u. der Ursprung des Christenthums*, 1893, pp. 512–550; also M. Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, chaps. v., vi.; Toy, *Christianity and Judaism*, chaps. ii., iii.; and Cone, *Gospel Criticism*, 1891, pp. 291–336). A partial illustration of the same process can be found in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's epic is no political pamphlet, nor is it a religious treatise. Yet it is impossible to miss in its dialogues and descriptions either the theology of current Puritanism with its controversies and abstractions, or the

republican tendencies by which the author's conceptions of government were shaped, or finally his instinctive distrust for the intellectual passion wakened by the Renaissance. These elements could not be kept out. They do not form a cardinal feature of the poem, but they cannot be neglected by anyone who wishes to frame an estimate either of the epic or of its age.

A history of the NT, then, would be simply unintelligible if it were severed from any conception of the tendencies and habits existing in that Christian society of which the NT literature is at once an outcome and a reflection. To become legible these books need the context of the religious situation. The significance and connection of the writings cannot be fully grasped until these are approached with some adequate idea of the whole Christian movement during the first and second centuries. From the historical standpoint, Luther's touchstone for an apostolic writing, namely, "Does it preach and urge Christ?" hits off more accurately than many pseudo-literary standards the essential characteristics of the literature; for that literature sprang from the memory and devotion of a Christian consciousness which was at once the product and the partial expression of the self-consciousness of Jesus. This is true of gospels and epistles alike. When those early Christians wrote of themselves and to themselves, they reflected him. When they reported and pictured him, they revealed their inner selves in hints and stray suggestions. The epistles presuppose this personal relation and religious motive, rising as a rule out of previous intercourse between writer and readers, and forming the substitute for that (2 Th 2^2 3^{14}; 2 Jn 12, Jud 3).[1] But a similar characteristic is not absent even from the historical narratives, which have their affinities with the epistles

[1] It is hardly correct to define the post-Pauline epistle as the literary form of an evangelical writing in which an unknown writer came into relations with an unknown public comprising practically the whole of Christendom. It is certainly nearer a religious treatise than a letter; but the epistles preserved in Apoc. 2–3, to say nothing of Heb $13^{7\text{-end}}$ and 2–3 John, demand a closer definition. On the epistolary form of the NT letters, see F. Zimmer's careful analysis, *ZKWL* (1886), 443–453.

pretty much as the books of Samuel and Kings are ranked among the early Hebrew prophets; they interpret, urge, comment, explain.[1] In no case is their object merely the presentment of an impersonal record or chronicle, written by a man out of close touch with contemporary life. As it has often been remarked, their motto might be the words, ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν. Their general purpose is not to convert. On the contrary, presupposing a certain knowledge of Jesus and faith in him, they aim at developing these by portraying Christ's words and deeds with especial reference to the homely and practical exigencies of present life:[2]—

> "Where truth in closest words shall fail,
> When truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors."

The third gospel bears on the face of it a personal and didactic aim (Lk 1^{1-4}, Ac 1^{1-2}), and this applies to its sequel (cp. ἡμᾶς Ac 14^{22}). The fourth gospel also was composed for the religious needs of a circle which was definite and familiar to the author (Jo 20^{30-31}; cp. also the traditions of its origin, Euseb. *HE*, vi. 14, and the Murat. Canon). Mark and Matthew lack any formal indication of such a purpose. But as far back as the stream of tradition can be followed, it is remarkable that both are made to depend upon original sources which share this very characteristic. Mark, the companion and interpreter of Peter, is reported by Papias to have put into writing the reminiscences of that apostle as these were addressed to the Roman Christians and adapted to their religious needs (ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, Euseb. *HE*, iii. 39). To this report Clement of Alexandria

[1] The strange occurrence of "you" in a professedly historical writing (Jo 19^{35} 20^{31}) implies an audience, though the corresponding "I" is never expressed. "It is the speech of the preacher before an assembled church" (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 467, 476).

[2] On the priority of the moral and religious interests to the historical, Jowett has some sensible remarks: *Plato*, vol. iii. pp. xxxvii–xxxviii. A similar motive dominates the Nikomachean Ethics (I. 2, 5, II. 2, VI. 5), where Aristotle repeatedly explains that his aim is to determine conduct as well as to propound theory.

adds "a tradition of the former presbyters," that Mark wrote thus at the direct instigation and request of many of Peter's hearers, to whom the gospel was subsequently delivered (Euseb. *HE*, vi. 14). Matthew, according to Eusebius (*HE*, iii. 24), preached formerly to Hebrews: "When he was about to go to others as well, he committed to writing his gospel (*τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον*), and thus, by his writing, filled up the want which his absence made among those he left behind." These fragments of evidence drawn from the traditions upon the origin of the gospels or from the gospels themselves, corroborate the view by which these writings are regarded as immediately, and in the same sense, if not to the same degree or in the same form, as the epistles, the outcome and transcript of a definitely religious situation. Their *raison d'être* lay in the authoritative and binding power exercised by the words of Jesus over the primitive community from the very beginning, as well as in the need, stirred by exigencies of time and place, for possessing that standard in an accessible and fairly uniform shape, for the purpose of personal conduct, missionary enterprise, and religious nourishment. The gospels, in fact, are the first Christian creed: they are the naïve expression of the creed in history.

This aspect of the gospels requires to be thrown into relief. Historical writing implies inquiry behind it, and inquiry is the outcome of certain needs. It was not that the evangelic writers composed their stories with a moral. The story itself was the moral. The general end for which they wrote was invariably the same; they undertook the task, not as chroniclers reporting a series of past events, nor as literary artists sketching a picture of action, nor even as pupils reproducing a master's words and orders, but simply to train and foster the faith of men in Jesus. There was no thought of gratifying curiosity, still less of formally putting before the world trustworthy records of that faith or of presenting disquisitions upon its issues and origin. The audiences of the evangelists had other needs. For them Christ's words were the primary religious authority. They required to possess these words in a form at once

intelligible, reliable, and applicable to common life; and as they could not love and obey an unknown being, however heavenly and glorious, Jesus had to be set before them as a human character, whose actions and interests were the main channel of his self-expression. How were Christians in the apostolic age to behave to the Jewish authorities, to the current standards and practices of religion, to civil requirements, to outsiders in their district, to their families, to the state? How were they to conduct themselves in mission-tours, when arraigned before magistrates, in view of the Jewish law? Answers to these and a host of other more theoretical questions were sought and found in what Jesus was reported to have said and done. Yet in a large number of cases the precise questions and problems took a form which could hardly have existed except in the experience of the apostolic age, when the early Christians were thrown upon their own resources in view of an unlooked for future, and confronted with the task of energetic propaganda. Written thus, from and for the practical religious interests of the Church, it was inevitable that this characteristic should in a measure affect the contents of the gospels.[1] It is satisfactory to find this frankly recognised even in Mark by so moderate a critic as Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 248, 249, "Die Rücksicht auf die Erbauung und das Streben nach Verdeutlichung schliesst die peinlich genaue Wiederholung der vor Jahren unter ganz anderen Verhältnissen gesprochenen Worte Jesu aus"). He notices καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (8^{35} 10^{29}), 2^{27} 8^{38} 9^{1} 10^{30f} 13^{14} 14^{58}, and particularly 9^{41} (ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ); sayings in all of which we hear the voice of the

[1] Even the structure of a gospel like Matthew shows traces of numerical arrangement (fives and sevens, *e.g.*), introduced in order to facilitate its use as a catechism, or simply preserved from sources used for such a purpose (cp. *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 131–136, for instances of this Jewish habit). The aim of furnishing a code or series of regulations upon various points of Christian conduct is reflected in passages such as Clem. Rom. xiii.; Did. i. Réville calls attention to the didactic and sevenfold grouping of the speeches in Matthew: (i.) the new law, 5^{3}–7^{27}; (ii.) apostolic instructions, 9$^{37-38}$ 10$^{5-16.\ 33-42}$; (iii.) foes, 11$^{7-19.\ 21-30}$ 12$^{24-25.\ 28.\ 30.\ 37-39}$; (iv.) parables of the kingdom, 13$^{1-52}$; (v.) relationships within the kingdom, 18$^{2-7.\ 10-23}$ 20$^{1-16}$ 21$^{23-27}$ 22$^{1-6.\ 8-14}$; (vi.) woes, 23; (vii.) eschatology, 24$^{11-12.\ 26-28.\ 37-51}$ 25.

apostolic preacher or church, the echo of the years that followed Christ's death, not the very voice of Jesus. Zahn attributes these less to inexactness upon the part of the writer of the gospel, than to the free reproduction of Christ's words in the apostolic preaching upon which the author drew, although he must be considered to have more than once abbreviated his sources (*e.g.* at 1^{13}). Such examples of free handling are obvious and familiar; they may be safely taken as an irreducible minimum. Indeed, without falling into arbitrariness, criticism may add, as it has often added, considerably to their number and extent. And if this be the case with Mark, the most primitive and free from tendency among the gospels, how much more likely is it that such features are to be found in the later books. "Even Luke, who, of the three, stands nearest to us children of the West and of the new age, in virtue of his more national talent, education, and purpose, even he could not have said of his work, *τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔργον ἔν· ὡς ἐπράχθη εἰπεῖν* (Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 39)." See further, Zahn's essay in *ZKWL* (1888), pp. 581–596, on "Der Geschichtschreiber und sein Stoff im NT." As for Judaism, Mr. Schechter observes, it "bowed before truth, but it never made a covenant with facts only because they were facts. History had to be re-made, and to sanctify itself before it found its way into the sacred annals" (*Studies in Judaism*, p. xxv).

This fact of their practical motive helps also to explain why the personal element appears to have been blanched away from the gospels. "We cannot discover any expression of interior feelings which the writers experienced in painting the life of their Master. There is no enthusiasm, no cry of admiration, no private reflections" (Didon). As we read their pages, it requires some effort to think of their authors at all. They are not readily conceived as compositions skilfully drawn up and executed. While characteristics and tendencies are betrayed in each, betrayed sometimes without very much disguise, none of them gives any direct clue to the individuality of the author's mind. When the Johannine authorship is accepted, the fourth gospel forms a doubtful

exception; but there can be no mistake about the others. Even in the case of the third gospel, where tradition has done most, not only for the question of the authorship, but also for the personal traits and character of the author, the standpoint, notwithstanding, is hardly less objective than in its predecessors. This apparent absence of personal colouring points back to one cause. It is not due to the overmastering impression of the contents, nor to any supposed transmission of Divine truth in its highest phases through channels which must lie apart from the media of human feelings and ideas, as though reflection were alien to inspiration; nor are the authors' names concealed as were those of the Gottes Freunde in the fourteenth century, lest pride of authorship should form a spiritual peril. These anonymous gospels [1] simply represent to a large extent the final shape given to collections of evangelic matter which had been previously composed by and for members belonging to the general body of the Christian societies. The evangelic writings, as a consequence, are almost entirely lacking in the personal interest which attaches to individuality of authorship. Their object and environment told against it. But they are personal in a wider sense. They can all be identified with the utterances of reflection, emotion, and practical experience throughout the circles of early Christianity, as these were stirred by the person and the spirit of Jesus (cp. especially Holsten's *Die syn. Evangelien nach der Form ihres Inhalts*, 1886).[2]

Thus, either as historical narratives or as letters, the NT writings are an explicit result of living intercourse and mutual service within the Christian communities. *Παράδοσις* and *μαρτύριον* are the two words that characterise their con-

[1] For some early difficulties (quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat nec ab eius apostolis, sed longo post tempore a quibusdam incerti nominis viris) raised by this feature of the gospels, see the interesting correspondence of Augustine and Faustus (especially xxxii., xxxiii.).

[2] Holsten's particular views, however, are less convincing than his general method of treatment. The dogmatic principles which differentiate the gospels are, in his opinion, threefold—(*a*) the Pauline; (*b*) the Jewish-Christian; and (*c*) the anti-Pauline; but recent criticism has moved away from such emphasis upon tendencies within the early church.

tent. The literature represents, as it were, a further and supplementary phase of that social vitality in which the few were called upon to supply instruction and personal stimulus for the rest. In this respect the NT literature attaches itself to the prophetic sections of the Hebrew Canon. So far as the character and motives of the writings are concerned, the religious continuity is genuine. Old and new alike specify a life, with its complex of relationships and responsibilities, in which recourse to authorship occurs neither along the line of a merely literary impulse, nor among the initial and primary conditions of the religious movement. Consequently there is significance even in the gaps which precede and divide the groups of writings. They excite legitimate conjecture and surmise. They indicate the presence of tendencies and forces not yet articulate, apart from which the subsequent literature is inexplicable. The epistles, and more especially the gospels, are results. Like the silence of the persons now and then in the dramas of Aeschylus, the very absence of historical expression (for example, in the first forty years of the Christian religion) is pregnant with meaning. Little is articulate, yet much is being done. A full and fair estimate of this unrecorded period conduces greatly to the appreciation of the subsequent writings, which at once presuppose it and throw back light upon it; they become intelligible when they are viewed as the outcome of a process and progress which is suggested by the very appearance of their origin.

The synoptic gospels, then, are the resultant of several factors. They represent not merely the contemporary feeling and opinion actually abroad within Christian circles between 70 and 100, but also the processes of reflection, the dominant interests and activities of faith, the mental and devotional attitude to Jesus, which must have been current through the memory and teaching of the early Christians during the years that intervened between 30 and 70. And this, not exclusively in the primitive Jerusalem or Palestinian circles. The claims of realism and the historical Jesus were evidently felt even by some who were in sympathy with the main

positions of Paulinism.[1] It is natural to regard Paul "in his passion for ideas and apparent indifference to biographic detail, as an exception, and to think of the majority of his followers as men who, while sympathising with his universalism, shared in no small measure the common Jewish realism" (Bruce, *ExGT*, i. pp. 13–15). This is a valid and attractive supposition, though it lacks definite evidence. It is doubtless a shrewd surmise, like the similar suggestion of Weizsäcker, that Paul had collaborateurs, Barnabas, Apollos, and others, whose independent but allied work in the sphere of dogma helped the later fusion of Jewish-Christian and Gentile tendencies. Certainly there is significance at least in the tradition which attributes the earliest narrative of the historical Jesus to one (Mark) who was a coadjutor and adherent of Paul, and the third gospel to his companion and physician Luke.[2] But whatever may have been the extent of this retrospective interest, its surviving products are to be viewed as authorities for the apostolic age; they give evidence of a widespread instinct which had arisen for the historical Jesus, and also of the

[1] On the "historical Christ" of Paul, see especially Dr. Matheson's suggestive papers, *Exp.*[2] i., pp. 43 f., 125 f., 264 f., 352 f., 431 f.; ii., pp. 27 f., 137 f., 287 f., 357 f.; Schmoller's essay, *SK* (1894), pp. 656–705, and the monograph by Roos (*Die Briefe d. Apostels Paul. und die Reden Jesu*, 1887). It is unfortunate that a passage like Eph $4^{20\text{-}21}$ ("as the truth is in Jesus") cannot be safely used as evidence for Paul's ideas, since it would in that case prove that he felt the need of emphasising the decisive authority of the historical Jesus. Otherwise, if sub-Pauline, it corroborates the far from imaginary danger prevalent in spite of the synoptic tradition, by which Jesus came to be evaporated into a metaphysical and shadowy abstraction (2 Jn 7, 1 Jn $4^{2,3}$, etc.). Hence the need of historical records. It is true that much later again Doketism and historical composition became allies (*e.g.* the gospel of Peter), but there can be little doubt that this subsequent disposition to record and yet undervalue the humanity of the actual Christ was kin to the earlier tendency which found little gain in preserving any connection with the historical base of Christianity.

[2] Modern estimates of Luke as an author vary from eulogy to depreciatory criticism. A rather sensible and moderate view of his learning is that of Blass: Mutatis mutandis fere de eo dici poterit quod de Sophocle dixit Ion Chius: τὰ πολιτικὰ (in rebus ecclesiae) οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτήριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν τις εἷς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων (Christianorum) . . . omnino, cum ad minora minimaque descenderis, evanescit ars, apparet saepe incuria; nam perpolitus scriptor neque est Lucas neque esse voluit. The last three words, however, are somewhat gratuitous.

chief tendencies which that instinct was obliged to satisfy or to correct. The gospels were not composed in the interstellar spaces. They are derivative and expressive. They betray, on page after page, their age and situation in a breathing world of human facts and feelings. In the phrase of the old Jewish theosophy, the upper Light never comes down unclothed; and even the gospels, which transmit the light of lights, are clothed upon.[1] In their pages the period of Jesus and the period of the growing church meet:[2] to unravel the one it is necessary to use inferences drawn from the other. It is for reasons and objects like these that the gospels have been placed in this edition strictly in accordance with the principle of their literary growth. Such general considerations as have been adduced or remain to be noticed, justify, it is thought, the printing of these evangelic records after the Pauline epistles, in spite of the fact that the latter presuppose the main events and ideas which find expression in the former.

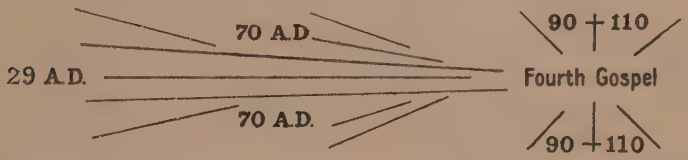
Admittedly there is a slight embarrassment in reaching and maintaining this attitude. A set of (evangelic) facts, A, is followed in the order of time by a set (apostolic), B; but the literary record (α) of A may be composed subsequently to that (β) of B. Hence the series should come to be $\frac{A}{B}\,\frac{\beta}{\alpha}$,

[1] See Martineau's chapter, "The Veil Taken Away," *Seat of Authority*, pp. 573-601.

[2] The work of distinguishing these is the great problem set to the historical sense in dealing with the gospels. Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, p. 577) lays down three canons to be applied by competent historical feeling: (1) "Whenever, during or before the ministry of Jesus, any person in the narrative is made to speak in language, or refer to events, which had their origin at a later date, the report is incredible as an anachronism." (2) "Miraculous events cannot be regarded as adequately attested, in presence of natural causes accounting for belief in their occurrence." (3) "Acts and words ascribed to Jesus which plainly transcend the moral level of the narrators authenticate themselves as his; while such as are out of character with his spirit, but congruous with theirs, must be referred to inaccurate tradition." It is obvious, however, that the whole value of these rules depends upon their definition and application. They will always be taken according to the presuppositions of each critic, and are apt to be used in a rather subjective fashion. At the same time, their general standpoint is of course unimpeachable.

if the strict chronological order of documents is to be preserved, and the fact disengaged from its record. The apparent confusion thus occasioned has simply to be reckoned with; its adjustment is part of the mental discipline required as a preliminary to historical study. In regard to the NT where α = the gospels, and β (roughly) = the epistles of Paul, the church rightly and naturally has reverted to the scheme $\frac{A}{B}\,\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$, practically ignoring the documents upon the side of their literary birth. The difficulty thus occasioned and increased by the canon will be noticed later on. Meanwhile it is enough to remark that historical study cannot dispense with the scheme $\frac{A}{B}\,\frac{}{\alpha\beta}$. Its earnest endeavour at the outset is to consider each writing, especially if it be directly historical, in the atmosphere of its own age, and as a possible, though never a very minute, clue to contemporary life. That determined, it can venture to proceed back and use the book as a guide to previous events. A writing is never intelligible unless we read it as close as possible to the situation at which it was composed. Then the significance of its contents appears—the omissions which at first surprise us, the selection of incidents, the grouping of sayings, the stress put upon this crisis and that, the pragmatism, the general idealisation. Hence the value of this historical method in two directions. To ascertain the contemporary reference is of service not merely for its own sake, for the light thus gained in the task of deciphering the conditions of the age, but also for the sake of the retrospective reference. Dependence can be placed upon the historicity of a writing only after one has thoroughly weighed and allowed for the amount of later tendency which may have affected it. A classic instance of the former gain is to be seen (Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 32–69, etc.; Hausrath, ii. 147–156; Réville, ii. p. 149 f., etc.) in the partial reconstruction of the earlier apostolic age, 30–70 A.D., out of the materials presented in the synoptic gospels. The latter gain is most obvious,

perhaps, in the case of the fourth gospel, which contains a reflection of traits and tones in the stir and drift of Asiatic Christianity towards the close of the first century,[1] under the pressure of Hellenistic speculation and of Judaistic controversy. The book is intelligible as a reproduction of the primitive tradition only when it is taken upon the basis of a careful estimate of that reflection. Put in a diagram, the result comes out thus:—



This environment of the fourth gospel embraces points like these: the controversy of Christianity with Judaism upon the OT as a religious codex and creed, accentuated between 70 and 150 (10^{33-36}, etc.); the general rivalry[2] with Judaism upon the score of authority and prestige; the relation of Christianity to John the baptizer and his followers ($1^{9\,f.}$ $3^{22\,f.}$, etc.)—a practical problem[3] which had already agitated the church (*e.g.* Ac 19^{1-10})—the relation of Christianity to the Samaritans (Lk, Ac, Jo 4), with their tradition and religious

[1] Cp. Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Introd. pp. xxxv–xl; Wrede, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog. NTTh* (1898), pp. 33–41, 73–76; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen*[2] (1891), erster Theil, *AA*, ii. pp. 206–236; Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines* (1884), iv. p. 345 f.; Brückner, *Die vier Evangelien nach dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Evglien.-Kritik* (1887); and most recently Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 351–389, besides the full discussions in Thoma, *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (1882), pp. 771–784; Wendt, *Das Johannes-Evangelium* (1900), pp. 216–228; Wernle, *ZNW* (1900), pp. 52–64; and Cone, *The Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 267–317.

[2] The deftness with which the Jewish opponents of Jesus are made to further his dialectic triumph (especially in chaps. v.–ix.) reflects the contemporary polemic of the author and his age. It has been rightly compared to the similar phenomenon in the Sokratic dialogues of Plato, where "the opponents of Socrates are usually lay figures skilfully arranged as a foil to set forth the method and the teaching of the great philosopher" (Dr. Gardner, *Explor. Evang.* p. 165).

[3] A point worked out with conspicuous ability, though not without some exaggeration (Holtzmann, *ThLz* (1899), 202 f.), by Baldensperger in his *Prolog des vierten Evglns. Sein polemisch-apologetische Zweck* (1897).

propaganda; to Hellenism with its philosophical temper, especially—as the mention of Philip implies (12^{22})—in Asia Minor (Euseb. *HE*, iii. 31. 3, v. 24. 2); also the questions of baptism (3) and the Lord's supper (6). These and numerous other burning topics of interest and difficulty in the early church are reflected, as the first century drew to a close, in this notable philosophy of early Christian religion,[1] "a treatise illustrated by history" (Liddon), and are essential to its interpretation. Hawthorne warns the readers of his *Twice-Told Tales*, that if they would see anything in the book they must read it "in the clear brown twilight atmosphere in which it was written; if opened in the sunshine, it is apt to look exceedingly like a volume of blank pages." The fourth gospel also must be read in the light of its age and environment; not as an attempt to write a concrete biography of Jesus, but as the outcome of reflection upon the past in the evening of primitive Christianity.

The point to be pressed then is, that the principle of this historical method is sound, and that it is silently and necessarily assumed as a criterion in all serious work upon early Christian life and literature. What requires to be brought out is the need of mental adjustment to the preliminary and somewhat subtle task of regarding not merely the epistles, but also the NT historical narratives (more specially the gospels), not as they superficially stand, but as successive although indirect records of an experience and consciousness within the early church, which has itself to be partially deciphered from their contents. Curiously enough, it is within this consciousness again that one of the supreme clues lies for determining the situation and significance of these very records. Such an aspect, by which book and age are correlated, is not *the* point of historical research. But it is one point in it, and a point

[1] But the fourth gospel was not the sole reservoir of this novel method of teaching. Outside of it, before as well as subsequently, a tradition flourished which may be called "Johannine," *i.e.* a circle of expressions and ideas of which traces are to be found in the synoptists no less than in Ignatius and the pastoral epistles. This evidence points to a common phase of thought of which the fourth gospel was the supreme and classical product, but not to a literary connection between such different writers (von der Goltz, *TU*, xii. 3, pp. 118 f., 168 f.).

that requires attention. Round an author in those days were living men and women. He wrote of the past, indeed, with a straight and high purpose in his mind. But he wrote for this contemporary circle, with its pressure and its tendencies; the truer he was to his function as a writer, the less he could be indifferent to these.

At the same time the bearing of this principle upon the NT writers as a source of deviation, is considerably less than might be looked for. It is not nearly so much, at any rate, as is evident in the case of their contemporaries, Tacitus and Josephus. The difference between them, indeed, is so great in degree, that it becomes almost a difference in kind; a fact which lends some plausibility to the position of those who object to ranking the NT historians within the same class as those or other ancient writers. It is tempting, certainly, to isolate them, and apply different standards to their productions. For, as one may be reminded, the relation of a narrator to the subject of his narrative has two possible phases. In the one case he has facts; then the main problem concerns his method of treating them. In the other, he is often dependent upon imagination and inventive power for even the so-called facts which underlie his pages. We are familiar with instances of the former class, in which, through passion or prejudice, ancient writers failed to do justice to their subject (Tacit. *Ann.* 1), or in which the work of modern historians has been perceptibly dominated, not so much by a strong interest in the past for its own sake, as by an irrepressible desire to covertly exalt, or warn, or vilify some aspect of the men and things by which they were themselves surrounded. Good instances of the latter class again are to be found even in the later Jewish apocrypha and apocalyptic. In that field authors seem to have used the licence of imagination in order to freely handle past events, and thereby clothe, or prove; or support ideas and tendencies which belonged to their own age. By neither propensity can it be fairly said that the NT historical writers were unduly biassed. Their world and work indeed lay within the sphere of conditions which made excesses of that kind possible; but their very juxtaposition with such forms

of literary violence and vagrancy shows the almost infinitesimal extent to which their writings were affected. Infinitesimal, that is to say, when one speaks comparatively. For the amount of such a contemporary legitimate influence, even if it be small, is real;[1] and the demand for an estimate of it is compatible with a desire to do the fullest justice to the historicity and trustworthiness of the total narrative. Many estimates of the gospels and their contents really remind one of the phrase with which it used to be said the older school of political economists opened their argument: "Suppose a man upon a desert island." No discussion on the gospels will lead to satisfactory results by any similar isolation of the literature from the interests and activities of the apostolic age. The histories of the NT are no abstract pictures of the past, and their contents are to be rightly orientated only by a criticism which stands between and beyond the conception of

[1] Cp. Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 448–465; Cone, *Gospel Criticism*, pp. 337–355; and Jülicher, *Einl.* § 29, "Der Wert der Syn. als Geschichtsquellen," a well-balanced discussion: also Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 220 f.). After praising Matthew's gospel for the magnitude of conception and the able management of a great theme, which make it superior to any other historical work in the OT or the NT, or even in the literature of antiquity, the last-named proceeds to point out with equal justice that it does not represent a historical work, in the Greek sense of the term. "Was man Geschichte erzählen nennt, versucht Mt kaum." Cp. his instances (pp. 286–289), from Matthew's treatment of the stories and the sayings of Jesus, quoted to illustrate the author's free handling and polemical purpose. "The work is a historical apology of the Nazarene and his church against Judaism." Such a position is true, so far. But it requires to be supplemented (*a*) by a widening of the writing's scope. The audience in view probably embraced much greater variety of feeling and opinion than was to be found in a purely Jewish-Christian circle. (*b*) Also the sovereign freedom with which the author handled his material, is considerably more thorough and detailed (*e.g.* Weizsäcker and Jülicher). For a standard discussion of the whole subject, cp. Holtzmann's *Synopt. Evglien.* pp. 377–514, and for an essay upon the gospels as the outcome of early Christian apologetic, Wernle, *ZNW* (1900), pp. 42–65. Wendland (*Beiträge*, "Philo und die kynische-Stoische Diatribe," pp. 1–6), after defining "Diatribe" as "die in zwanglosen, leichtem Gesprächston gehaltene, abgegrenzte Behandlung eines einzelnen philosophischen, meist ethischen Satzes," proceeds to point out that the polemic and conversational tone easily led to the sermon or address. "Und wenn neutestamentlichen Schriften manche Begriffe und Ideen, Stilformen und Vergleiche mit der philosophischen Litteratur gemeinsam sind, so ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Diatribe schon auf Stücke der urchristlichen Litteratur einen gewissen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, den man sich nicht einmal litterarisch vermittelt zu denken braucht."

them as mere annals, and the equally crude notion that they are the free products of an inventive imagination.

It follows that if the favourite paradox be legitimate—"the epistles are also gospels"—there is equally a sense in which it might be said that "the gospels are also epistles." As the preface to the third gospel openly indicates, the immediate instruction and impulse which it was the function of the oral teaching (and consequently of the epistles) to supply, tended to pass into another religious need, namely, acquaintance with the events and teaching which formed the basis of the faith. This need was finally met not by catechists, but by authors. The epistles were reinforced by the gospels in the common task of religious edification, and in the latter writings traces of their audience and object are still to be discovered, *e.g.* the comments of the evangelist (Mk 3^{30} 7^{19}, etc.), their explanations and notes, their obvious wish to correct misunderstandings and prevent misconceptions, their selection of homiletic material, their grouping of narratives and sayings to throw light on contemporary difficulties and facilitate mnemonic retentiveness. The recollection of this intrinsic element will serve to correct any extravagant use of a popular and modern theory which plays off the gospels against the epistles, the former being hailed as undogmatic, impervious to theological reflection, the undefiled sources of genuine Christianity. This tendency has sprung, it is true, from a natural and wholesome reaction. But the reaction has gone quite far enough, when the gospels are practically regarded as if they were records composed during the lifetime of Jesus, or as if they contained an absolutely objective representation of his teaching, and could be compared—in point of value and authority—with the other writings of the NT, considerably to the disadvantage of the latter. There is a sense in which a *primâ facie* view like this has a truth of its own. But it is a mischief and disaster to imagine that even the gospels are insulated from contemporary extraneous influences, or that their world is inherently different from the world of the epistles. Gospels and epistles alike are children of what is substantially the same age. They worked

for similar ends. They differ utterly in form, but it is a historical rupture to make out of this difference a clever and false antithesis, finding in the one the religion of Jesus Christ, and in the other the Christian religion. Apart from the fact that the extant gospels, and even the main sources from which they derive, were not composed until at least nine or ten of the chief epistles had been written, the facts of their age and the feelings of their authors could not be wholly obliterated from their pages; and certainly they cannot be passed over in a study of these pages. In undervaluing or absolutely ignoring their subjective and didactic elements, there is neither faith nor philosophy. One might even say, for example, that Peter speaks through Mark's gospel no less than through his own epistle, certainly as authentically as in the speeches attributed to him in Acts; also that the third gospel, no less than the Thessalonian epistles, has in its pages something of the breath and mind of Paul. In fact, the slightest consideration of the circumstances in which the epistles and the gospels were composed, will keep in check a method which is a specious and well-intentioned endeavour to conserve the essence of Christianity, and yet implies an unhistorical divorce between two correlative portions of the NT literature.

The form and substance of these literary products in the dawn of Christianity was determined by the nature of their aim. As the Christian preaching began to extend not only to a second generation, but even previously to non-Jewish audiences and the region of pagan difficulties, the simple evidence of eye-witnesses had to develop fresh methods. Two of these predominated, and survive in different forms. One consisted in exhibiting the historical record of Jesus' words and life. By means of this, some credible and plain evidence was afforded for the historical basis underlying the new faith. Every catechumen and convert would receive some such instruction, and be taught to find within the words of Jesus laws for his own conduct. This evangelic tradition expanded in subsequent years, and from it the gospels rose. But the other method proved a salutary supplement. It contained the appeal to experience, the exhibition of the new faith as a

spirit and a character produced and sustained alike by God's grace in human nature. The statement of this attitude was due primarily and distinctively to Paul. When information about Jesus reached the pagan world, or, for the matter of that, the colonial Jews throughout the empire, "would it not come," as Dr. Crozier graphically argues, "like a sudden illumination in the darkness, which would leave behind it dim visions of something that would haunt the memory? And yet what proof that there was any truth in it? . . . As the actual eye-witnesses [1 Co. 15^{6}] sank one by one to their rest, the belief which had arisen in a natural way with them would have died out with them. At each remove the tradition would have become fainter, the evidence more and more hollow and uncertain—the faith of the original believers being more and more untransferable to their descendants of the new generations — until soon it would have been swallowed up again in the great Pagan night that surrounded all." [1] The secure method of propagating the faith was to set forth its inner contents; and it is this aim which prompts the epistolary form and didactic substance of these, the earliest documents of Christianity. The evangelic tradition is presupposed. But it is not prominent. The formal historical base (Lu 1^{1-4}) is absent,[2] partly because it was implied, or could be taken for granted, partly owing to the idiosyncrasies of the author, but chiefly on account of the special apologetic emphasis which Paul laid upon the divine Spirit and self-

[1] *Hist. Intell. Developm.* i. (1897) p. 339. Cp. Mackintosh (*Nat. Hist. of Christian Religion*, p. 338) on the service of Paul in winning entrance for the ideas of Jesus to the average and sensuous understanding (?).

A brilliant sketch of Essene and Orphic influence, and indeed of the ethnic religious situation at the dawn of Christianity, is given by Zeller, *ZwTh* (1899), pp. 195–269. For a sympathetic study of Epiktetus, cp. M. F. Picavet, "Les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie en Grèce" (*Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1893), pp. 315–344). A readable summary of the Hellenic and Oriental environment may be found in Dr. Gardner's *Explor. Evangelica*, pp. 325–357.

[2] Paul definitely recalls his readers to the remembrance of the historical Jesus (*e.g.* 1 Co $11^{23.\ 24}$). Yet upon the whole his writings bear out the estimate which views him as translating the Christian principle "into terms of theology, and so, as it were, writing it in large letters on the clouds of heaven" (Caird, *Evol. Religion*, ii. pp. 200, 201).

sufficiency of the faith. In his earliest paragraph he stands upon history; but it is the history of the Spirit in Thessalonika (1 Th 1^{5-8}), not of Jesus in Palestine. Here, as in his subsequent writings, the distinctive note is an endeavour to ground the guarantee of faith in its moral implicates, along with the argument that these implicates are finally accessible, not in memory, nor in historical research, but in the contemporary Christian experience. He would not have understood the difference between "Jesus" and "Christ in heaven"; but from the modern standpoint it is perfectly true to say that Paul's reasoning rests not on memories of the Galilean Jesus, but on a direct and immediate intuition of that living and exalted Christ, whose holy land is in the human spirit.

The two movements, however, are not independent. Almost parallel to the composition of the Pauline [1] letters ran the transition from the spoken to the written gospel. It must have been gradual: it remains obscure. It was gradual: for the oral teaching subsisted long after the first gospels were put into writing; indeed, the latter were supplementary to it, and did not by their prestige and use supplant it. It remains obscure: for no accurate record of its motives and stages was preserved by an age which could hardly be conscious of the significance attaching to what was being slowly finished under its eyes. Between the early and the final stages of the transition the epistles lie. Their atmosphere is that of the gospels, in the sense that they presuppose the rudimentary teaching of the narratives which came to be worked up into these histories. It is true that the epistles get the start of the gospels in the order of written composition. But this fact has to be qualified, not only by the consideration just mentioned, but also by the other fact that this slowness to commit the history of Jesus to writing was due less to a suspicion of the written word as an adequate representation, than to the value attached in that age to the spoken and taught

[1] Schürer (*HJP*, II. iii. p. 196) notices the languid interest felt by Pharisaic Judaism in history. "It saw in history merely an instruction, a warning, how God ought to be served. Hellenistic Judaism was certainly in a far higher degree interested in history as such."

word as the means of training and informing the mind. The well-known remark of Papias (*οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης*[1]) is characteristic of Christianity in the first century as a whole. Men felt nearer to the central facts of the faith as they listened to the teaching and reminiscences of the older disciples, than through the medium of any record or composition by way of *litera scripta*. Still, the reason of this preference lay in a deeper instinct. For the religion of one who himself wrote nothing and centred everything in the spirit and society of his followers, writing (it was probably felt) must after all be secondary. Before the close of the first century, it is true, Paul's epistles seem to have acquired by their extensive circulation a position of recognised importance and authority, at least in Corinth (Clem. Rom. xlvii), where Zahn (*GK.* i. pp. 811–839), partly resting upon his absurd date for 2 Peter, argues that a collection of these writings existed by the ninth decade of the century. But even were this established, it would not materially alter the fact that the communication of influence and the maintenance of tradition remained for long oral, so far as its main phases were concerned. Not until far on in the literary development does the beatitude for the reader occur (Apoc 1^3), or the emphasis upon a scripture's authority (Jo 21^{24}); naturally it is still later when the Christian writings take their place beside the Hebrew scriptures as topics of discussion and reflection (2 Ti 3^{16}, 2 Pet 3^{16}). Even the two latter passages are entirely occupied, it is to be noted, with the definition of the writings upon the side of their practical bearing and authority within the Christian societies. The whole movement towards this emphasis upon the written scriptures was accelerated by the parallel tendency in contemporary Judaism,

[1] Compare the remark in Plato's epistles (vii. 341 c.), where he vindicates personal stimulus and instruction as the best means of learning philosophy : *ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζῆν ἐξαίφνης οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδήσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γενόμενον αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ ἤδη τρέφει.* But the defensive tone of Papias rather suggests that his adherence to oral tradition required some explanation at an age when the written gospels were coming more and more into prominence.

which, after 70 A.D., became more crystallised than ever round the OT canon as its religious standard (cp. the famous passage in 4 Esdras 14^{21-48}). But the comparatively tardy genesis of the historical instinct in the literature of early Christianity was in no sense an uncongenial or surprising feature. It is explicable as we bear in mind the universal adherence to systematic oral testimony, to the reminiscences of eye-witnesses and older men, and not least to the organised worship and social texture of the young Christian societies. That adherence formed the central thread in the strand of early Christianity. As the years passed, however, oral testimony became more and more inadequate, and the task of supplementing it fell to the two great forms of Christian literature, the epistle and the gospel. Both presupposed tradition. Both were the fruit of religious intercourse within the various societies. But in the nature of the case the former had a freer scope; with its superior flexibility and simplicity it established itself as prior in time throughout the churches.

When attention is directed to facts like these, it is brought home to the mind that the NT literature has to be taken as it rose, not symmetrical, monotoned, adamant—"one entire and perfect chrysolite"—but out of a historical process, shaped by varying hopes and needs, and drawn from this or that circle of antipathies and affinities. One palmary inference follows, namely, the need of surveying the mental and social conditions under which the different books were composed, as well as of using the books for that survey.[1] Here, as elsewhere in literature (Heinrici, "Die urchristliche Ueberlieferung u. das NT," *ThA*, pp. 323–339), the surrounding of a document is valuable, no less than its subject. Just as a

[1] A writing may actually become a reliable witness to its contemporary period although its references to an earlier period are found to contain some unhistorical traits. The historic value of a document does not depend altogether upon its trustworthiness. The primary question is not, "Are its contents true, or false, or mixed?" but "How did this writing come to be credited and produced at this particular time? What elements in the age made this literary product natural?" The fact that a writing, B, gives an idealised picture of some early period, A, may forbid the complete and unhesitating inferences which might be drawn as to the nature of A; but for all this lack of historicity, it throws fresh light upon the period of B's composition and its relation to A.

conception of the satiric spirit in its numerous forms is essential to the right understanding of authors like Petronius, Juvenal, and Tacitus, who drew breath in it during the latter half of the first century; just as the historical writers of the Empire were liable to be affected by the habit of recitation which helped to create for them a literary climate; so is it with the historical narratives of the NT. Their characteristics are intelligible only in the light of the distinctively "religious" tendencies current in the latter half of the first century (cp. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 451–479), for the satisfaction of which they were composed. Consequently some account has to be taken of these as well as of the less obvious features of their mental climate—the prevailing ethnic and Jewish beliefs in the miraculous, the cosmic and psychic ideas of angelology,[1] demonology, and cosmogony, the relation of the material and the spiritual, the Messianic conceptions, the tendencies of current ethics, the popularity of the OT, the apocalyptic effluvia of Judaism, and so forth. Otherwise one will be missing at point after point what ranks as a primary requisite for the study of the NT. For before this life and literature can be strictly estimated, one must look into them and win some feeling of their range and limits, of the successive light and shade, the run and dip of the slopes, the general outlines and broader characteristics of usage and opinion, which are suggested in the extant records. To secure and sustain this mental habit is the sesame of vision and advance. Apart from it, study is generally dull and frequently trifling. Nor is there anything in the method which can be said to be specially elaborate or irksome. Even in the least local writings there is usually some help yielded to the patience and insight of a modern mind bent on reaching the actual incidents and ideas which were at the conception of the writing, or on extricating its antecedents, its relationships, and its neighbourhood.[2] Obviously this method

[1] The influence of Jewish angel-worship on early Christianity is traced by Lüken in his recent monograph on *Michael* (1898).

[2] Once for all, by way of summary. To realise that the central materials of the gospels were mainly drawn up and collected during the three or four decades

makes for the intelligibility of the NT as a religious authority, just as it is an axiom of the expositor. But our concern here is mainly with its value for presenting the NT as a series of historical documents. The method puts the reader unequivocally at the right standpoint, and prompts him to ask the right questions. The inquiry must be not only, "What do these pages mean?" but—*πῇ τε συνέστη καὶ ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως*—"Why was this book written in this particular way, at this particular time? Why now and not earlier? or not later? Why precisely in this temper, style, spirit? Is there any special significance in its method, omissions, date, character? and if so, what?" Questions like these have often to be left imperfectly or dubiously answered. They bring more in some quarters than in others, and it is hardly possible to be explicit anywhere on detail after detail. Some writings have a flavour of the soil in them, due either to the connection of their author with his time, or to the contemporary nature of their subjects. Upon occasion a book actually dates itself and illuminates its period. But other writings seem, at least on a first impression of their contents, to be in the air.[1] Others, again, are more definite, yet exhibit

which followed the death of Jesus, and that the gospels themselves were not composed until the period 65–105; to realise these facts will show—(i.) that the gospels are not purely objective records, no mere chronicles of pure crude fact, or of speeches preserved verbatim; (ii.) that they were compiled in and for an age when the church required Christ not as a memory so much as a religious standard, and when it reverenced him as an authority for its ideas and usages; (iii) that they reflect current interests and feelings, and are shaped by the experience and for the circumstances of the church; (iv.) that their conceptions of Christ and Christianity are also moulded to some extent by the activity and expansion of the church between 30 and 60, by its tradition, oral and written, and by its teaching, especially that of Paul. The interval between the death of Jesus and the earliest date at which it can be seriously maintained that a deliberate record of his life existed (*c.* 65 A.D.), almost exactly corresponds to the interval between the death of Francis of Assisi and the issue of his authoritative biography by Bonaventura, who wrote for practical purposes and under contemporary influence.

[1] Allowance must be made for the element of timelessness in some of these early discussions and records. A NT writer was not always keeping his eye on some contemporary phase of thought or action. Also, it is irrelevant to expect in the early Christian literature allusions to events within the Empire which bulk largely in the common history of the age. For example, because an earthquake

conflicting signs of their day and atmosphere, pointing this way and that. Still, although it cannot always be said of a NT writing, ἡ λαλιά σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ, this method of historical interrogation, seeking the period as well as the literary product, is richest in *aperçus* and results, however often it may be baffled. Certainly in the field of NT literature one cannot hope to hear the grass growing. The utmost that can be reasonably expected is to catch and preserve some sense of development upon the whole, and in its more prominent stages. But the method seems to be the one available mode of rendering the history of early Christian thought something better than the mere series of loosely joined enigmas which it too often resembles in current text-books. This literature is not a succession of dark lonely pools; and to take up the books of the NT as isolated pieces of theology or history, to group them on any artificial or *a priori* principles of criticism, is to court gratuitous error, and often to make such knowledge as may be actually secured, both vain and vague.

One outcome of this method is that a writing has to be taken as a problem before it can be expected to resolve itself into a picture. Primarily, though not exclusively or even chiefly, its function is to give evidence of a stage in the process by which the great movement of thought and experience went forward. How suggestive a clue to the experience and hopes of people at any period is furnished by their literature—the books they produced, the writings they enjoyed, the records on which they were sustained! These, we may be sure, were no mere *jeux d'esprit*, isolated or capricious. They give a transcript of their origin and vital

is said to have taken place in the Lycus valley during the seventh decade, it is deduced by many scholars that Colossians and the Apocalypse (2–3) must have been written either just before or long after that catastrophe, as it would have been alluded to in these writings if they had been sent to the district shortly afterwards. The inference is untrue. Early Christian writers were not interested in physical geography, nor ought we, in all fairness, to expect from them information upon the outward details of their age. The man who is absorbed in gazing at the stars grows oblivious to the wind upon his face and the mud and insects at his feet.

function. And what significance, in turn, lies within that experience for the proper understanding of the books in question! That a book like Acts, for example, was probably composed under the Flavian régime, is a fact that speaks volumes.[1] What a satisfactory criticism should attempt to do, is to fairly analyse the meaning of such a fact, to infer from it some of the troubles and triumphs of early Christianity within the Empire, and to detect the precise conditions of internal and external life which prompted the composition of the book there and then. After this historic scrutiny of its antecedents and environment, the book can be used more freely and safely as evidence for the earlier age sketched in its pages. A similar test has to be applied in the case of the other histories in the NT. Each has the signs of its time. Occasionally they are difficult to read, but they are there in greater or less numbers. And if anything is calculated to stir and direct the historical imagination, it is the presentation and study of the relevant documents springing one after another from an underlying life which might otherwise pass undetected or lie misunderstood; just as the charm and fascination of Oriental cities partly consists in the freedom of observing the naïvely open activity and manufacture in street and in bazar. One feels present at the making and shaping of things. It is the engrossing sense of a process, and of a process seen at work. For this the records may prove defective. But although the historic instinct has the duty of supplying carefully the gaps in the rise and course

[1] Similarly the developed state of the Christian churches at that epoch helps to explain the author's omissions as well as his choice of incidents and emphasis upon certain points (*e.g.* the name "Christian," 11^{26}) which had acquired in subsequent years especial prominence. The varied degrees of historicity in Acts are patent enough, but they do not interfere with the total impression of purpose and function which the book bears upon the mind. It is a narrative, accurate upon the whole, written by one who endeavoured to state the facts honestly and impressively so far as they bore upon his main design, but who had probably to depend upon secondhand, inferior tradition at various points in the course of his story. It is scarcely fair to take passages like $1^{18.\ 19}$ 2^{5-11} 5^{1-11} $19^{2-7.\ 11-20}$, as characteristic and representative. Like the similar series in Matthew (2^{2-12} 8^{28-33} 12^{40} 17^{24-27} 21^{2-5} 26^{51-53} $27^{51-53.\ 62-66}$ 28^{11-15}), they rather correspond to the dark lines in the spectrum.

and change of institutions or ideas, a prompted imagination[1] —together with a sense of real if half-hidden order—can readily be disciplined till it becomes the very eye of accurate research. Only, its materials need to be arranged, and arranged (as far as possible) naturally. It is always something to be looking at them unwarped. The NT literature constitutes in itself a series of ranged results and successive reflections. It is that, even when—as in the historical sections—it is infinitely more. The consequence is that when the writings are taken thus as an outcome of life, the scheme of their arrangement affords some aid in the work of correcting one's first impressions into greater exactness: the result being that in this supremely difficult field of early Christianity the mind is able to trace with less and less obscurity the dim processes of thought and half-suppressed transitions that over and again occur between phases apparently broken and writings superficially dissimilar.

This habit of reading oneself into the continuity of a period of history by means of sympathetic and accurate insight is in any case hardly won, nor does it become altogether simple in regard to the NT. There also one has to win at the outset a view of the records and documents in their separate rise and relative positions. One by one they come up on the horizon, coherent and successive. It is imperative that their inclusive life be rendered visible and distinct. But the amount of that distinctness will depend largely upon a previous, comparative study of the literature which contains all that is extant of the life's expression.[2]

[1] "By veracious imagination, I mean the working out in detail of the various steps by which a political or social change was reached, using all extant evidence and supplying deficiencies by careful analogical creation. How triumphant opinions originally spread—how institutions arose—what were the conditions of great inventions, discoveries, or theoretic conceptions; . . . all these grand elements of history require the illumination of special imaginative treatment" (George Eliot, *Leaves from a Notebook*).

[2] Literary criticism and historical criticism, it is plain, are correlative. In the balance of both lies the only method of attaining anything like reasonable certainty. Exaggerate the latter, and you are liable to read into the writings *a priori* tendencies which impose on each document a place and purpose in some preconceived scheme. Exaggerate the former, and you are at the mercy of

The point is to work with the documents, and to work with them in some reliable scheme or sequence. Method, order, system—that is an essential of research. Work done in the atmosphere of order develops insensibly a mental justice. It produces a trained and accurate sense for understanding the details and mastering the broad lines of a subject, as in this way the various departments come to offer less and less difficulty or embarrassment to the imagination and the judgment. This faculty of determining the place and worth of any fact or phase in the historical development, and of ascertaining and arranging what are the really salient points, is a cardinal element in all critical inquiry, and it particularly applies to NT criticism. To be put *en route* with these early Christian writers is the pressing need for their interpretation. Consequently it is clear gain to have some reliable scheme of the literature kept before the mind until we come to think instinctively along its lines, while the figure of it rises to the historical imagination, unsought and indispensable.

All this is introductory, but there is truth and fruit in it. No amount of acquaintance with the verbal contents of the literature can avail unless it is capable of finding the various documents in natural contact with the periods and crises from which they actually emerged. Contemporaries understood these writings from their age. So, in a sense, do we. But, on the other hand, whatever knowledge we possess of the age is usually due to our study of the writings. Mainly from their own evidence, partly from the general non-Christian literature of the period, partly from the available inscriptions, this reconstruction has to be contrived. But

verbal arguments and the insufficient evidence of style, while the historical situation lacks definiteness and content. The latter is perhaps the bias to be feared in modern criticism. As Gunkel puts it, though for another purpose, die Welt besteht nicht nur aus Menschen, die Bücher schreiben, und die sie abschreiben. Die moderne Kritik hat bisher die Bedeutung der mündlichen Tradition vielfach übersehen und ist allzu geneigt, bei jeder Berührung zweier Schriften auf litterarische Abhängigkeit zu schliessen (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 58). See Wrede's arguments in *GGA* (1896), 517 f., and *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog. NT Theologie* (1898), pp. 25–34, 49–51; also Preuschen's article (*ZNW* (1900), pp. 1–15), "Idee oder Methode?" and the essay by Bousset (*TR* (1899), pp. 1–15).

the two latter methods presuppose the first; and the first involves this need and practice of accurate chronological handling. To ascertain the relative order of the NT writings in general, to take them up one by one as they were given [1] to the early Christian communities, to approach a document as it lies, warm and alive, within its special period, to let each successively make its characteristic and precise impression upon the mind, to follow the varied courses, thus lighted up, of the early Christian reflection as it worked upon the facts of the evangelic consciousness, to trace the varied implicates of the Christian spirit in their evolution—this, a mental discipline to start with, is an invaluable apprenticeship for acquiring some keener insight not merely into the individual contributions and traits of special writers and writings, but also into the sweep and scope of what is "beyond question the most momentous fact in history, the effect produced by the teaching of Jesus and his disciples," [2] so far as that effect falls within the scope of the NT literature.

Such a rearrangement of the literature as that offered in this volume is therefore intended to serve as a sort of map. With its aid the reader will be enabled more successfully to make his way into and throughout the varied phases of the apostolic age in natural succession, as well as to gain a standpoint for any further surveys of its theology or organisation. A distinct effort is needed if the modern mind is to realise the situation of any NT document. There is always work to be done in the way of rendering explicit circumstances and conditions which are vitally important for the interpretation

[1] One must demur, however, to descriptions of the NT literature as "the documents formally put before the world by a society—as adequate accounts of its own origin, and tests of its future teaching and practice" (Lock, *Exegesis of the NT*, p. 10), or of an individual book like Acts as "an authorised account of the deeds of apostles" (Robinson, *EBi*, i. 675). This is the ecclesiastical or canonical standpoint, not the historical. It reflects the mind not so much of the original writers of the NT literature as of the later generations who used that literature for the wider purposes of the catholic church.

[2] Goldwin Smith. On the richness of present NT research in the matter of historical points of view, see Harnack's remarks, *Contemp. Rev.* (1886), pp. 221–225.

of a writing, and yet are mostly taken for granted in its pages. To bring these assumed, sub-conscious facts together is a task awaiting the historical imagination at almost every step, part of its province including the mastery of those facts and relationships which are implied in the structure and connection of a given record, and with which one must sedulously learn to feel at home. A subsidiary and provisional aid to this can be furnished often by a study of the documents in question. History, as Niebuhr used to declare, has two methods for supplying the deficiencies of her sources; she has criticism and the divining faculty. Plainly, both must work together. Indeed, in exegesis and interpretation, criticism constantly depends upon the faculty of intuition. But, on the other hand, the divining power of the historical imagination cannot see to contribute its final and special gift of reconstruction until criticism has attempted as far as possible to discharge its preliminary task and arrange the materials in some approximately reliable scheme. Appreciation of past ages is frequently hindered by nothing more serious than some trifling amount of obscurity which has been allowed to remain secreted in the traditional presentment of the materials for modern study. An equally slight alteration of position will occasionally put the observer in the way of considerable results. That is the hope and aim of the present edition with regard to the NT. Here, no less than elsewhere, the very sequence of writings is at times full of significance; any literary method which promotes the comparative study and use of these writings has a value of its own for the larger work of historical and religious appreciation, in forcing attention to some aspects and relations of the NT which lie in shadow, as well as in bringing the mind closer to the original design and actual shape of the literature in question. Within the NT, of all places, one cannot afford to dispense with any plain mechanical assistance to the imaginative faculty,[1] as it

[1] "If the critical education of the historian suffice, he can lay bare, under every detail of architecture, every stroke in a picture, every phrase in a writing, the special sensation whence detail, stroke, or phrase had issue; he is present at the drama which was enacted in the soul of artist or writer; the choice of a

exercises its function of quickly reaching, carefully deciphering, and accurately following these modes of earlier and different thought. *Voir c'est avoir.* Even an optical aid may prove at times of curious service to the mind.

II

What is required, then, is some displacement within the canonical stereotyped order of the NT. As it stands, in either a Greek or an English edition, this order was compiled for different purposes and on different principles from those of modern historical research. The object was palpably didactic. The churches naturally endeavoured to arrange the literature in order to bring out the rise and progress of the Christian spirit and society. From the third council of Carthage in A.D. 397, a general arrangement appears to have prevailed, which has been reproduced from Jerome's Vulgate in our English Bibles, with one great change. Three unities or groups of writings—the "gospels," the "epistles of Paul" with or without Hebrews, and the "catholic epistles"—were massed together, closed by the Apocalypse. Roughly speaking, this may be described as the dominant order. The chronological principle, so far as it was considered at all, evidently referred to the order of the events narrated or presupposed; hence, *e.g.*, the book of Acts often came between the gospels and the following epistles. Still, it was usage, not law, that really determined the sequence. East and West differed considerably upon this as upon weightier topics; and the scheme remained unfixed, indefinite. For a long time, indeed, one or two books seem to move up and down the canon in quite an arbitrary fashion.

These and other variations, however, in the canonical order

word, the brevity or length of a sentence, the nature of a metaphor, the accent of a verse, the development of an argument—everything is a symbol to him; while his eyes read the text, his soul and mind pursue the continuous development and the everchanging succession of the emotions and conceptions out of which the text has sprung" (H. A. TAINE).

of the NT writings belong to the history of the canon[1] rather than to a study of the writings themselves. They represent interests and tendencies quite other than chronological. In the group of the gospels, *e.g.* Matthew and John are occasionally put first, as their authors were considered to be personal disciples or apostles of Jesus. The connection of Mark and Luke with the historical Christ was secondary; they were merely apostolic men, and as a result their gospels were put later (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 2). Other variations are less obvious in motive. In the group of Pauline letters it is not certain, even in Marcion's arrangement, whether a chronological principle is at work at all. Other interests, at any rate, predominate in his and other catalogues, as in the Muratorian fragment, where Paul's epistles to the seven churches are grouped together in order to precede those addressed to private individuals. Similarly with the phalanx of the "catholic epistles." The fairly common order—James, 1 Peter, John—may be a reflection of (Gal 2^9) the relative rank assigned to the trio of supposed authors in the judgment of the early church. In other cases the arrangement—Judas preceding James—probably echoes the successive admission of each to canonicity. Among the groups themselves, the Pauline epistles and the "catholic" change places between Acts and the Apocalypse, while the last-named may be said almost invariably to close the NT canon,[2] a position

[1] Gregory's "Prolegomena to Tischendorf's NT," III. 1. pp. 131–140, *De librorum ordine;* Laurent, p. 41 f.; Zahn, *GK*, i., pp. 60–80, ii. pp. 343–383; S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen age* (1893), pp. 301–306, 331–342; Westcott, *History of NT Canon* (Appendix D); *Studia Biblica*, iii. (1891), pp. 217–325; Jülicher: *Einl.* pp. 349–357; Nestle, *Einf.* pp. 128–132; also the closing essay in Bovon's *Jésus et l'Eglise des premiers jours.* The lingering indefiniteness of the canonical order is curiously illustrated by a phrase of Athanasius (Festal. epp. xxxix.), who introduces his arrangement of the biblical literature with the words χρήσομαι πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τόλμης κτλ.

[2] At the close of Dante's pageant of the NT writers (*Purgatorio*, xxix.) there appears—

> "Behind them all,
> One single old man, sleeping as he came,
> With a shrewd visage";

i.e. John, the author of the Apocalypse.

naturally suggested by its contents and the aptness of its conclusion (Apoc 22[18. 19]).

In short, hardly any attempt seems to have been made to arrange even the letters of Paul in chronological order, much less to determine the date of each writing separately. When all had come to be gathered into a whole, the principle of arrangement varied: a desire to separate controverted and accepted writings (as in the Muratorian fragment), a specifically theological intention,[1] some regard to the relative length of the epistles, or to the dignity and rank possessed by the different churches to which they were addressed, probably some idea of parallelism to the OT or symmetry with it,[2] possibly considerations of authorship. The usage throughout the churches was quite inexact: the principles that determined it divergent.[3]

In view of the practical ends of the canon, little exception can be taken to this procedure of the church. So far, a modern reader might cheerfully acquiesce in the dictum of Spinoza: *documentorum causas nihil curamus.* But when the question comes to be one of analytic criticism as a prelude to some historical synthesis, it is no longer an adequate method to take the literature exactly as it happens to stand. To acquire any grasp of the problems of origin, composition, and independence, some critical base is required, and this must be sought in a rearrangement of the documents. Otherwise, investigation is simply handicapped. It is lured to ignore the relative positions of the leading records, and thus to miss the sense of their order and proportions. For the canonical order of the NT is not even a neutral medium for such study.

[1] For subjective reasons, *e.g.* Luther, followed by Tyndale, placed Hebrews, James, Judas, and the Apocalypse disapprovingly at the end of the N.T. after "the true and certain capital books."

[2] Sicut post legem prophetae, et post prophetas hagiographi, ita post Evangelium apostoli, et post apostolos doctores ordine successerunt: Hugo de S. Vict. *De Script.* 6, though "doctores" carries us beyond the NT canon.

[3] A curious arrangement seems to occur in the *Apostolic Constitut.* (ii. 57): "Let our acts be read, and the letters of our fellow-worker Paul . . . and afterwards let a deacon or presbyter read the gospels." But this is probably a mere ecclesiastical injunction.

Occasionally it becomes a positive and plentiful hindrance. Even for a trained and alert intelligence there is a certain effort in reading, say 1 Thessal., and at the same time refusing to allow the intrusion of ideas developed in the Galatian and Roman letters which precede it in the printed Testament. How arduous, yet how necessary, to read the Apocalypse before the fourth gospel, or again to study Hebrews and Acts without being swayed by the previously printed and subsequently written pages of John![1] These are but instances of the blurring effect produced by the canonical order, with all its excellence and convenience. Nor is there any reason why such an effect should not be obviated. Print may be made to serve the mind instead of misdirecting it, and the service is greatly to be desired. True criticism of the NT is like science, it becomes "a precious visitant" only when it has been trained in the methods of historical evolution,

> "Taught with patient interest to watch
> The processes of things, and serve the cause
> Of order and distinctness."

Part of this teaching is to have the imagination impressed exactly and vividly with the recurring sequences of thought and feeling. But these, again, to be lucid, must be exhibited in the natural order of their expression; and they can readily be thus exhibited. Under the most favourable circumstances, a taxing effort is required to realise the NT facts and conceptions with anything like consecutiveness and coherence. To reduce some of the initial and avoidable obstacles, and to help the mind past these to a scrutiny and appreciation of the matters which are really at issue in NT criticism, constitute one aim of the present edition, and furnish the justification of its divergence from the canonical order. It is offered as a minor contribution to the study of the records, on the principle that some light is often to be

[1] To this in part may be also due the unhistorical presuppositions which treat the minor writings of the NT unfairly by reading into them or expecting from them more or less systematic developed conceptions. Cp. Deissmann's spirited protest in regard to the mishandling of the catholic epistles, *ZThK* (1893), pp. 133, 134, with Wrede's equally judicious discussion, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog.*, *NTTh*, p. 17 f.

found in the mere knowledge that one book comes after another, especially when that knowledge is stereotyped in black and white. The customary arrangement fails to entirely conceal or express this truth of succession. Consequently these pages will do their work as they present, in some more adequate form, the materials for that regular survey apart from which the process of critical research is apt to find itself misled or hampered.

III

One or two sentences fall to be added by way of explanation.

The priority of the Pauline epistles to the gospels suggests three considerations which are extremely important for a proper attitude to the whole subject—(*a*) Their priority does not *ipso facto* support, although it certainly suggests, a theory of literary dependence between these writings and, say, the third and fourth gospels. The final proofs of such filiation are internal. There is a natural temptation to lay almost peremptory stress upon the external positions of books, and this delusion is encouraged by the printed form of a modern edition. But such unscientific assumptions must be ruled out of court. In this case, as in the case of other NT groups, the literary relationship between an earlier and a later document (when their relative position can be independently fixed) depends upon a far wider and subtler range of facts, such as the extent to which any writing may have circulated [1] during the first century, beyond its originally local scope (an extent which varies, of course, with its subject and form), and also the amount of organic connection which may be presumed to have existed between one writing and another

[1] Classical literature furnishes some analogies for this. Christian writings may have been (*a*) reproduced by means of written copies, a method which would be at best limited, or (*b*) read with comments to various circles of listeners. Probably the latter method was more common in the early days of Christianity (1 Ti 4^{13}, Apoc 1^{3}, *μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας*, etc.). Pliny's correspondence is full of references to the custom of "publishing" a book by reading it aloud to a group of friends.

under the ascertained literary methods of the age. The order of documents in time, as that is exhibited in a printed scheme, does not necessarily involve the dependence of the later on the earlier. Apart from a further scrutiny of the conditions under which the writings were composed and of their contents, the assumption is unwarranted. The precedence of one writing over another in the matter of years may or may not imply literary dependence. Print at any rate can merely afford a basis for the discussion of such problems, and it is only in a minority of cases that the date of a NT writing cannot be established with some measure of security apart from the question of its literary connections.

The special relation of Paulinism to the literature and life of the next generation forms, however, a problem of great moment for the study of the apostolic age. After Philippians, the early Christian literature represents a development which is merely semi-Pauline, so far as it can be termed Pauline at all. The distinctive principles of Paulinism were too characteristic and individual to form a basis for the general Christianity of the churches as a whole; although these were largely indebted for their emancipation from Judaistic Christianity to Paul's vigour, yet their relation to Jesus, the Law, and the OT, and their conceptions of faith, sin, and righteousness, were for the most part only verbally akin to those of the great apostle. The sharp antithesis of the earlier conflict waned. Paul's general universalism passed on to find analogous elements in the more liberal phases of Jewish Christianity, and from these under the prevalent Hellenism of the age grew the "catholicism" which stamps the sub-Pauline literature. The original Paulinism, however, in its religious idiosyncrasies of thought and feeling, was buried with its author, or survived merely in his epistles. Outside of these it never lived in its entireness and individuality. Paulinism touched more or less deeply all subsequent Christian writers, for without it they could hardly have written at all. But none was a Paulinist, in the strict sense; none even an anti-Paulinist. For them and their age, as even Clem. Rom. proves, the Pharisaic world of Paul had

little interest or attraction. It merely represented a special phase in which the principles of catholic Christianity had first won a final triumph. The great "pathologist of Judaism" was the pioneer, not the founder, of Gentile Christianity as it rose after 70 A.D. into a denationalised and broad organisation of communities throughout the Empire. His main contribution was to build the bridge from Semitic monotheism to those Hellenistic conceptions which were needed to develop the essential spirit of the new faith. As for many of his arguments and antitheses, his theological categories, solutions, and methods of interpretation, they proved of little or no service to the majority of later Christians, whose early training and altered circumstances demanded help from quite another standpoint. The presuppositions of the later catholicism or general Christianity of the sub-apostolic age did not lie in distinctively Pauline conceptions. The Gentile Christians who formed the large majority in most of the Christian communities, were susceptible less to the idiosyncrasies of Paul's great genius than to the influences making for monotheism and morality which his preaching shared with the liberal Judaism of the Diaspora, Hellenistic ethics, and the social aspirations in the Empire. These ideals and dispositions converged to create a situation which formed a vantage-ground for what proved to be the permanent shape of the new faith. Law to these Christians was a different thing from what "the law" had been to Paul or to the Palestinian nationalists within the church. Such essential principles as the universalism of the gospel—an idea of Jesus which Paul had the honour of being the first to enunciate and urge—the abolition of national distinctions, the supremacy of Jesus as a revelation of God,—these and the like passed into the average consciousness of Christianity. But the deep postulates upon which Paul based his religious psychology failed to win a similar recognition. The conceptions of faith and redemption, the idea of the Christian's union with Christ, the principle of the Spirit, are instances of elements unassimilated by a later age, which even in employing the same language failed to use it with the rich thought and

feeling of the great apostle. It is a complex and important problem, this whole question of the relation between early Christianity and its great figure who was second only to Jesus. To what degree each of the subsequent writings has been influenced by the style and conceptions of Paulinism, how far such influence—when it can be traced—was conscious, or due to the general atmosphere of the age which had absorbed many of the Pauline phrases, how far also such apparent resemblances may be the result of a common pre-Christian consciousness, to what extent Paul can be taken as a fair exponent of average Christianity,—these are among the chief inquiries which fall to be answered before the early Christian development can be historically traced.[1] Especially vital is the question of how far the Pauline epistles can be regarded as representing even the common Christianity of their own period. The loss of any other documents directly springing from that period, and reflecting some of the varied phases of early Christian development during these decades between 30 and 70, is quite irreparable. How different, for example, would be our conception of the Reformation did we merely possess the writings of Luther without a vestige of Zwingli, Carlstadt, Melanchthon, Hutten, or Erasmus! But in any case there was nothing in the development of post-Pauline Christianity which exactly corresponded to the revival by which Isaiah's ideas were carried forward to a central and dominant place in the Deuteronomic phase, after the bitter reaction which followed the great prophet's death. The heroic spirit of Paulinism[2] met with no reaction and no revival—inside the limits covered by the NT literature.

[1] A recent editor of the *Book of Jubilees* (W. Singer, 1898) has actually assigned it to the years 58–60 A.D., treating it as a Pharisaic manifesto against the lax method of Pauline Christianity with reference to the law, and as a sharp recall to the exclusiveness and rigidity from which many were being seduced. Similarly, Headlam, *DB*, ii. 791. Feine (*Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus*, 1899) tries to show that Hellenistic Judaism only influenced Paul after his conversion, and that the apostle's pre-Christian consciousness was rigidly Pharisaic, but already superior to the position of the original apostles relatively to the law.

[2] See Dr. Denney's finely sympathetic paragraphs in *ExGT*, ii. pp. 572–575, and Harnack's recent appreciation in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), pp. 110–118.

The rest of that literature may be said to lie in the wake of Paulinism, but only in the qualified sense already noted. None of the writings can be described as directly derivative from it.[1]

(*b*) A cognate reflection, arising from what has been already urged, is that the printed order of the writings must not be hastily identified with a dogmatic or religious progress. For example, the chronological arrangement is not a diplomatic attempt to exaggerate, by a sort of revived Marcionitism, the value of Paul's epistles, or to displace the gospels from their premier position as Christian sources. The connection between the Pauline letters and the gospels is too delicate a problem to be solved on purely chronological presuppositions. How far the facts and sayings in the synoptics have been affected[2] by the statements of the epistles or the influence which they exerted, is a question which really lies outside the province of the present attempt. Bias against such a theory or in favour of it, does not enter into one's commission. Here documents are treated as documents. The scientific study of the NT must begin—wherever it may finish—with the serious and thorough estimate of its extant records, and it is exclusively for the sake of this that the present arrangement has been compiled. To call attention to the facts—which in this case include the literary priority of the Pauline epistles—is the sole business of literary chronology. An

[1] There is a growing disposition in the best criticism of to-day to discount either anti- or pro-Pauline tendencies even in the synoptic gospels. By the time that these came to be written it is probable that the nascent catholicism of the early churches formed a prevailing atmosphere in which the earlier Paulinism only survived as one of several elements. Besides, a number of ideas and expressions may have been the common possession of early Christianity previous to 60 A.D., though from the accident of their preservation solely in the Pauline letters we dub them specifically "Pauline."

[2] Tendency-criticism, as I have already said, is a detected idol; but so is the literalism which would read the NT out of all connection with its period. Beyond dispute, the whole meaning of historical criticism implies the existence of such forces and feelings as those which the older critics of the Tübingen school shaped into too rigid a mould. Their main error lay in neglecting personalities for ideas, and in ascribing to deliberate volition what was for the most part either the unconscious effect of prepossession, or the outcome of popular prejudice shared by a large body of the early Christians.

estimate of that priority, in its bearings and limitations, belongs to other methods of research, and to another province of inquiry. As regards the idea of a logical progress of development, the Pauline epistles illustrate again the truth of that inevitable and familiar axiom, that succession does not necessarily coincide with a progressive or a retrograde series. Priority is not equivalent to superiority. The NT presents no graduated scale upwards or downwards. Development, here as well as elsewhere, is not synonymous with ordered and orderly advance on every side. While the Pauline letters apparently give the keynote to the whole, in reality the subsequent literature indicates a wealth of thought and experience which can be construed neither as an expansion of Paul's original conceptions nor as a declension from them. The same is true of the other groups. Further, the printed order is apt again to hide the fact that phases of thought may have been for some time in existence before any expression of them occurs in literature. The synoptic gospels and the fourth gospel are instances in point. That one book is dated some years after another does not prove the greater maturity of the former. Nor—to take an opposite illusion—does the religious authority of writings in the NT vary absolutely with their proximity to the third and fourth decades of the first century. It is often difficult to conjecture why one book came to be written so early as it was actually written, difficult also to imagine how another was not composed at a much earlier period. Metaphors are notoriously unsafe ; but one is tempted to compare the cognate writings of the NT not so much to the locks of a canal, or to the waves of a flowing tide, as to the various branches of a delta. To speak without figure, it is risky to base judgments of development and maturity upon arguments which are mainly drawn from chronological appearances. Affinities of thought and feeling do not necessarily accompany chronological proximity. Writings that belong to the same school of experience and reflection may be separated by years, even by whole decades, from one another ; while, given conflicting interests and a scattered area, a single epoch will often produce works of

quite a divergent spirit, reactionary as well as progressive. One of the most salutary items to be remembered in this connection is that the Apocalypse, Acts, and the epistle of Clem. Rom. are substantially contemporaneous documents; which is almost as significant as the fact that in the OT literature, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah, with their deviating ideas and conceptions, represent what are practically contemporaneous phases of Jewish religious development.

(*c*) Finally, the form of such an edition as this might convey the impression that the letters of Paul were the literary pioneers of Christianity—as though, like Coleridge's mariners, they were—

> "The first that ever burst
> Into that silent sea."

Undoubtedly their value is capital. For all intents and purposes these letters give what is practically the earliest and most adequate expression of the new faith as it shaped itself in the mind of many during the first generation. But, as has been already remarked, the precise relation of Paulinism to contemporary Christianity is another of those questions in the discussion of which a chronological arrangement of the literature fails to supply a complete answer by itself, and indeed may prove somewhat misleading. Two facts have to be borne in mind. (i.) While the Pauline epistles were the first and incomparably the finest, they were not the sole literary products between 30 and 60 A.D. These years cannot have been altogether a "silent sea." To say nothing of apocalyptic fragments and early Christian songs, there are indications that, although hardly any definite traces have been preserved, letters must have been gradually employed during this period as a means of strengthening Christian intercourse and intelligence. Evidence for this is to be found, *e.g.*, in allusions to ἐπιστολαί συστατικαί (2 Co 3^{1}), letters of commendation or introduction, as a feature of church-life (Ac 18^{27}) which Paul found in existence.[1] This primitive Christian literature

[1] A specimen is preserved in Ro 16^{1-20} (cp. below). For an interesting Jewish instance of the practice, cp. the epistles of credit and authority given by the

was, like the primitive ceramic art of Hellas, comparatively private. Upon vases intended for the household's use, painting first lavished its grace and skill; and in letters for the quieter purposes of intercourse,[1] the literary spirit was employed by Christians before the aim and scope of it became enlarged. In the nature of things, the use of epistles, taken over from the habits of Judaism, and especially Alexandrian Judaism (*e.g.* Jer $29^{1.\ 25.\ 31}$, epp. of Jerem. and Baruch, also 2 Mac $1^{1.\ 10}$),[2] preceded evangelic narratives. The former were occasional and immediate in character, the latter—λόγια, διηγήσεις, ἀπομνημονεύματα—imply a rather more advanced epoch, when the early advent of Jesus was no longer a momentary expectation, and his life had come into greater importance and prominence. Nevertheless, by 60 A.D. at least, such notes and collections may have begun to exist in rough form. The current was at any rate setting unmistakably in that direction. Possibly, during the time of Paul's later literary activity, written evangelic narratives were in existence here and there, especially within the primitive Palestinian churches. The primary need for these is to be found in the fact that a new generation was rising, dependent for their acquaintance with the history of Jesus upon a fast-diminishing company of eye-witnesses, in the rapid extension of the Christian communities, and even in the mission activities of the Palestinian disciples. To these impulses there must also be added another which sprang from them before long, namely, the need of

Jewish leaders in Jerusalem to Paul (Ac 9^{2} 22^{5}). The term "epistle," however, is as inadequate to express the contents of writings like Romans and Ephesians, as is "satire" when applied to the poems of Lucilius or Juvenal.

[1] On the desire for instruction, at a later epoch, cp. Polyk. *ad Phil.* iii. 2, xiii. 1, 2. Up to the close of the canon the epistle retains its place as a means of enforcing discipline (3 Jn), and of conveying religious instruction (Jud 3). Cp. Batiffol, *Anciennes Litt. Chrétiennes*, "La Littératur Grecque," pp. 1–24, and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 190–252.

[2] *E.g.* Ac 28^{21}, ἡμεῖς οὔτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. The Christian use in Ac 15, 16^{4}; Clem. Rom. lxiii. The famous epistle of Aristeas to Philokrates has been called "a predecessor, in form, of the larger NT epistles." On the other hand, the original literary form introduced by Christianity was the gospel.

translating the tradition from the original Aramaic vernacular into Greek. That attempts must have been made to meet such requirements is inherently probable (Blass, *PG*, pp. 21–24; Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels*, pp. 1–31). It is also corroborated by the surviving gospels. Even the earliest of these leaves no impression of tentativeness on the mind; there is nothing of that comparative lack of precision and definite outlines which is often felt in the pioneers of any department in literature. They represent the midsummer, not the spring, of their literary cycle. The subject had been already—perhaps often—handled, even before Mark's gospel took its present shape; although these earlier narratives, like the sources and authorities of Tacitus in the *Annales*, have disappeared. Luke's preface proves that our first three gospels are "first" for us, not absolutely "first." They were the best, not the only narratives. It is still far from being probable that the literature, of which they are the survivors, and which they seem to have speedily antiquated, could have existed as far back as the sixth decade; nevertheless, upon any reasonable criticism of the synoptists, their sources and substance must have partially existed in written form by the opening of the seventh decade. "Mox etiam libros de Jesu compositos esse puto, vel in eosdem usus vel Theophilis (qui profecto multi fuerunt) destinatos, ut intra viginti fere annos a Christi excessu jam copia quaedam talium librorum exstaret. Erat enim aetas illa litterarum plena, novaque religio minime intra illiteratam plebem manebat."[1] This is probably to push matters too far back. But there is evidence sufficient

[1] Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, p. 5), who recently has argued for the composition even of Luke's gospel (!) before 60, and of written narratives before 50 A.D. (*vide* his editions of "Acts" and "Luke," *PG*, pp. 31, 33–52, and article in *Exp. Ti.* vii. 565). Dr. Sanday (*Bampton Lect.* p. 283) and Professor Bruce (*ExGT*, i. 24, 25) seem inclined to agree that the great central portion of the tradition in the synoptic gospels existed in some fixed shape before the fall of Jerusalem. "Die Evangelien gehören ihrem wesentlichen Inhalte nach noch der ersten, jüdischen Epoche des Christenthums an, jener kurzen Epoche, die wir als die palaeontologische bezeichnen können," Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), p. 14).

to prove that during the Pauline period early Christianity had produced sporadic forms of epistolary literature, and at least the embryonic phases of what subsequently came to be wrought up into evangelic narratives. (ii.) Together with this feature, another must be reckoned. About twenty years elapsed between the crucifixion and the earliest of Paul's epistles. During this time, and even previous to his conversion, a Christian life was active, which did not owe its origin to him. He found churches in existence when he became a Christian, and alongside of his activity other agents worked more or less independently of his principles. These factors, and others like them, have to be taken into account in forming an adequate estimate of the period between 30 and 70. The accident that only Paul's theology survived in literary products, and that the minor contemporary currents failed to win any equal or at least immediate record, ought not to be allowed to distort the historical view into an undue exaggeration or depreciation. This is one of those cases where again it must be said that the written expression of an age needs to be corrected and supplemented by the recollection that the real importance of any movement is not to be adequately measured by the literary memorials which it afterwards secured. Before and through and round the Pauline letters, the mind's eye has to see much that cannot be set down in black and white.[1]

Facts like these bring out very forcibly the introductory and limited character of a chronological edition. To know the birthday of a book, as Dr. Martineau insists, is still a long way from a settlement of its parentage. A longer way,

[1] On the relation of Paul's theology to the teaching of Jesus, there are very fine essays by Wendt (*ZThK* (1894), pp. 1–78) and Gloatz (*SK* (1895), 777–800). Generally speaking, we may say that in investigating the facts and beliefs that lie between 30 and 45 (or even 65), we are peering through a haze which renders their outline uncertain at many points, and occasionally prevents us from being sure whether we are viewing a given object in its true proportions, or whether indeed it is not an unsubstantial illusion. No contemporary documents exist. The main guide is inference based on later writings and developments, from which the historical imagination argues back with more or less penetration to the course of anterior events.

one might add, from decisive conclusions upon its value and trustworthiness. Certainty on the date does not win everything at once. The supreme adjective for chronology is "preliminary," and few will be so hasty as to imagine that, even were the question of dates more settled than it is at present, a corresponding assurance would have been thereby attained with regard to the historical contents and connections of the records. Their historicity and inner relations are always further problems, although it is upon these more than once that the question of the date partially depends. Consequently, while it is possible to tabulate luminously and honestly what seem to be results of thorough criticism—though provisional, they need not be indefinite—the attempt must be prefaced by the reminder that they do not form the whole, seldom even the major part, of the critical business. Beyond them lie the burning questions.[1]

For the most part a similarly provisional character attaches even to the "date" of a document. That also has to be taken in a somewhat loose sense. Usually it is equivalent to a *circa* of one or two years, occasionally to a larger period, during which the writing is first known to have been in circulation.[2] Only in a few cases, like those of the Thessalonian and Corinthian letters, can the exact year, and even the month, be determined.[3] The fact is, a consensus of opinion is to be

[1] At the same time, exception must be taken to the unqualified remark that "the doctrinal contents of an epistle may be correctly and adequately exhibited, whatever view be held respecting its author or its date" (Stevens, *NTTh*, p. 248). Surely, *e.g.*, the epistle of James is one thing in the pre-Pauline period, and a very different thing in the post-Pauline. 1 Peter becomes in the seventh decade a writing of such spirit and significance as are considerably altered when it is taken some twenty or sixty years later. Change the locus of an epistle, adopt one view or another of its authorship, and the lights inevitably shift. In fact, the more accurately a writing is understood in connection with its age, the more vital to its interpretation are the problems of authorship and date. They seldom become altogether accessory or subordinate, nor are they in any case quite a matter of indifference either to the interpreter, or to any one who endeavours to use such a document carefully in his reconstruction of early Christianity.

[2] The later ecclesiastical term δεδημοσιευμέναι γραφαί (Origen) suggests mainly the public reading of the writings in church (=*publicari*).

[3] In dating the OT writings upon a similar scheme, the dialects and idioms of Hebrew are of large service (cp. Margoliouth, *DB*, iii. p. 33 f). A change in

gathered from the conflicting special investigations of scholarship only by some such self-denying ordinance of abstinence from *minutiae*. Fortunately, for most practical purposes it is not necessary to go further into details. As a rule the relative date of a writing is sufficient, *i.e.* its place in the general scheme before or after certain other books, previous or subsequent to some fixed point in history. More than this often cannot and need not be demanded. In NT criticism, as emphatically as elsewhere, the Aristotelian canon holds: Be content with attaining so much precision and accuracy as the nature of the subject in hand allows. Generally, with the exception to which I have referred, it is a matter of small moment to know the exact month or even year in which a writing was composed, and the mere passion for a date, as for a theological label to a writing, is easily carried over the bounds of healthy scholarship. Beyond a certain point, absorption in such *minutiae* becomes a distraction. It is not impossible—witness certain lines of hypercriticism—to neglect the cedar of Lebanon through the amount of wasteful attention paid to the hyssop on the wall. The balance needs to be more correctly struck in many cases. In fact the purposes of interpretation are excellently served, as a rule, by assigning to the various writings of the NT and their dates a range which refuses to be unduly precise, and is content for the most part with ascertaining their relative order. One might almost declare with Dr. Bosanquet, that

vocabulary and syntax can be felt as one passes, *e.g.*, from the older narratives of Sam-Kings to Deutero-Isaiah and the memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah; similarly, to the criticism of writings like Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Esther, the linguistic evidence of Aramaisms proves at many points invaluable. Unfortunately this aid of language fails in the criticism of the NT almost entirely. Differences can be traced between the Greek of one writing and another, but the scale of the literature is too confined and the time too brief for such idiosyncrasies to afford reliable data towards determining the chronology of the writings. Hellenistic Greek, as employed in the NT, does not fall into periods. Its varied elements help to differentiate one group of writings from another; but Latinisms or Hebraisms seldom if ever yield any sure materials for fixing or even verifying the relative position of this book and that. The principle upon which stylistic features can be safely used as a criterion for the date or grouping of a writer's various compositions, are stated carefully by Zeller, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, neue Folge, iv. 1. pp. 1–12, "Sprachstatistisches."

occasionally it is something at least "to know when they were not written."[1]

Just as these limitations do not interfere with the genuine advantage and aim of a chronological order, neither is that order disqualified by the fact that the grounds upon which it rests are partially tentative. To some extent, it is true, criticism has cleared the area of debate and sensibly reduced the more extravagant theories. There are signs that the trouble of the documents at least is abating. But this does not apply to every point or side of the question. To write with anything like justice and accuracy upon the criticism of the NT, even in regard to the dates of its literature, one is often obliged to employ a staccato and chilling repetition[2] of "perhaps" and "probably"; while to take any line of one's own means opposition here and there to a more or less weighty body of critics. Several of the writings still abide our question. Indeed, in almost every department of research upon the beliefs and customs of the early Christian age, gaps are discovered, points between which no connection is easily visible, intermediate stages that must have once existed and cannot now be reconstructed with sureness, blanks in the course and sweep of life which only the historical imagination can be relied on to fill up. All this affects the arrangement of the literature. Such employment of surmise and hypo-

[1] "How to read the New Testament," *Essays and Addresses* (1891), p. 159. Cp. Rainy, *The Bible and Criticism*, pp. 14–23. Some of the more recent movements in criticism are occasionally described as a "retreat from the second century"; but this phrase needs considerable qualification, and certainly does not support the vague impression which seems to prevail in some circles, that to assign a document to the second century is to stamp it as second-rate. Such an idea is an unhistorical misapprehension. No evidence exists to prove that about the year 100 A.D. a night of unclean and inferior things descended upon early Christianity, when the "good things of the day" began "to droop and drowse."

[2] Though this is often practised to quite a needless extent. It is useless to follow the first part of Cicero's well-known maxim for the historian—ne quid falsi dicere audeat—without adding courage to caution and proceeding—deinde ne quid veri non audeat. Much more is definite in NT criticism than is commonly allowed, and the affectation of reticence and hesitation is due as often to intellectual looseness or incapacity, as to a proper desire to be scrupulously fair and accurate in judgment.

thesis puts the literary problems on conjectural ground; it forbids robust and unambiguous statements, and frequently makes any approach to unanimity impossible. Still, this is a risk that has to be taken and will have to be taken with any arrangement and at any time. Besides, it must be added, recent movements in NT criticism have made such an attempt at a chronological order much more feasible than has hitherto been the case, by clearing up one or two difficulties to the verge of actual probability. The days are past when the beginning of knowledge in many quarters seems to have been contempt for Eusebius and his authorities. Tradition is being wonderfully, though far from entirely, rehabilitated, and that implies a wider province of common agreement[1] upon the individual and relative positions of the NT writings. This is true even when one hesitates to accept *in toto* Harnack's seductive and exuberant vindication of tradition,[2] or the particular theories which he applies to the NT writings. There can be no doubt that by this critical tendency, of which his famous

[1] From the standpoint of an intelligent and dispassionate outsider, the late Mr. G. J. Romanes was on the whole justified in claiming that the outcome of the great battle upon the Christian texts had been, "impartially considered, a signal victory for Christianity." As he pointed out, "prior to the new [biblical] science, there was really no rational basis in thoughtful minds either for the date of any one of the NT books, or, consequently, for the historical truth of any one of the events narrated in them. But now all this kind of scepticism has been rendered obsolete" (*Thoughts on Religion* (1895), pp. 155, 156). At the same time, as the Notes and Appendix will show, there are several points at which the need is to follow up tracks of fresh inquiry rather than to halt in any final conclusions.

[2] In the *Vorrede* to his "Chronologie" (1897). It is unnecessary to quote the well-known sentences, particularly as their foundation has been rather shaken by the subsequent discovery of compositions like the Coptic "Acts of Paul" (cp. Dr. Schmidt, the editor, in *ThLz* (1898), 316, and Harnack himself, *ibid.* (1897), 629). That a work of this kind should be accepted by sub-apostolic tradition does not tend to increase one's confidence in that tradition, and certainly warrants any cautious investigator in refusing to accept statements simply because they are current in the church by the time of Irenaeus. Tradition, as an accurate channel for the transmission of genuinely canonical literature, does not deserve the blank certificate which Harnack seems or seemed inclined to award it. Further, the standpoint of his scheme with regard to the NT literature cannot be said to be exactly representative, nor does it afford any adequate grounds for the belief that it implies a conservative reaction in NT criticism.

volume is one of the most outspoken representatives, the outlines of the NT literary order have been brought into greater distinctness, and now approximate more nearly to finality. The limits within which doubt and guess are tenable have been sensibly contracted; and in this way an attempt like the present cannot be pronounced either premature or illegitimate, although several of its problems still remain complex and unmapped. Of the individual documents, the majority bear so plainly the date and character of their origin, that there is little risk of an uncertain answer to the question, "Whose image and superscription is this?" It is only the minority that resemble defaced coins upon which the marks of place and time either have turned illegible or else have never been cut at all. In the order adopted in the present edition, were Ephesians and 1 Peter put (say) ten or twenty years later, Acts brought down nearer to the opening of the second century than I have been able at present to place it, and Matthew (Luke?) similarly thrown back, these slight changes would be almost sufficient to represent an arrangement of the NT literature upon which a large body of liberal criticism at the present day is agreed with practical unanimity.

The prospects of such a healthy state of matters in NT criticism depend, however, upon the straightforward rejection of any *eirenicon* like that which is occasionally offered in this country by some influential writers (*e.g.* Gore, *Lux Mundi*,[10] pp. xvii f., xxix f., 240 f., 258 f., etc.; and Driver, *Introd. Lit. OT*,[2] p. xvii f.), who, conceding the rights of criticism within the province of the OT, decline to admit the legitimacy of similar historical research in the NT literature, upon the ground either that the latter collection possesses certain qualities of finality and authority which exempt it from being judged by the canons of ordinary treatment, or that it was "produced under very different historical conditions." This rôle of the theological Canute is due to excellent motives; but it must be pronounced not merely indefensible but injurious to the best interests of faith and truth. The compromise rests on a misapprehension, and is as unnecessary as

it is illegitimate.[1] It has no basis in the facts which come under discussion. The condition of early Christianity in the first and second centuries, it is true, was such as to render the limits within which tradition could be modified considerably less than in the older Semitic literature. In the latter we often deal with centuries where in the former the unit is a decade. Besides, the contexture and vitality of the early Christian communities naturally made testimony upon the whole less ambiguous and remote than in the long spaces of Hebrew development. But the comparative brevity of this period and its internal excellence do not imply that its record must *ipso facto* be strictly historical, nor do they absolutely preclude the activity of such influences as elsewhere modify, develop, and transmute existing traditions under recognised tendencies of human life. As any tyro in NT criticism is aware, during the period between 30 and 130 A.D. such influences were particularly keen, owing to the mental atmosphere of the time and the religious ferment excited by the new faith. Between the quality of the testimony in the OT and that of the NT the difference is patent and material; still it is a difference not of kind but of degree. The principles and standards of historical proof are the same, whatever literature be the subject of inquiry, although the scale of application naturally varies in proportion to the character of the materials. Early Christianity does not indeed require the same elaborateness or methods of literary science as are demanded by the condition in which the OT documents have reached the modern scholar; but unless the character of the first and second centuries A.D. be estimated by historical methods, in as thorough and free a spirit as the age of Samuel or Isaiah, it will continue to remain a province for arbitrary guess-work, and to present the average reader with a series of writings whose sense and connection lie at the

[1] Hort, as usual, occupies the correct standpoint (*Hulsean Lectures*, 1894, pp. 175, 176): "No line is possible between what has come to men, and their interpretation of what has come to them. . . . The words and facts of gospel history and of apostolic history, as historical and literary phenomena, demand to be subjected to historical and literary criticism."

mercy of dogmatic or devotional fantasy. Similarly, to hold that the religion enshrined in the NT is final in substance and supreme in quality, does not require its adherents to rail off that literature nervously and sharply as *ex hypothesi* a sacred enclosure, nor have those who do so the right of assuming that this is an essential or permanent position. Unique contents do not imply unique setting, any more than piety of character carries with it physical, moral, or mental perfection. *Ἔχομεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν.* The historicity of the tradition embodied in the NT literature is far too solid to require privileged treatment or to need exaggerated claims on its behalf. Indeed, its excellence becomes visible and intelligible only as the forms in which it has been preserved are allowed to pass the test imposed by the ordinary canons of historical and literary science when these are fairly applied; any attempt to preclude this analysis as irrelevant or dangerous must be firmly set aside. Such attempts read more or less into the literature: they do not read it for itself. A concern to establish the historicity and continuity of the faith is praiseworthy; but when it assumes the advocate's garb and intrudes upon the study of early Christian literature, it is apt to bring a leprosy of incompetence which taints even work that is professedly written upon critical principles (cp. *ICC*, "Romans," p. xli, "Luke," p. v). For the historical student of that literature it is safer to assume that the categories of the three great C.'s do not exist. His work is merely with the presuppositions and embryonic phases of church and creed and canon, nor can even the first of these be postulated by him except in a most modified and unmodern sense. As the facts that lead to these emerge, his task draws to a close. To drag them back into the fabric of that early age is not merely to naïvely beg the whole question at issue, but to court anachronisms and solecisms on every side, and to conclude with results which are almost as pathetic and incongruous as those produced by Voltaire's application of the French "unities" to the Shakespearian drama.

It is by steering clear of such errors that liberal criticism

is alone able to reach a position in regard to the NT literature which satisfies the interests alike of faith and scholarship. In pursuance of this course, the following edition has been arranged. On a first glance, probably, the impression left by it may be disconcerting and chaotic, a bewildering sense of eddies and currents running vaguely through those early years; but this feeling of discomposure is inevitable in the nature of the case. It proceeds not merely from the contrast and familiarity of the canonical order, but also from the fact that the real connection of the writings, as well as the historical movement in which they appeared, both lie below the surface and must be made out from a study and comparison of the records. Besides, literature is like the life of which it forms one expression: neither is apt to be symmetrical. History seldom moves in the rhythm of dialectic, and it is not customary for vitality of belief and action to show itself in a neat elaborated series of pamphlets and discussions. The real growth of such an age as that of early Christianity is to be sought in the confusing and apparently conflicting phases of energy, belief, and morals, whose very richness surges up in records like the NT documents, diverse and scattered. These in their irregular sequence are simply the proof of a wealthy and developing genius in the religion they delineate, a religion which was not less heterogeneous than the Judaism out of which it rose.

As the initial feeling of awkwardness passes, however, it is hoped that some clearer insight into the NT will accrue from the use of this edition along with the canonical order. The alteration of the conventional focus should be justified by such gains as a more genuine and tenable impression of the unity within the NT, and of its advance in institutions, ethics, and ideas, a sense of the larger sky behind the church, a vista of the variations and discrepancies within the apostolic consciousness, decreased liability to error in some lines of research and interpretation, a truer orientation of the documents, and the new mental possession (afforded by print) of some conclusions in regard to the NT which have already commended themselves by their own sense and force. It is

for results like these that one looks in this genetic order of the literature as it lies beside the history. Even if in outward form the arrangement seems rather an unshapely mass, like the body of Oedipus, "not goodly to the sight" (*οὐ σπουδαῖον εἰς ὄψιν*), perhaps it may be added ultimately of the one as of the other in point of practical effectiveness, "but the gains from it are better than beauty" (*τὰ δὲ κέρδη παρ' αὐτοῦ κρείσσον' ἢ μορφὴ καλή*).

HISTORICAL TABLES

Chronology enters into the important parts of history as one of the main conditions under which history itself is intelligible, or under which history makes other things intelligible for any profitable purpose. Chronology either combines with the facts of history, so as to create them into a new life, and to impress upon them a moral meaning, such as nakedly and separately those facts would not possess; or else forms a machinery for recalling and facilitating the memorial conquest of historical facts in their orderly succession.—**De Quincey.**

It is impossible to separate the religious phenomena from the other phenomena, in the same way that you can separate a vein of silver from the rock in which it is embedded. They are as much determined by the general characteristics of the race as the fauna and flora of a geographical area are determined by its soil, its climate, and its cultivation. They are separable from the whole mass of phenomena not in fact, but only in thought. We may concentrate our attention chiefly upon them, but they still remain part of the whole complex life of the time, and they cannot be understood except in relation to that life.—**Hatch.**

In Sprache und in Ausdrucksweise, in Cultur und Sitte, im Denken und Empfinden, weisen die Schriften über sich hinaus und verlangen zu ihrer vollen Würdigung und zu ihrem rechten Verständnis die Heranziehung und Vergleichung des Culturbodens, auf dem sie entstanden sind, der grossen geistigen Bewegung, die in der Periode nach dem Zusammenbruch von Alexanders grossen Plänen als die geistige Frucht seines Wirkens heranwuchs. Wer darum das neue Testament fördern will, darf an den Zeugen der geistigen Cultur jener Jahrhunderte nicht vorübergehen. Jedoch bedarf das Bild auch nach einer andern Seite hin noch der Vervollkommnung. Um einer historischen Grösse völlig gerecht zu werden, ist es notwendig, sie nicht nur in ihren Voraussetzungen zu studieren, sondern auch in ihren Folgen zu begreifen. So wird es notwendig sein, auch die Frage zu erwägen, was sich aus der folgenden Entwicklung der christlichen Zeit für ihre Anfänge lernen lässt.—**Preuschen.**

TABLE I.—180 B.C.–30 A.D.

Die Aufgabe der biblischen Theologie des Alten Testaments hat zu schildern, wie aus der Religion Israels in Folge der Predigt der Propheten und der eigentümlichen Geschichte dieses Volkes sich das Judentum bildet, und die Entwicklung dieses zum Auftreten Jesu klar zu legen. Ja soll die Darstellung einen Ruhepunkt finden, so wird als Abschluss der ganzen Entwicklung die Predigt Jesu in kurzen Umrissen zu geben sein. In dieser finden alle die Fragen ihre Beantwortung, mit denen sonst die Darstellung in unbefriedigendster Weise schliessen müsste. Wer das religiöse Leben des Judentums in der neutestamentlichen Zeit in erschöpfender Weise zeichnen will, hat so notwendig die Predigt Jesu in die Gesammtdarstellung einzuzeichnen, wie derjenige, welcher die Predigt Jesu deutlich zeichnen will, jenes als des Hintergrundes bedarf. Für die theologisches Betrachtung ist die Predigt Jesu so gut die Schlussstein der alttestamentlichen Entwicklung, wie der Ausgangspunkt für die biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments, für die Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte.—**Stade.**

There was in the world much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite abundance of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, and least of all true delight in life. It was indeed an old world; and even the richly-gifted patriotism of Caesar could not make it young again. The dawn does not return till after the night has fully set in and run its course. But yet with him there came to the sorely harassed peoples on the Mediterranean a tolerable evening after the sultry noon.—**Mommsen.**

It is a mistake to think that ages of transition, like that immediately preceding the appearance of Christianity, are simply times of decay and disintegration, when all spiritual and religious life is completely moribund. . . . Where an old system decays we may be sure it is because the new truth which is to succeed it is already there; the old would not decay if the new had not arrived, be it but in germ, and been long labouring to undermine and eat away the existing structure.—**Baur.**

TABLE I.—

	Rome.		Judaea.
B.C. 180		Death of Hannibal, 183.	Antiochus Epiphanes } 175–160. Desecration of The Maccabees } the Temple, 168.
	Istrian war, 178–177.		
	Romans at war in Greece, 170–146.	Battle of Pydna, 168.	Judas Macc. recovers Jerusalem. Restoration of Temple-worship, 165.
	Third Punic war, 149–145.	Sack of Corinth, 146. Achaia, Rom. prov.	Judas Macc. alliance with Rome, 160 *c.*
	Numantine war, 143–133.	Letters from Rome to East in favour of Jews, 138–137.	Jewish overtures to Rome. Judaea independent, 143.
			The Asmoneans, 135–63. John Hyrcanus, 135–105.
	The Gracchi, 164–121.	Servile War in Sicily, 134–132.	Pharisees. Sadducees.
	Sempronian laws, 133–123.		
	Death of Scipio, 129.	Transalpine wars.	League with Rome, 128. Subjugation of Idumaea and Samaria.
120	Marius, 155–86.	Gallia Narbonensis, Rom. prov.	Growth of Nabatean kingdom.
	Sulla, 138–78.		Essenes. Revival of Hellenism.
	Sumptuary laws, 115.	Jugurthan war, 111–106. Numidia, Rom. prov. 106.	Aristobulus I., 105–104. Alex. Jannaeus, 104–79.
	Marius defeats Teutons and Cimbri, 102–101.	Cilicia, Rom. prov. 102.	Egyptian invasion of Palestine. Tyranny and defeat of Pharisees.
	Schools of oratory in Rome, 98.	Sec. Servile war, 103–101.	
	Social war, 90–88.	Exile of Marius, 88–86.	Triumph of Jannaeus at Jerusalem, 82.
	Athens captured by Sulla, 86.		Salome, 79–69. Pharisaic reaction, 78 f. Strife of parties.
	Sertorius in Spain, 83–72.	Sulla in Rome, 82–79. Cicero in East, 79–78.	Birth of Hillel, 75. Birth of Herod the Great, 72.
	Spartacus and Mithridates conquered, 73–71.		National education established, 70. Aristobulus II., 69–63.
	Pompey, 106–49. Cicero, 106–43.	Lucullus in East.	Nabatean invasion.
	Pompey in the East.	Syria, Rom. prov. 65.	Pompey in Jerusalem; siege and capture, 63.
	Catiline's conspiracy, 65–63.		
	Clodius, 62–61.		
	Oriental religions and Jews in Rome.		
60	**Caesar,** 100–44.	First triumvirate, 60.	Hyrcanus II., 63–40. Insurrection.
	in Gaul, 58–51.	Cyprus, Rom. prov. 57.	Revolts of Aristobulus, *c.* 56.
	in Britain, 55–54.	Gaul, Rom. prov. 50. Caesar in Civil war.	Crassus plunders the Temple, 54. Antipater, procurator of Judaea, 47.
	Reform of Calendar, 46.	Suicide of Cato at Utica.	Syria, 47. M. Antonius in Syria, 42. Antigonus, 40–37; with aid of Parthians.
	Cleopatra, 69–30.		
	Parthian wars.	Second triumvirate, 43.	The Idumeans.
	Agrippa crosses Rhine, 37.	Battle of Philippi, 42. Battle of Actium, 31.	**Herod the Great, King of Judaea,** 37–4; with aid of Romans.
	Death of Cleopatra, 30.	Egypt, Rom. prov. 30.	Hillel in Jerusalem, 36.
	Octavian supreme.		Attack on Sanhedrin. Rise of Herodians, 28.
	Augustus, 30 B.C.–(19 August) 14 A.D.	Pantheon built in Rome, 27.	Samaria rebuilt, 27 (?). Hellenizing of Judaea. Theatre built in Jerusalem.
	Gates of Janus closed, 29, 25.		Famine and plague, 25–23.
	Augustus in Gaul and Syria, 27–24.	Galatia, Rom. prov. 25. Campaign against Ethiopians, 24–22.	Caesarea built, 22–10 B.C. Enlargement of Herod's territory.
	Social reforms, *c.* 21.	Visit of Augustus to Syria, 20.	
	Augustus in East, 21–19.	Conquest of Spain.	Temple rebuilt, 20 f.
	Secular games, 17.	German wars.	Intrigues in Herodian family, 14 f.
	Tiberius exiled in Rhodes, 6 B.C.–2 A.D.	Birth of Seneca, 7.	**Birth of Jesus,** 6 B.C. ±. Popular revolt under Rabbis Judas and Matthias, 4 B.C.
A.D.		Campaigns in Pannonia and Dalmatia, 6–9. Quirinius governor of	Herod Antipas, tetrarch, 4–39 A.D. Anarchy.
	Tiberius, 14–(16 March) 37.	Rebellion of Arminius, 9–19.	Syria: the census, 6–7. Judas the Galilean.
	Musulamian war, 17–24.	Germanicus, 14–19. Jews banished	Annas, h-priest, 6–15. Revolt } of Zealots. Defeat }
	Sejanus, (fl. 23–31).		Caiaphas, h-priest, 18–36.
	Drusus poisoned, 23.	Pontius Pilate,	from Rome, 19.
		War in Thrace, 25–26.	Mission of John the Baptizer, 25–26.
	Tiberius at Capreae, 26–37.		procurator, 26–36. Insurrection. Tiberias built.
			Baptism of Jesus, 27 *c.* Death of John, 28.
			Crucifixion of Jesus, 29.

180 B.C.–30 A.D.

Jewish Literature.		Greek and Latin Literature.	
Ur-Ecclus. (Heb.), 180.	Maccab. psalms.	Diogenes, *c.* 200.	Porcius Cato, 234–149.
Enoch (cpp. 1–36), before 170.		Apollonius of Rhodes, 181.	Plautus, –184.
Prayer of Manasseh.		Carneades (phil.), 213–129.	**Q. Ennius,** 169.
Eupolemus (hist.)		**Polybius,** 204–122.	Caecil. Statius (comed.), d. 168.
Aristobulus (phil.), 170–150.	**Book of Daniel,** 165.	Nicander, *c.* 160.	Terence, 184–159. "Phormio," "Eunuchus," 162.
Jason of Cyrene.	Greek transl. Daniel, by 150.	Aristarchus, fl. 156 (gramm.).	L. Titinnius (com.).
Sibyllines, bk. iii. (97–817), 140 *c.*	"Esther," 150–130.	Moschus, 154 *c.*	M. Brutus, "De jure civili."
Book of Judith, 130–105.	Psalter complete, 141.	Hipparchus (astron.), 160–145 fl.	Sempronius Asellio (hist.).
Enoch (cpp. 83–90).		Panaetius (phil.), 150–120 fl.	M. Pacuvius, –129.
Wisd. Seirach (Greek), 130 *c.*	Philo (epic poet)?	Apollodorus of Athens: Χρονικά	**C. Lucilius,** –102.
Cleodemus (Malchus).		Ptolem. Euergetes.	Hostius, "De bello Istrico," 125.
Greek additions to Daniel, before 90.	Theodotus (poet)?		L. Caelius Antipater (hist).
III. Esdras, 170–100.	Ezekiel (dram.)?	Apollonius Molon, *c.* 120 (anti-Semite), Συσκευὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων.	
Artapanus (hist.), –100 (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).		Agatharcides (geog.).	L. Afranius (comed.), *c.* 94.
Chronicles of Hyrcanus.		Clitomachus.	Accius (traged.), –94.
Enoch (cpp. 91–104), between 134 and 95 B.C.		Theodosius (math.).	Sextus Turpilius (comed.).
Aristeas (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων)?		Antipater of Sidon (epigr.).	Q. Mucius Scaevola (lawyer).
I. Maccab., ± 90.		Hero (math.), *c.* 103?	M. Aem. Scaurus (orat.).
Letter of Jeremiah (?).		Posidonius (phil.), 110–50 fl. ("History").	C. Licinius Macer, –66.
Wisd. Solomon, 90, later.		Scymnus (geogr.), *c.* 90.	Q. Hortensius (orat.), 114–50.
Letter of Aristeas (96–63?).		Parthenius (gramm.)	
Enoch (Similitudes, cpp. 37–70), 95–65.	Schimeon ben Schetach.	Greek art and science in Rome, fl. 81.	Valerius Cato (poet), *c.* 80.
II. Maccab. (between 150 and 50) ?	Activity of Scribes.	Diotimus the Stoic, 80 *c.*	Claudius Quadrigarius (hist.), 100–78 fl.
Greek additions to Esther?		Collection of Sibyll. orac., *c.* 75.	Sisenna (hist.).
Alexander Polyhistor, 80–40 (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).			**Lucretius,** 99–55, "De rerum nat.," publ. 56 *c.*
		Meleager (eleg.), 70 *c.*	**Catullus,** 87–54.
		Lysimachus (anti-Semite).	Nigidius Figulus (phil.).
Tobit, before 25.	Pseudo-Phocylides ? ?	Artemidorus (geogr.).	Quintus Cicero.
		Metrodorus.	T. Pomponius Atticus, 109–32.
Psalt. Solomon (part), 63–48.		Menippus. Philodemus.	Dec. Laberius, 107–43.
Book of Jannes and Jambres (?).			**Cicero,** 106–43.
Book of Noah (?).		Castor ("Chronicle").	Caesar.
Apocalypse of Elijah (?).			Sallust, 86–35.
"Two Ways" Catechism (*Did.* i.–vi.) ?		Alexandrinism.	Varro. Hirtius.
Sibyll., bk. iii. (1–62), 40–30.		Didymus of Alexandria.	C. Cornelius Gallus, 66–26.
			M. Junius Brutus.
		Tyrannion (elder), 115–25.	Cornelius Nepos, 99–24.
		Sosigenes (phil.), *c.* 46.	Dellius (hist.). P. Syrus.
	Menachem.	Antipater of Tyre.	L. Varius Rufus, 74–14.
	Hillel, 70 B.C.–6 A.D.	Timagenes (hist.).	**Vergil,** 73–19 ("Aeneid," 29–19).
		Conon (mythographus).	C. Asinius Pollio, 76–4 A.D.
"Commentaries" of King Herod ?	**Shammai.**	Nicolaus Damascenus (hist.), 64–.	Tibullus, –19.
Book of Jubilees, 40–10.			Propertius.
	"Pirke Aboth," 70 B.C.–170 A.D.	Diodorus Siculus (hist.).	**Horace,** –8 ("Odes," i.–iii., 23 B.C.).
Philo born, *c.* 20.		Hypsikrates (hist.).	Aem. Macer.
		Dionysius Halicarn., "Roman Archaeology," 8 B.C.	Vitruvius Pollio (archit.).
			Livy, 59 B.C.–17 A.D.
			Messala, 64 B.C.–9 A.D.
	Targums, nucleus of, 1–200 A.D.	Theodorus of Rhodes (rhet.), B.C. 6–A.D. 2 fl.	Hyginus.
			Juba.
Paul born?		Lesbonax.	Trogus Pompeius.
Assumptio Mosis.		Dionysius Periegetes.	**Ovid,** "Art of Love," 2–1 B.C.; banishment, 9 A.D.
Test. XII. Patriarch. (groundwork?).		Strabo, 54 B.C.–24 A.D. (hist. geogr.).	"Monumentum Ancyranum."
	Ptolemy of Ascalon, "Life of Herod"?		Manilius, "Astronomica."
		Apollonius Sophista, *c.* 20.	L. Fenestella (hist.).
Enoch (Slavonic), 1–50.		Apion, "Egyptian history."	Antonius Musa (med.).
			Celsus (med.).
			Phaedrus.
			Valerius Maximus (hist.).

TABLE II.—30–100 A.D.

The struggle between the Christian principle and Jewish tradition was bound to arise. The new seed sown in that ancient soil could not germinate without rising in it and in places breaking up the rich hard crust. In the books of the NT that have preserved to us the picture of that first and powerful germination, side by side with the principle to which the future belongs, we necessarily find old things that are on the way to death.—**Sabatier.**

The world was then undergoing a moral improvement and an intellectual decline . . . Greece fortunately remained faithful to her genius. The prodigious splendour of Roman power had dazzled and stunned, but not annihilated it. But at this period Greece herself was passing through one of her intervals of lassitude. Genius was scarce, and original science inferior to what it had been in preceding ages, and to what it would be in the following. The space from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan must be classed as a period of temporary degradation for the human intellect. The ancient world had by no means uttered its last word, but the bitter trials through which it was passing took from it both voice and courage. When brighter days return, and genius shall be delivered from the terrible sway of the Caesars, she will take heart again.—**Renan.**

The history of the gospel contains two great transitions, both of which, however, fall within the first century: from Christ to the first generation of believers, including Paul, and from the first, Jewish Christian, generation of these believers to the Gentile Christians; in other words, from Christ to the brotherhood of believers in Christ, and from this to the incipient catholic church. No later transitions in the church can be compared with these in importance.—**Harnack.**

TABLE II.—

A.D.	Rome.		Judaea and the East.	
				Aretas IV. rules Nabataeans (9 B.C.–40 A.D.).
30	Fall of Sejanus, 31.		Death of Stephen : Persecution of Christians in Judaea.	
				Paul a Christian, 30 (31).
	Financial crisis at Rome, 33.		Caiaphas deposed, 36.	Paul in Arabia, -34.
	Caligula, 37–(Jan. 24) 41.	Pilate recalled to Rome.	Herod Agrippa I., king, 37–44.	
		Persecution of Jews	in Alexandria, 38.	Birth of Josephus, $\pm$37.
	in Gaul and Britain, 39–40.	Apion in Rome, 39.	Attempt to place Caligula's statue in Temple.	Earthquakes in Antioch, 37 *f.*
		Philo's embassy to	Rome, 40.	
		Lucan in Rome, 40.	Revival of Pharisaism.	Paul in Syria and Asia Minor, 34–48.
	Claudius, 41–(Oct. 13) 54.		Zealots in Judaea.	
		Seneca in exile, 41–49.	Martyrdom of James the son of Zebedee.	
	Romans in Britain, 43.	Lycia, Rom. prov.	Revolt of Theudas.	Judaism in Adiabenê, *c.* 44.
			Famine, 44 *c.*	
	London founded by Aulus Plautius, 47.	Expulsion of Jews from Rome, 48 (?).	Cumanus, procurator, 48–52.	Paul's first tour.
	Secular games (6th), 47.	S. Britain, Rom. prov.	Revolts in Palestine. Agrippa II., 50–100.	Council at Jerus., 49.
	Nero adopted, 50.	Caractacus defeated, 51.		Paul's second tour, 49–52.
		Felix,	procurator, 52–(59).	Simon Magus.
	Trajan born, 52.	Afranius Burrus, pref. Praetor, 51–62.		
		Pallas, 52–55.	Increasing turbulence.	Josephus among Essenes, 53–56.
	Nero, 54–(June 9) 68.			
	Burrus and Seneca in power, 65.	Parthian and Armenian wars.	Sicarii.	Paul's third tour, 52–56.
	Birth of Tacitus, 55.		Popular tumults.	
	Death of Britannicus, 55.			Paul's arrest, 56.
	Corbulo in Armenia, 57–59.			
	Suetonius in Britain, 59–61.	Festus,	procurator, 59.	Earthquake in Lycus Valley.
	Boadicea defeated.		Martyrdom of James in Jerus., 62 (61).	Paul's voyage to Rome, 59–60.
		Albinus,	procurator, 61.	
	Tigellinus, Poppaea, in power, 62 f.	Martial reaches Rome, *c.* 63.		
		Josephus in Rome, 63–64.		Epiktetus born in Hierapolis (?).
		Paul in Rome.		
65	Burning of Rome, 19th July } 64 Persecution of Christians }	Gessius	Florus, procurator, 64–66.	Temple in Jerusalem completed, *c.* 64.
				Florus abandons Jerusalem.
		Plague in Rome, 65.	Josephus, governor of Galilee.	Massacres of Jews in Syria and Egypt.
	Deaths of Lucan and Seneca } 65 Conspiracy of Piso. }		Romans driven from Jerusalem, 66.	John of Gischala.
	Revolt of Vindex in Gaul.	Nero in Greece, 66–67.	Roman campaign : Vespasian in Galilee and Judaea, 67.	

[*Continued on p.* 86.

30–100 A.D.

Jewish and Christian Literature.	Greek and Latin Literature.
	Decline of Greek literature.
	C. Velleius Paterculus (hist.).
	"Cyclopaedia" of Celsus, 35.
	Afer Domitius (orat.).
Philo.	
Gamaliel I., 30–40 A.D.	Xenocrates (med.), *c.* 30.
III Macc. ?? Philo "contra Flaccum."	**Seneca,** 7 B.C.–65 A.D. "De Tranq.," "De Ira," "De Brevit." = 49–54. "De Clem.," "De Benef." = 54–62.
Caligula-apoc.? (Apoc. 13). "Legatio ad Gaium."	Persius, 34–62.
	Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus (poet. hist.), *d.* 39.
Letters of Heracleitus (?).	Babrius, "Fables," fl. 40 ?
	Lucan, 65. Scribonius Largus (med.).
	M. Valerius Probus.
IV Macc., 30–70.	Nikomachus Gerasenus, *c.* 50.
	Q. Asconius Pedianus (fl.), 42. Comm. on Cicero's speeches, 55.
Eldad and Modad (?).	
Abba Chilkijja. Abba Scha'ul. Ascensio Isaiae (2^{1}–3^{12} 5^{2-14})?	Onosander (milit.), 50 *c.*
	Pomponius Mela (geogr.).
	Antipater of Thessalonika, 50 *c.*
	Q. Remmius Palaemon (gram.).
Thess. epp.	Chaeremon (phil.).
	Columella (agricult.).
	Αἰγυπτιακὴ ἱστορία.
	Calpurnius Siculus.
Galat. Corinth. Rom. etc. } epp.	
	Probus of Berytus (gram.).
	Petronius (satir.), –66.
Apoc. Baruch (27–30, 36–40, 53–74) (bef. 70).	Pamphilê.
Development of Apocalyptic	Dioskorides (med.).
	Erotianus.
Coloss. Phlm. [Ephes.] Philipp. etc. } epp.	Andromachus of Crete (med.), 54–68.
	Pliny (major), 22–79.
Literature.	Leonidas of Alexandria.
1 Peter (?)	Dionysius of Alexandria.
	Cassius Longinus (jurist.), 50–80.
Megillath Taanith??	Ammonius.
	Sextus Julius Gabinianus (orat.).
	"Periplus Maris Erythraei."
	Musonius Rufus (phil. Gk.).

[*Continued on p.* 87.

TABLE II.—

Rome.		Judaea and the East.	
Death of Nero; Civil war, 68.	Famine and floods at Rome, 68–69.	Idumaeans massacre priests in Jerusalem, 68.	Zealots masters of Jerusalem.
Galba, Otho, Vitellius, 69; **Vespasian,** 69–79.		Lull in war, June 68–April 70.	Flight of Christians to Pella.
Burning of Capitoline Temple, 69.	Apollonius of Tyana.	Appearance of a false Nero in East, *c.* 69.	Birth of Polykarp, 69.
Stoics banished from Rome, 70.	Revolt of Civilis in Germany, *c.* 70.	Siege and sack of Jerusalem by Titus, 70.	
Triumph of Titus } Temple of Janus closed } 71		Fall of Masada, 73.	Extermination of Zealots.
Bernice at Rome, 75.	Rhetoric-teachers endowed in Rome.		End of Sanhedrin.
Colosseum built, 70–80.	Dacian revolts.		
Epiktetus in Rome.	Herculaneum and Pompeii destroyed, 79.	Rabbi Jochanan (*d.* 100).	Bethar, a Jewish centre.
Titus, 79–(13 Sept.) 81.		Rabbinic school at Jamnia.	
Agricola in Britain, 78–85.		A false Nero on the Euphrates.	
Great fire in Rome, 80.	Josephus resident in Rome, 70–100.		Jewish settlements in Babylon, Parthia, and Armenia.
Domitian, 81–(18 Sept.) 96.		Gamaliel II. (80–117).	Philip and his daughters in Hierapolis.
Domitian's triumph in Gaul, 83.		Rising of Jews, 85–86.	
	Severe policy to Jews.	Devotion to the "Law."	Nazarenes (Ebionites)?
	Severe policy to Christians.	Romans prohibit conversions to Judaism.	
Defeat of Caledonians at Mons Grampius, 84.		The Pharisees paramount.	Desposyni in Palestine.
War against Daci, 86–90.			
Revolt of Saturninus in Germany, 88.	Tacitus, praetor, 88.	A false Nero among Parthians, *c.* 88.	
		Synod of Jamnia, 90: Settlement of OT canon.	John in Ephesus.
Secular games, 88.		Eleazar ben Hyrcanos.	Cerinthus.
Philosophers expelled from Rome, 94.			
Nerva, 96–(27 Jan.) 98.		Growing antipathy of Jews and Christians.	Polykarp in Smyrna.
	Tacitus, consul, 97 (98).		John the Presbyter.
Trajan, 98–(Aug.) 117.	Free constitution.	Menander, disciple of Simon Magus.	
	Pliny's "Panegyric," 100.	Eleazar ben Azarja.	
		Eleazar ben Zadok.	

continued.

Jewish and Christian Literature.		Greek and Latin Literature.	
	Apoc. 11^{1-13} (?).	Cornutus (Stoic)??	Epaphroditus (gramm.).
	Apoc. 12 (?).		Quintus Curtius (hist.).
Josephus, 37–100.	Gospel of Mark, 65–75.	Heraklides ("allegoriae Homericae")??	"Commentaries" of Vespasian.
	Ascensio Isaiae (3^{13}–5^{1}), 50–80 A.D.		Antonius Julianus (hist.).
Bk. of Baruch (1^{1}–3^{8}).	Apoc. (17).	Aretaeus (med.), *c.* 70.	Silius Italicus, fl. "Punica," + 90.
Joseph. "Wars of Jews," 75 (after).			Pliny, "Naturalis Historia," 77.
			Fabius Rusticus (hist.).
Justus of Tiberias, fl. 65–100 ("Chronicle").		Demetrius (cyn.).	C. Valerius Flaccus, "Argonautica."
Sibyll. bk. iii. (63–92), 75–80.	Gospel of Matthew, 75–90.		Verginius Rufus.
Sibyll. bk. iv. 80 *c.*; bk. v. (52–531) bef. 80 (?).		Dio Prusaeus.	P. Papinius Statius, Frontinus, 45–96. Sextus Julius 70–106.
	"Hebrews" ep. *c.* 80.		Turnus (satir.).
Apoc. Baruch, 1–26, 31–35, 41–52, 75–87 (pt. after 70).			Martial. "Epigrammata," 83–101.
Bk. of Baruch (3^{8}–5^{9}) (?)	Gospel of Luke, 80–90.		Arruntius Stella.
	Acts.	Niketas of Smyrna.	**Juvenal.**
IV Esdras.			
Joseph. "Antiquities of Jews," 93–94.		**Epiktetus**, banished from Rome to Nikopolis, 89 A.D.	**Tacitus**, 55. "de Oratoribus," *c.* 80. "Agricola," 97–98. "Germania."
Pseudo-Philo, "de biblicis antiquitatibus."	Apocalypse of John.		
Hystaspes (Sibyll. orac.)??	**Clem. Rom.** I. epist. *c.* 97.	**Plutarch**, 48–120.	Siculus Flaccus.
Josephus, "Against Apion" (?).			Terentius Maurus (gramm.).
	Gospel of Hebrews (before 100).	Isaeus (sophist).	Quintilian (born, 35 A.D.), Instit. Orat. 93 +.
	Fourth gospel, 95–115.		
Joseph. "Autobiography," 100 (after).			

TABLE III.—100–190 A.D.

In the eyes of the Pagan historian, the period from the accession of Nerva, in 96 A.D., to the death of Marcus Aurelius, in 180 A.D., is memorable as a period of uniform good government, of rapidly advancing humanity, of great legislative reforms, and of a peace which was very rarely seriously broken. To the Christian historian it is still more remarkable, as one of the most critical periods in the history of his faith. The Church entered into it considerable indeed, as a sect, but not large enough to be reckoned an important power in the Empire. It emerged from it so increased in its numbers, and so extended in its ramifications, that it might fairly defy the most formidable assaults.—**Lecky.**

After the silver age which ended nobly with Tacitus and the younger Pliny, Latin pagan literature almost ceases to exist; and the falling off in the form is not more striking than in the value and quality of the contents. All superstitions revived and flourished apace in the ever-waning light of knowledge. A shudder of religious awe ran through the Roman world, and grew more sombre and searching with the progressive gloom and calamities of the time. A spirit wholly different from the light-hearted scepticism of the Augustan age and later Republic stirred men's hearts, and the strongest minds did not escape it.—**Cotter Morison.**

Parallel mit dem langsamen Einströmen des griechisch-philosophischen Elements gingen auf der ganzen Linie Versuche, die man kurzweg als "akute Hellenisierung" bezeichnen kann. Sie bieten uns das grossartigste geschichtliche Schauspiel; in jener Epoche selbst aber waren sie die furchtbarste Gefahr. Das zweite Jahrhundert ist das Jahrhundert der Religionsmischung, der Theokrasie, wie kein anderes vor ihm. In diese sollte das Christentum als ein Element neben anderen, wenn auch als das wichtigste, hineingezogen werden. Jener "Hellenismus," der das versuchte, hatte bereits alle Mysterien, die orientalische Kultweisheit, das Sublimste und das Absurdste, an sich gezogen und es durch das wie versagende Mittel der philosophischen, d. h. der allegorischen Deutung in ein schimmerndes Gewebe versponnen. Nun stürzte er sich—man muss sich so ausdrücken—auf die christliche Verkündigung.—**Harnack.**

TABLE III.—

	Rome.		Judaea and the East.	
A.D.				
100	First war with Dacians, 101–102.	Hadrian, quaestor.	Agrippa II. dies, 100 A.D.	Jehoshua ben Chanaja.
			Justin Martyr, born Flavia Neapolis, 103 A.D.?	
	Second war with Dacians, 105–106.	Conquest of Nabataean kingdom, 106.	Pagan reaction at Ephesus.	
			Martyrdom of Symeon, 107.	Pompeius Falco, gov. Judaea, 107f.
			Elkesaites.	
		Persecution of Christians in Bithynia, c. 112.	Hemerobaptists.	Schimeon ben Azzaj.
	Column of Trajan, 113.	Death of daughters of Philip.		Rabbi Jose.
	Roman Empire at its largest extent.		Ebionites.	
	War with Parthians, ± 115.	Martyrdom of Ignatius, ± 115.		
		Conquest of W. Parthia, 116.		
	Hadrian, 117–(10th July) 138.		Revolt of Jews in Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene, etc.	
	Travels of Hadrian, in Britain, 119.		Massacre of Greeks.	
	M. Aurelius born, 121.	Rom. wall in Britain, 122.		
	Hadrian in Athens, 123–126; his rescript to Minicius on the Christians, 124–125.			
	War with Picts and Scots, 120–138.		Hadrian in Egypt and Syria.	Birth of Irenaeus, bef. 130.
130	Second tour of Hadrian, 129–134.			
		Hadrian rebuilds Jerusalem, 130 f.		
	Hadrian in Alexandria, 131.		Death of Rabbi Joshua, c. 131.	**Rabbi Akiba.**
		Arrian, governor of Cappadocia, 131–137.		
		Apotheosis of Antinous, 133.	**Insurrection**: Revolt and Defeat of **Bar-Kokhba**: 132–135. Sack of Bethar.	
	H.'s rescript to Servian on the Christians, 134.			
		Hyginus, bish. R. 136–140.	Aelia Capitolia founded on site of Jerusalem, 136.	
	Antoninus Pius, 138–(7th March) 161.			
	Lollius Urbicus' campaign in N. Britain, 139 f.		Circumcision prohibited.	Severity of Romans.
			Jewish relief.	The martyrs of Lydda.
		Development of civil law.	New Sanhedrin at Rimmon.	Schimeon ben Jochaj. Mishna, 70–170.
		Pius, bish. R. 140–155.		Rabbi Meir, at Usha.
	Wall of Antoninus—Forth to Clyde, begun 142.			
	M. Aurelius converted to philosophy, 145.			
	M. Aurelius co-regent, 147–161.			
	Secular games, 147.		Disturbances in Asia Minor: Persecution of Christians.	Aquila (?).
				Tertullian born, c. 150.
	Anicetus, bish. R. 155–166.	Martyrdom of Polykarp, 23rd Feb. 155.		Jehuda ben Ilaj.
				Theodotion (?).
	Pestilence and famine in Rome, 161–166.			Clem. Alex. born, c. 155 (in Athens?).
				Jose ben Dosithaj, "Seder Olam" (?)
			Montanus in Phrygia:	Maximilla and Priscilla.

[*Continued on p.* 92.

100–190 A.D.

Early Christian Literature.			Greek and Latin Literature.	
1 ep. John. Ascensio Isaiae (6^{1}–11^{1} 11^{23-40}).		Development of Gnostic systems.	Nikarchus (epigr.).	(103–106) "History" of Tacitus. Pliny the younger's letters, 97–109.
2, 3 epp. John the presbyter.		Chiliasm.	Aelianus.	
2 Tim. Titus. 1 Tim. } 95–125.		**Cerinthus.**	Aristides Quint. (mus.).	Annaeus Florus (hist.).
		Naaseni.	Isaeus.	
Editing of gospels.	Rise of apologetic literature.	Simonians.	Dio Chrysost. (rhet.).	**Pliny the younger** (born, 61 A.D.).
Roman Symbol (?).			Moschio, *c.* 110.	His letter to Trajan, 111–113.
Ep. James.				(115–117) "Annals" of Tacitus.
Ignatian epp. (?) } 110–125.		Ophites.		Hyginus Gromaticus.
Ep. Polykarp (?) }				
Protevangel. James (?).	Ep. to Diognetus, *c.* 117.	Appeal to tradition.	Apollodorus Poliorketes.	**Suetonius**, "Lives of 12 Caesars," *c.* 120.
Didaché (pres. form), *c.* 120.			Draco (gramm.).	
			Theon of Smyrna (arithm.).	
"Preaching of Peter," 100–130.		Study of NT literature.	Phlegon ("Chronica").	Terent. Scaurus (gramm.).
Gospel of Egyptians, before 130.		Basileides (in Alexandria, 120–125): ἐξηγητικά.	Antonius Polemon (rhet.)?	Jabolenus Priscus (lawyer).
Ep. Judas, before 130. Sibyll. bk. v. (1–51)?	Quadratus in Athens, 125–126.		Renaissance of Greek literature.	
Epist. Barnabas, 130–131.	Agrippa Castor, ἔλεγχος κατὰ βασιλείδου.	Παραδόσεις Ματθίου.	Artemidorus, *c.* 130.	
			Diogenianus.	
			(Herennius) Philo.	
Papias of Hierapolis, 70–150 (?). ἐξήγησις λογίων κυριακῶν.		Saturninus in Antioch.	Byblius (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).	
		Karpokrates.	Zenobius.	
Oxyrhynchite Logia (bef. 140)?	Ep. to Diognetus (i.-x.) ± 135.	Gnostic literary activity, composition of gospels, acts, apocc., etc.		Sextus Pomponius (lawyer).
Rest of Words of Baruch, *c.* 136 (Jewish?).			Arrian (hist.).	Aulus Gellius, "Noctes Atticae."
"Apocalypse of Peter," bef. 150.		Cerdo in Rome.	Moeris (gramm.), (?).	
"Shepherd" of **Hermas**, *c.* 140.	Aristides, 138 after: "Apology," 138–147.	Marcion in Rome, *c.* 140.	Atticus Herodes (rhet.), 104–180.	M. Cornelius Fronto (rhet.), 100–175; "Panegyric," –140.
NT canon formed by Marcion.			Appian (hist.).	
			Marcellus Sidetes.	
Aristo of Pella, *c.* 145.		Valentinus in Rome, 140–160; letters, psalms, homilies.	Apollonius Dyscolus (gramm.), 117–161.	Justinus, "Epitome" (?).
"Dialogue" of Aristo, 130–170.		Epiphanes. Marcosians.	Aetius: Placita (pseudo-Plut.)?	Salvius Julianus (lawyer), *c.* 150.
2 ep. Clem. (?).	**Justin Martyr**, 145–162 fl.; σύνταγμα, etc.; "Apology," *c.* 153; "Dialogue with Trypho."	**Marcion**, "antitheses"; ἀποστολικόν.	Cl. Ptolemaeus (astron. geogr.), 130–160.	Granius Licinianus (annal.).
2 ep. Peter, bef. 170.		Herakleon, comment. on 4th gospel, etc., 160.	Hephaestio (gramm.).	
Gk. apoc. Baruch, after 140 (Jewish?).		Ptolemaeus, ὑπομνήματα.	**Celsus**, λόγος ἀληθής (177–180).	Junius Rusticus.
Acts of John (?).				
Ep. of Smyrna church, after 155.			Polyaenus of Macedonia (milit.).	Lucius Appuleius (phil.).
Acts of Peter (?).	Tatian, Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ± 160; Προβλημάτων βιβλίον, etc.	Tatian, –175.		

[*Continued on p.* 93.

TABLE III.—

A.D.	Rome.	Judaea and the East.
		Hegesippus journeys to Rome. Jischmael ben Jochanan.
160	**Marcus Aurelius**, 161–(17th March) 180. Parthian war, 162–166. Triumph over Parthians, 166.	Quarto-deciman controversy. Syriac version, –160. Martyrdom of Justin and others, 163–167.
	Wars with Quadi, etc., 165–175. Soter, bish. R. 166–174.	The "alogi." Montanist prophets and martyrs. Old Latin version, African, –170.
	Aurel. in Asia, Egypt, Greece, 175–176.	Tatian in Syria.
	War in Pannonia, 176–180. Eleutherus, bish. R. 174–189. Persecution of Christians: Lyons and Vienna, *c.* 177. Irenaeus in Lyons.	Revolt of Cassius in Syria, 175–176. Coptic version (?). Death of Maximilla, 179.
	Commodus, 180–(31st Dec.) 192. Martyrdom of Apollonius, 180–185.	Scillitan martyrs in N. Africa, 17th July 180. Rabbi Jehudah ha-Nasi. End of Tannaim.
	Conspiracy of Lucilla, 183.	Symmachus (?), transl. OT, ὑπομνήματα.
	Successes in Britain, by Ulpius Marcellus. Birth of Caracalla, 188. Victor, bish. R. 189–198.	Origen born in Alexandria, *c.* 186.
	Muratorian fragment	**on canon**, + 190.
	Theodotus (Monarchian) in Rome.	Serapion, bish. Antioch, 190 f.

continued.

Early Christian Literature.			Greek and Latin Literature.
Clementine Homilies, *c.* 160.	Λογὸς παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας (?).	Isidor (son of Basileides), ἠθικά, etc.	Aelius Aristides, "Panegyric on Rome," 160.
Gospel of Peter, 150–170.	Miltiades, 161–169.	Spread of **Montanism.**	**Lucian.** "Institutes" of Gaius, 161.
Acts of Pilate (pt. 1)?		(Leucius Charinus?).	"De morte Peregrini," *c.* 167.
Hegesippus, ὑπομνήματα.	Philip of Gortyna.	Julius Cassianus, περὶ ἐγκρατείας, κτλ.	Hermogenes (rhet.), 161–180.
Tatian's "Diatessaron," *c.* 170.	Melito of Sardis, πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον, etc., etc.		Herodianus (gramm.).
Dionysius of Corinth, epp.			Antoninus Liberalis.
"Acts of Paul" (150–180).	Apollinaris of Hierapolis, *c.* 172.	Coptic gnostic treatises, ἀπόκρυφον Ἰωάννου; σοφία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; πρᾶξις Πέτρου.	**Pausanias.**
	Musanus.		"Meditations" of M. Aurelius.
	Minutius Felix, "Octavius," a dialogue.		
Letter from Lyons and Vienna to East, *c.* 180.	Modestus.		Oppianus (ἁλιευτικά) *c.* 180.
	Rhodon.	Apelles, συλλογισμοί; φανερώσεις.	Aelian.
Acts of Carpos, etc. (?).	Theophilus of Antioch, Πρὸς Αὐτολύκον, etc.		Pollux.
			Alciphron, *c.* 180.
("Acts of Paul and Thekla"), 160–190.	Athenagoras of Athens, Πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν; Περὶ ἀναστάσεως.		**Galen,** 130–200.
			Numenius (phil.) of Apameia.
	"Πρὸς Ἕλληνας" (pseudo-Justin), 180–240.		
Pantaenus, in Alexandria.	**Irenaeus of Gaul,** Πρὸς αἱρέσεις, 180–189 (?); Περὶ μοναρχίας, etc.	Gnostic Coptic book (Cod. Bruc.), 170–200.	Boethus (Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀπορουμένων).
"Acts of Apollonius."		Bardesanes, born at Edessa, 154; "Hymns."	Maximus of Tyre.
Clement of Alex., 155–215.			
Victor (Latin).	Hermias, διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων (??).	Proclus (Montanist).	Phrynichus (gramm.).
Caius (Rome).			Sextus Empiricus (phil.), *c.* 190.
Tertullian, 150–220.	**Hippolytus** of Rome.	Elxai.	Dio Cassius (hist.), 155– .

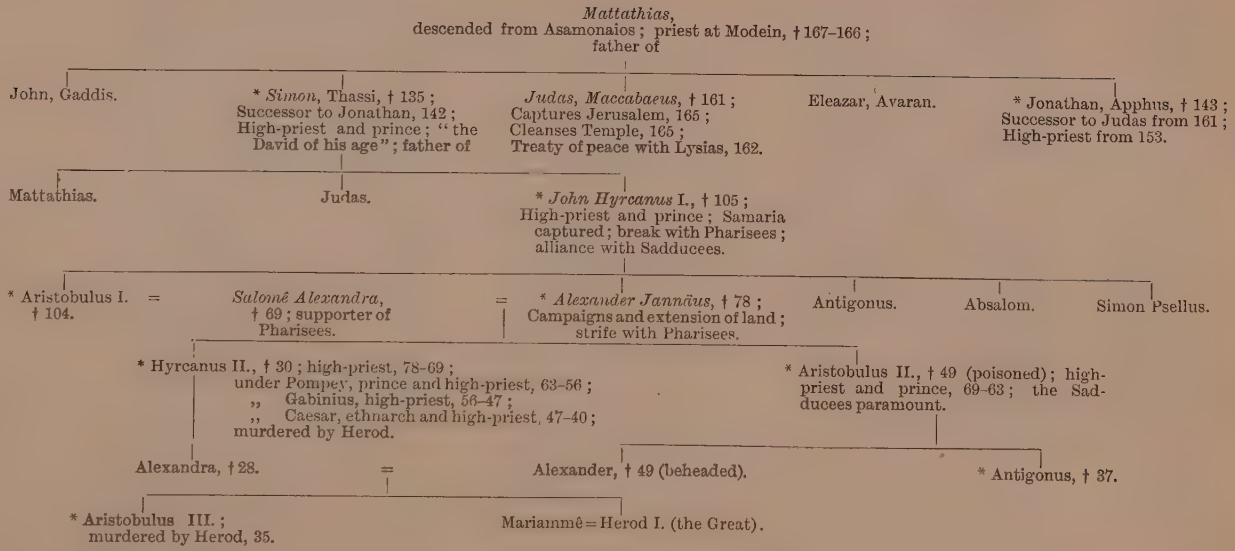
TABLE III*a*.—Outline of the Asmonean and Herodian Dynasties.

The external splendour was much greater than the actual and true prosperity of Herod's era. . . The nation felt itself offended in its inmost sanctity by the reckless Hellenism which resulted in open breach of the law. Their mistrust and aversion to Herod were as tenacious and unyielding as their national faith, and the religious instinct of the nation broke through and severed all the delusive glitter which disguised the revolt from religion behind the profession of honour toward the national God which were made by the King, and even by the Emperor, his court and his statesmen. . . . The day of his death was, as he had foreseen, a Jewish festival: the kingdom came to an end, it was divided and shattered: his sons finally ate the bread of exile, his numerous family was extinct within a hundred years, and a curse lay upon the house of Herod.—**Keim.**

The guides of the people sought above all to inculcate the idea, that virtue consists in a fanatical attachment to fixed religious institutions. The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes made this idea a passion, almost a frenzy. . . The reigns of the last Asmoneans, and that of Herod, saw the excitement grow still stronger. They were filled by an uninterrupted series of religious movements. Just as power became secularised, and passed into the hands of unbelievers, the Jewish people lived less and less for the earth, and became more and more absorbed by the strange fermentation which was working in their midst. The world, distracted by other spectacles, had little knowledge of what passed in this forgotten corner of the East.—**Renan.**

Während in der ganzen früheren Geschichte Israels der Grundsatz festgehalten wurde, dass die rechte Religiosität auch die äusseren, staatlichen Verhältnisse des Volkes am besten ordne, dringt jetzt das Bewusstsein davon durch, dass Beschäftigung mit dem Staatswesen der Frömmigkeit hinderlich sei. Diese Erkenntniss war die Frucht der Geschichte der hasmonäischen Fürsten. . . . Der Erfolg dieser ganzen Entwicklung ist nun für die Religionsgeschichte von hervorragender Bedeutung. Zunächst steigerte sich das religiöse Leben des Judentums unter dem Einflusse des Pharisaismus ganz gewaltig. Nicht nur das Rabbinentum der späteren Zeiten, auch Christentum und Essenismus haben ihre Pflanzstätte in diesem Boden. Weiterhin erkannte man die Unverträglichkeit des mosaischen Gesetzes mit den Anforderungen an einen lebenskräftigen Staat. Das müsste entweder zur religiösen Überwindung des Gesetzes oder zum Verzicht auf ein eigenes Staatleben führen. Der Gedanke einer Trennung von Religion und Staat wird hier also angebahnt.—**O. Holtzmann.**

TABLE III*a*.—Outline of the Asmonean and Herodian Dynasties.



* Marks the high-priests.

Antipater, governor of Idumaea, from 69; under Caesar, procurator of Judaea, from 47; poisoned, 43; father of

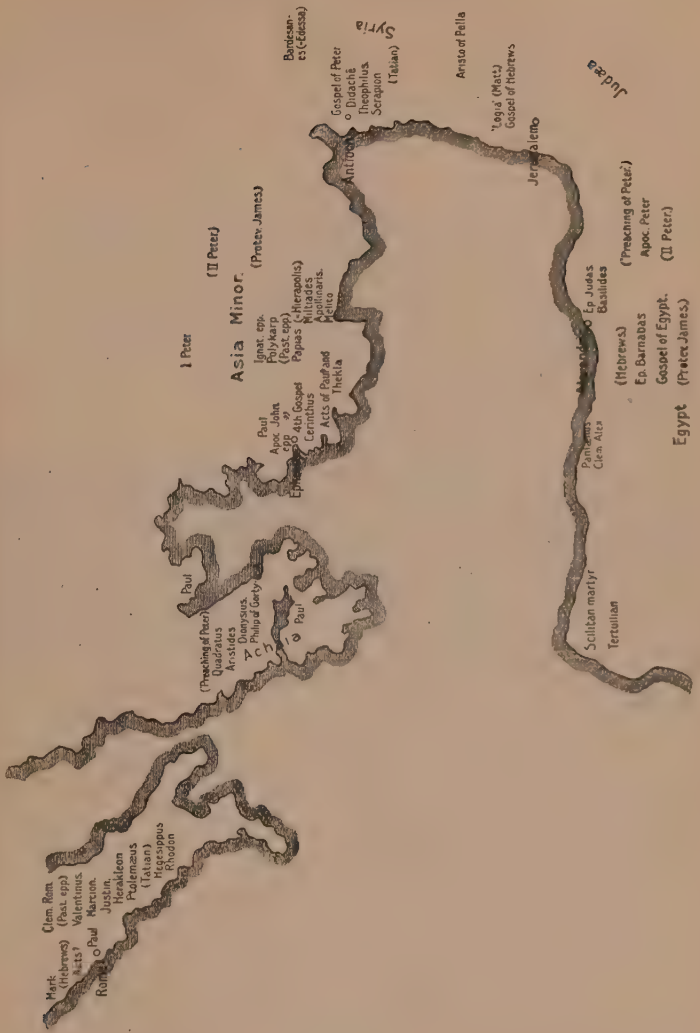
- Phasael, † 40.
  - Phasael = Salampso.
    - Cypros = Agrippa I.
- *Herod I.* (the Great) [Mt 2, Lk 1], governor of Galilee, from 47; ally of Romans; King of Judaea (40), 37–4 = **Mariammê** (executed, 29).
  - **Alexander**, murdered by Herod, 7.
  - **Aristobulus**, murdered by Herod, 7. = Berenicê[a].
    - **Herod**, king of Chalcis, 41–48 A.D. = Berenicê.
    - **Agrippa I.** = Cypros. [Ac 12, "Herod the king."] † 44 A.D.
      - **Agrippa II.**, King of Chalcis, 48–53, successor to Philip the tetrarch, 53 – 100. Last of dynasty. [Ac 25, 26.]
      - **Berenicê[b]**, = Herod, King of Chalcis. [Ac 25 13. 23 26 30.] Paramour of Titus. = Polemon of Cilicia.
      - **Drusilla** = procurator Felix. [Ac 24 24.]
    - **Herodias** = Philip Herod. [Mt 14, Mk 6, Lk 3 19.]
    - **Salomê[b]** = Philip. = Antipas.
  - Salampso = Phasael.
  - Cypros.
- Joseph, † 38. = **Mariammê II.**
  - Philip Herod = **Herodias.** [Mt 14 3-12, Mk 6 17, Lk 3 19.]
  - Archelaus, ethnarch of Judaea and Samaria, 4 B.C.–6 A.D. [Mt 2 22.]
  - *Antipas*, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, 4 B.C.–38 A.D. [Mk 6 14-27, Mt 14 1. 3. 6-9, Lk 3 1. 19 8 3 9 7. 9 23 7-15, Ac 4 27 13 1.] = **Herodias.**
  - Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, etc., 4 B.C.–34 A.D. = **Salomê[b].** [Lk 3 1.]
- Pheroras, † 5. = Malthacê.
- Salomê, † 10 A.D. *c.*
  - Berenicê[a] = Aristobulus. = Cleopatra, etc.

NOTE.—Dark type marks the Asmonean line.

We possess a considerable number of writings and important fragments, and further important inferences here are rendered possible by the monuments of the following period, since the conditions of the first century were not changed in a moment, but were partly, at least, long preserved, especially in certain national churches and in remote communities. It is therefore important to note the locality in which a document originates, and the more so the earlier the document is. . . . In all probability Asia Minor, along with Rome, was the spiritual centre of Christendom from about 60-200 ; but we have but few means for describing how this centre was brought to bear on the circumference.—**Harnack.**

Ist uns erst recht dunkel die Geographie der geistigen Geschichte. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Entwicklung in Korinth und in Antiochia oder in Alexandria oder in der ägyptischen Landschaft bemerkenswerte Verschiedenheiten zeigte. Ebenso ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass bestimmte Anschauungen und Theologumena von einzelnen Punkten und Provinzen aus die übrige Kirche eroberten.—**Wrede.**

TABLE IIIb.—A Historical Map of Early Christian Literature.



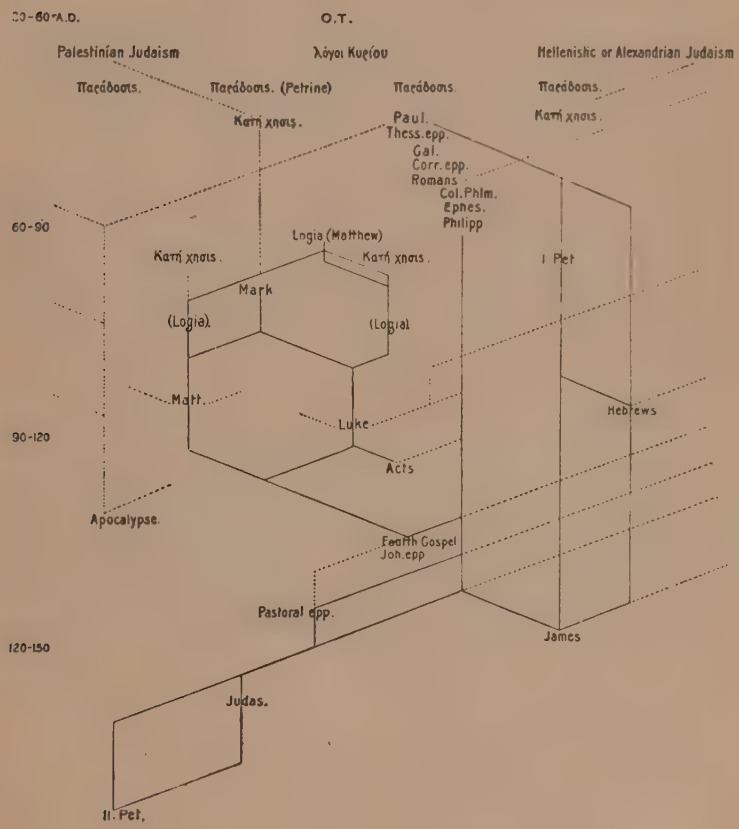
NOTE.—The *locus* of one or two documents is doubly given in brackets, where the evidence is indecisive, or where a two-fold locality is involved. The following authors and writings cannot be assigned to any definite topographical situation :—

Matthew,	Roman Symbol,	Agrippa Castor.
Luke,	Ep. Diognet.,	Athenagoras.
James,	2 Clem.,	Minutius Felix.

For the dates and ecclesiastical positions of the writings and writers in this rough outline, consult Table III.

Die Spuren schulmässiger Pflege des Gemeingutes, welche die neutestamentlichen Schriften aufwiesen, versetzen uns in eine Zeit des Werdens. Ihres Heilbesitzes froh, ihrer Kraft sicher, der Übereinstimmung in den Grundsätzen sich bewusst, uneingeschränkt durch äussere Autorität suchten die Berichten und Briefen nach einem adäquaten Ausdrucke für die Wahrheit, welche sie als das Licht der Welt bringen. Die Bedingungen für eine solche Literatur sind allein in den Anfängen einer epochmachenden religiösen Bewegung gegeben. Ihre Erzeugnisse stehen wie Stämme neben einander, welche aus demselben Boden wachsen und ihre Zweige miteinander verschlingen.— **Heinrici.**

TABLE IV.—A Genealogy of the NT Literature.

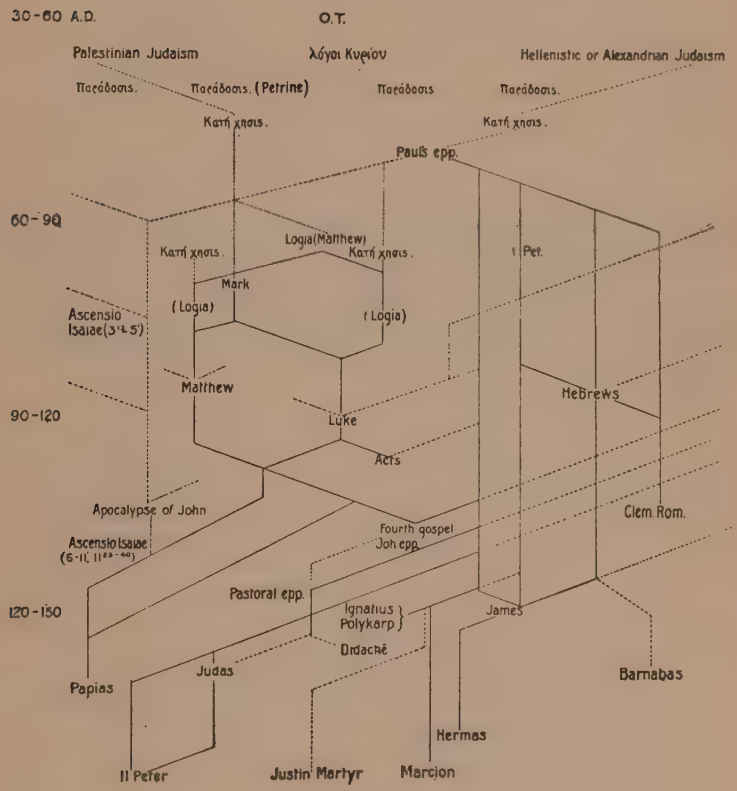


Die erhabensten Gedanken werden uns in ihrer ganzen Grösse erst recht deutlich, wenn wir sie in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit weniger erhabenen vergleichen können, wenn wir sie von weniger grossen sich abheben sehen. So erst wird das wirkliche Verständniss für den Reichthum erworben, der in manchen Schriften des Neuen Testamentes aufgespeichert ist, und somit auch für den oft gerühmten "Takt der Kirche" bei der Auswahl.—**Krüger.**

In order to perceive that the Pauline gospel is not identical with the original gospel, and much less with any later doctrine of faith, one requires such historical judgment and such honest determination not to be led astray in the investigation by the canon of the New Testament, that no change in the prevailing ideas can be expected for long years to come. What I refer to here is the imminent danger of explaining one writing by the standard of another, and so creating an artificial unity. . . . Strictly speaking, the opinion that the New Testament in its whole extent contains a unique literature is not tenable.—**Harnack.**

Die neutestamentlichen Schriften kommen nicht als kanonische, sondern einfach als urchristliche Schriften in Betracht. Dann verlangt offenbar das geschichtliche Interesse, alles das aus der Gesamtheit der urchristlichen Schriften zusammen zu betrachten, was geschichtlich zusammengehört. Die Grenze für den Stoff der Disziplin ist da zu setzen, wo ein wirklicher Einschnitt in der Litteratur bemerkbar wird. Der Gesichtspunkt des religiösen Wertes ist dafür aber natürlich nicht massgebend. Die Frage ist lediglich, welche Schriften den Anschauungen und Gedanken nach überwiegend verwandt sind, oder von wo an die Gedanken ein merklich neues Gepräge zeigen?—**Wrede.**

TABLE V.—A Diagram and Genealogy of Early Christian Literature.



Wir müssen zufrieden sein, wenn wir für jedes einzelne NTliche Buch ungefähr angeben können, wann und für wen es geschrieben ist, ob der Verfasser unter eigenem oder fremdem Namen schreibt, was sein Hauptinteresse war und wie es ihm gelungen ist, dies zum Ausdruck zu bringen, ob und inwieweit er andere Quellen, schriftliche Vorlagen benutzt hat, und ob seine Schrift unentstellt resp. unüberarbeitet auf uns gekommen ist. Das sind doch nur Materialen für eine Geschichte des NT's, nicht wirklich eine Geschichte. — **Jülicher.**

TABLE VI.—The Sources of the NT Literature.

A.D.			
30–45	Fragments of Caligula-apocalypse, preserved in Apoc. John (espec. ch. 13 = 40 A.D. ±). (?)		
45–60	The correspondence of Paul:		
	Thess. epp. 1 (2 ?).		lost letters of Paul (2 Th 3^{17}). (?)
	Galat. ep.		from Thess. to Paul. (?)
	1 Cor. ep.		to Corinth (1 Co 5^{9}).
	Intermediate letter.		from Corinth to Paul (1 Co 7^{1}).
	2 Cor. ep.		Germs of evangelic composition.
	Note to Titus (Tit $3^{12.\ 13}$).		Notes of sayings and deeds of Jesus begin to be collected in
	Rom. ep.		
	Note to Ephesus.		
	Note to Tim. (2 Ti $4^{13-15.\ 21-22a}$).		to Laodicea (Co 4^{16}).
60–75			Palestinian communities.
	Coloss. ep.		
	Philemon.		
	[Ephes.] ep. (?)		Jewish Christian sources (preserved in Luke).
			from Philippi to Paul (?)
	Philipp. ep.		to Philippi (Phil 3^{1}).
	Note to Tim. (2 Ti 1^{15-18} $4^{6-12.\ 18.\ 19}$.)		
	After 60, "We"—journal (fragments preserved in Acts).		Written sources for history of primitive community exist (used in Ac 1–16). (??)
			Beginning of activity in collecting materials for, and in composition of, evangelic manuals.
	The epistle of 1 Peter (?).		
	2 Thess. 2^{1-12} (??).		The "Logia" of Matthew, before 70.
	Apocalyptic fragments preserved in Apoc. John (chaps. 11, 12 ?).		[The Ur-Marcus, composed from Petrine narratives.]
	Small apocalypse, preserved in Mk 13, Mt 24, Lk 21.		
	Interpolations: 1 Th 2^{15b}, Ro $11^{9.\ 10}$, etc.		
	Gospel of Mark (1–16^{8}).		
	Ascensio Isaiae (3^{13}–5^{1}).		
	Apoc 17 (?).		
75–90	Gospel of Matthew (substantially).		
	"Hebrews."		
			numerous lost gospels (Lk 1^{1}).
	Gospel of Luke (substantially).		
90–105	Acts of the Apostles.		
	Apocalypse of John (in present form).		
			Gospel of Hebrews, before 100.
	Fourth gospel (before 115).		

TABLE VI.—*Continued.*

A.D.		
105–120	Appendix to fourth gospel (ch. 21).	
	1 epistle [of John]. Ascensio Isaiae (6^{1}–11^{1} 11^{23-40}).	
	2–3 epp. John the presbyter.	A note of John the presbyter (3 Jo 9).
	2 Tim. (in present form).	
	Titus (in present form).	Final editing of synoptic gospels (in Asia Minor?).
	1 Tim. (substantially).	Composition or incorporation of fragments or interpolations.
	An evangelic fragment (Mk 16^{9-20}).	
120–135	Epist. James.	
	Epist. Judas (before 130).	Incorporation of minor glosses and additions in epp. noted in Appendix (*q.v.*).
135–150		
	2 Peter (after 150).	Collection and editing of NT scriptures.

TABLE VII.

Four Catalogues: Marcion.
Murat. (Roman church).
Apost. Can. (Eastern ?).
Apost. Constit. (Eastern ?).

TABLE VII.

THE CANON OF MARCION, *c.* 150 A.D.	THE MURATORIAN CANON, before 200 A.D.	CATALOGUE IN APOST. CAN. LXXXV. (lxxxvi) : (sixth cent.?)	CATALOGUE IN APOST. CONSTIT. (ii. 57) : (before the fourth century).
(Epiphan. *Haer.* xlii. 9 : Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v.)			
Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [? Luke]	Gospels : .. (Mark) Luke John	Gospels : Matt. Mark Luke John	Acts
	Acts	Pauline epp. (14)	Pauline epp.
	Pauline epp. :		Gospels[2] : Matthew John
Τὸ ἀποστολικόν· Galat 1 Co 2 Co Rom 1 Thess 2 Thess Ephes [?=Laodic.] Col Philemon[1] Philipp	..cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prodecessoris sui Iohannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim 7 ecclesiis scribat ordine tali : 1 Co, 2 Co; Ephes; Philipp; Col; Gal; 1 Thess, 2 Thess; Rom ..pro affectu et dilectione. Philemon, Titus; 1 Tim, 2 Tim	Catholic epp. : 1 and 2 Peter 1, 2, 3 John James Jud **Clement. epp. 1 and 2.** καὶ αἱ Διαταγαί	Luke ἃ ὅι συνεργοὶ Παύλου παρειληφότες Mark κατέλειψαν ὑμῖν L. καὶ M.
	Catholic epp. : Judas John (2)	Acts.	
	? Wisdom of Solomon.	Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ κανόνων διετάχθη ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι.	
	Apocalypse of John :		
	of Peter (quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt).		
	Hermas.		

[1] **Acc. to Tertullian ; Philipp. Philemon.**

[2] This order of gospels in Codex Bezae, the Gothic version (Corssen, *TU*, xv. i. p. 65), and some minuscules. Cp. also pseudo-August. "Speculum."

TABLE VIII.

Versions:

Peshitto.
„ (Karkaph.).
Egyptian (Memph.).
Armenian (an).

TABLE VIII.

The Syrian Canon (Peshitto).	The Karkaphensian Recension of the Peshitto.	The Egyptian (Memphitic).	Armenian: Oldest Venet. MS. *c.* 1220 A.D.
[*Cur. Syr.* Gospels: Matt Matt Mark Mark Luke John John Luke]		Gospels[2]: Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels
Acts	Acts		Acts
Catholic epp.[1]: James 1 Peter 1 John	Catholic epp.: James 1 Peter 1 John	Pauline epp. (14): "Hebr." betw. 2 Thess and 1 Tim. Catholic epp.	Catholic epp.
Pauline epp. (14)	Pauline epp. (14)	Acts	Apocalypse
	Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John		Pauline epp. (14): ep. Corinth. to Paul.

[1] Junilius (Afric.) *c.* 550 A.D.
"1 Pet
1 Jo"
Or in another MS., Evv.
Epp. Paul
Acts
Epp. Cath.

[2] Jo, Mt, Mk, Lk, was also an Egyptian order of the gospels in Origen's time (Zahn, *GK*, ii. pp. 371 f., 1014 f.). It occurs in an Armenian document representing a curious canon of the eleventh century, which continues:

Acts	Paul. epp.: Rom
Cath. epp.: Jas	Heb
Pet 1, 2.	1 Tim, Tit
Jo 1–3.	Gal
Jud	Philm
Paul. epp.: Thess 1, 2.	Col
Cor 1–3.	2 Tim.

TABLE IX.

MSS Catalogues:	4th cent.	**Codex Sinaiticus**	א.		
	5th cent.	„ **Alexand.**	**A.**	**Eastern Church.**	
	4th cent.	„ **Vaticanus.**	**B.**		
	6th cent.	„ **Claromont.**		**West. Church.**	
	4th cent.	„ **Can. Mommsen.**		„	„

TABLE IX.

Codex Sinaiticus.	Codex Alexandrinus.	Cod. Vatic. (as in Cod. Alex.)	Codex Claromontanus. (Stichometry interpolated betw. Philm and Heb)	Canon Mommsen. (indiculum novi testamenti) c. 360 A.D.
Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John	...	Gospels : Matt John Mark Luke	Gospels[2] : Matt Mark John Luke
Pauline epp. (14) : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col 1 Th, 2 Th Heb 1 Tim, 2 Tim Titus Philemon	Acts Catholic epp. : James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud Pauline epp. (14) : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col 1 Th, 2 Th Heb 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philem	... ...	Pauline epp. : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Col Philemon	Pauline epp. (13)
Acts				Acts
Catholic epp. : James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud			Catholic epp. : 1 Pet, 2 Pet James John 1–3 Jud	
			* Barnabas[1]	
Apocalypse :	Apocalypse :		Apocalypse	Apocalypse
Barnabas	**Clem. epp. 1, 2**		Acts :	
Hermas (pt.)	**Psalt. Solom.**		**Hermas**[1]	Catholic epp. Jo 1–3 (? James) "una sola." Pet 1, 2 (? Jud) "una sola."
			Acts of Paul[1]	
			Apoc. of Peter[1]	

[1] Added by a later hand (* = Hebrews ?).

[2] This order occurs also in the Arabian Masudi (Nestle).

TABLE X.

Eastern Church:	**Council of Laodicea:**	
	Asia Min.:	**Greg. Naz.**
	Syria:	**Chrysost.**
	Palestine:	**Euseb.**
	,,	**Cyril.**
	,,	**Epiph.**
	Alexandria:	**Athanas.**
	Constant.:	**Leont.**
	,,	**Niceph.**

TABLE X.

Canon 59 : Council of Laodicea, *c.* 360 A.D.	Greg. Nazianz., 325–390 A.D.	Chrysostom, † 407 A.D.	Eusebius, † 340 A.D.	Cyril, † 386 A.D.
		ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς καινῆς βιβλία.		
Gospels— Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels— Matt Mark Luke John (οὐρανοφοίτης)	Pauline epp. (14)	Gospels	Gospels
Acts	Acts (τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστ.)	Gospels— John Matt Luke Mark	Acts	Acts
Catholic epp.— James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud	Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp. [1]— James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud	Acts Catholic epp.— James 1 Peter 1 John	Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp. [1]— James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud	Catholic epp.— James Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud
Pauline epp. (14)— Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col Thess 1, 2 Heb Tim 1, 2 Tit Philemon	πάσας ἔχεις. εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις.		(Apocalypse)	Pauline epp. (14) (ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τῶν πάντων, καὶ μαθητῶν τὸ τελευταῖον.) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κεῖσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ.
So Joan. Damascen. († 750 A.D.) adding at the close. **Apost. Canon.**				
	[1] Amphilochius (of Ikonium): καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινὲς μὲν ἑπτά φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ὠνας χρῆναι δέχεσθαι. Τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε νόθον λέγουσιν.		[1] Among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, γνώριμα δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς. { James, 2 Peter, 2-3 John, Jud }	

TABLE X.

EPIPHANIUS, † 403 A.D.	ATHANASIUS, † 373 A.D.	LEONTIUS, † 620 A.D.	NICEPHORUS: IN HIS STICHOMETRY, † 828 A.D.
	(Ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου.)		
Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels
Pauline epp. (14)	Acts	Acts	Acts
Acts	Catholic epp.—	Catholic epp.—	Pauline epp. (14)
Catholic epp.—			Catholic epp.
James	James	James	
Peter 1, 2	Peter 1, 2	Peter 1, 2	
John 1–3	John 1–3	John 1–3	
Jud	Jud	Jud	
			καὶ ὅσαι τῆς νίας ἀντιλέγονται. Apocalypse of John. **Apoc. Pet.** **Barnabas.** **Gospel of Hebrews.**
Apocalypse	Pauline epp. (14)	Pauline epp. (14)	
Wisd. Solom. **Ecclus.**	Apocalypse	Apocalypse	
καὶ πάσαις ἁπλῶς γραφαῖς θείαις . . .	ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἐξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον. **Wisd. Solom.** **Ecclus.** **Esther, Judith, Tobit.** **Didachê** **Hermas.**	Ταῦτα ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ——— So Anastasius Sinaita of Antioch († 599); but omitting Apocalypse.	καὶ ὅσα τῆς νίας ἀπόκρυφα. περίοδος Πέτρου. ,, Ἰωάννου. ,, Θωμᾶ· **Gospel of Thomas.** **Didachê.** **Clem. epp. 1-2.** **Ignat. Polykarp.** **Hermas.**

TABLE XI.—Catalogues of the Western Church.

Council of Carthage, 397 A.D.	Augustine, † 430 A.D.	Jerome, † 420 A.D.	Innocent's Rescript, 405 A.D.	Gelasius: a Decree, 492–496 A.D.	Cassiodorus, † 565 A.D.
Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels	Gospels (quadriga Domini et verum Cherubim)	Gospels	(*Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*) Gospels	(*de Instit. Div. Lit.* xiv.) "secundum antiquam translationem": Gospels
Acts	Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Cor, 2 Cor Gal Ephes Philip 1 Thess, 2 Thess Col 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philem (Hebrews)	Pauline epp.: To seven churches (Hebrews) Tim 1–2 Tit Philem	Pauline epp. (14)	Acts	Acts
Pauline epp. (13): one to the Hebrews. (eiusdem ad Hebraeos		Acts	Catholic epp.: Jo 1–3 Peter 1, 2 Jud James	Pauline epp. (14)	Catholic epp. Peter 1–2 James Jo 1 (ad Parthos)
Catholic epp.: [una] Peter 1, 2 John 1–3 Jud (Jas) Jas (Jud)	Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 Jo 1–3 Jud James	Catholic epp. (tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas): James Peter 1, 2 Jo 1–3 Jud	Acts	Apocalypse	Pauline epp.: Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Philip Eph Col Heb 1 Thess, 2 Thess Tim 1, 2 Tit Philemon
Apocalypse (a patribus ista accepimus in ecclesia legenda).	Acts	Apocalypse (tot habet sacramenta quam verba).	Apocalypse	Catholic epp.: James Peter 1, 2 Jo 1–3 Jud (Zelot)	Apocalypse
Liceat autem legi passiones martyrum cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.	Apocalypse ("Immer zeigt sich, dass Act und Cath inniger mit einander als mit Paulus zusammenhängen"—Jülicher).	Similarly Rufinus of Aquileia († 410 A.D.) Gospels Acts Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 James Jud Jo 1–3 Apocalypse	Cetera autem . . non solum repudianda verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.	Item ordo Scripturarum NT, quem Sancta Catholica Romana suscipit et veneratur ecclesia.	

TABLE XII.—Some Later Catalogues.

Isidorus of Spain, † 636 A.D.	Alfric (Anglo-Saxon), † 1006 A.D.	John of Salisbury (Twelfth Century).	Hugo de S. Victore (Twelfth Century).	Council of Trent, 1546 A.D.	Luther, † 1546.
"Quicquid extra hos fuerit inter haec sacra et divina nullatenus recipiendum."		"Celebris apud ecclesiam et indubitata traditio."			
Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels
Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip 1 Thess, 2 Thess Col 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philemon Hebrews	Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 James Jo 1-3 Jud Pauline epp. (15): Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip 1 Thess, 2 Thess Col Hebrews Tim 1, 2 Tit Philemon **Laodiceans**	Pauline epp. (15) including — **Laodiceans** (quindecima est illa quae ecclesiae Laodicensium scribitur, et licet, ut ait Hieronymus, ab omnibus explodatur, tamen ab apostolo scripta est).	Acts Pauline epp: (14)	Acts Pauline epp. (14)	Acts Pauline epp.: Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col 1 Thess, 2 Thess 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philemon
Catholic epp.: James Pet 1, 2 Jo 1-3 Jud		Catholic epp.	Catholic epp.	Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3 James Jud	Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3
Acts Apocalypse	Acts Apocalypse	Acts Apocalypse	Apocalypse	Apocalypse Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit; et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit; anathema sit.	(Heb James Jud Apoc)

TEXT AND NOTES

Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς βίβλοις ἑτέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδεν· επεὶ καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ δώδεκα οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλοις ὄντες κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ διεστηκότες ἀλλήλων, ἐν τῇ τῶν βιβλίων τάξει ἐφεξῆς εἰσι κείμενοι. . . . . ὅμως συνημμένοι πᾶσίν εἰσιν ἐκείνοις, ὧν τοσοῦτον τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασι.

Μηδεὶς δὲ πάρεργον τοῦτον ἡγείσθω τὸν πόνον, μηδὲ περιεργίας περιττῆς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔρευναν· συντελεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα οὐ μικρὸν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν χρόνος.—**Chrysostom.**

Multo autem dignior consideratu est ordo chronologicus. Eo constituto, et historia apostolica et ipsae epistolae mutuam sibi lucem afferunt: et congruentia noëmatum locutionumque in epistolis uno tempore super eodem rerum statu scriptis cernitur: et incrementum apostoli spirituale cognoscitur.—**Bengel.**

If each Letter look dim, and have little light, after all study;—yet let the Historical reader reflect, such light as it has cannot be disputed at all. . . . The Letter hangs there in the dark abysses of the Past: if like a star almost extinct, yet like a real star; fixed; about which there is no cavilling possible. That autograph Letter, it was once all luminous as a burning beacon, every word of it a live coal, in its time; it was once a piece of the general fire and light of Human Life, that Letter! Neither is it yet entirely extinct: well read, there is still in it light enough to exhibit its own *self;* nay, to diffuse a faint authentic twilight some distance round it. By degrees the combined small twilights may produce a kind of general feeble twilight, rendering the Past credible! Such is the effect of contemporary letters always.—**Carlyle.**

THE LETTERS OF PAUL

GENERAL NOTE

A YEAR or two after the death of Jesus, one of the brilliant leaders in the Jewish party of the Pharisees suddenly (*κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*) became a Christian. Like John Knox, for the earlier part of his life Paul is largely a mystery, and even after his change into the Christian faith a serious gap occurs, unfilled by many incidents. But during the closing decade of his life he had a brilliant crowded career which has left copious and distinct traces of its effectiveness. The moral and spiritual change in Paul turned out to be a crisis for the Christian society as well as for himself.[1] To many minds and hearts in that age he proved a veritable priest of the wonder and bloom of the Christian faith. But even apart from the new sweep given to the Christian spirit by his thought and practical energies,[2] his preaching brought to a head the conflict which had been implied in previous discussions, especially in the matter of Stephen's attitude, between the universalism of the Christian principle and the time-honoured privileges of the *λαός*, the *νόμος*, and the *ἅγιος τόπος* (Ac 21^{28}). His activity represents the expansion of the new faith into its legitimate sphere and destined vocation. It implied from the outset the enterprise of reaching the Gentiles, an expansion which came to be shaped constructively in controversy, first with Judaic principles, then, at a later period, with Hellenic speculation. These phases, especially the former, come out in Paul's letters, and give them a large part of their historic significance. In the mosaics of the Arian baptistery at Ravenna Paul is represented beside the throne of Jesus carrying in his hand two rolls of parchment; and from the point of view of the NT literature this gives an exact symbol of his position. Others may have written, but if so their writings perished. Several of Paul's own letters have been also lost. But even with those nine or ten which are still extant, graphic, pregnant, and suggestive, he remains the chief literary witness to a remarkable side of that church life in which he played himself so notable a part. He threw himself upon his age with an energy of insight and practical service which—the evidence amply justifies us in believing—was not equalled, as it was hardly approached by any one of the original disciples or of their immediate successors. In relation to the Christian faith, he performed two signal services: reflection and expression.[3] By means of his correspondence,

[1] "Here, if at any point in history, we may believe that the Spirit of the World, if the world has a spirit, was at work" (Goldwin Smith).

[2] Note an incidental proof of his immediate impressiveness and attraction (Ac 9^{25}, *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*).

[3] "The upshot of his meditation was a body of doctrine which for subtlety, penetration, harmony, and completeness, is unsurpassed in the history of religious

it is feasible to construct not only an outline of his characteristic personality, but also a sketch of the general situation within many of the early Christian societies. Thanks to those writings which have survived, more materials exist for gaining some inner knowledge of the Christian history between 45 and 60, than for almost any other period within the first century. These years at least are vocal. To step after step within the whole of that period Paul is a contemporary witness in the same exact and historical sense as (say) Andokides to the crisis of 415-390 B.C. in Athens, Philo to the sufferings of the Jews under Sejanus and Caligula, or Procopius to the African campaigns of Belisarius. His letters indeed are transcripts of an individual mind. The "beautiful human Paul," whom Steck so strangely misses outside[1] the pages of "Acts," can be recognised most distinctly in his epistles. At the same time, the Pauline letters have an even wider and more representative value. In many a passage they reflect the common ideas and emotions that surged round himself and other members of the Christian communities in that age under the pressure exerted by its civil and religious environment. Paul stood in the mid-current of his time. He has gathered up in himself and expressed not merely the activity and far-reaching views which characterised the best Christianity among his contemporaries, but also its two features of supreme interest and significance — the transition of Judaism into or away from Christianity, and the earliest attempts of the new faith to define its attitude towards the responsibilities and destinies involved in a mature existence. It is this representative element that brings the Pauline letters irresistibly to the mind as we read the vaster correspondence of a man like Bernard in the twelfth century. Lying at opposite poles of conviction and interest, both mirror as they helped originally to move, in its personal and social aspects, a religious force which spread with flooding waves over contemporary life ; both also are the revelation of a personal ascendancy quite unique in its range, and of a strangely isolated influence over these communities and individuals who were drawn within the circle of its passionate imperious devotion, to be swayed and served.

A scheme of Paul's life, with his work and works, lies outside the scope of these pages. At this point there is only need and room for an outline of the author's career that may serve as a setting for his writings.

To conceive of literary composition as anything like a predominating interest, and thus to underestimate the absorbing claims of his practical mission, would be as erroneous in a study of Paul as in an appreciation, for example, of Ezekiel's career among the Jews in Babylon. But there are two noticeable features upon the surface of his biography. (*a*) Paul's literary productions—those at least which have come down to us —were evidently occasional. Within the closing decade of his life they

speculation. It bears the same relation to dogmatic Christianity that Platonism does to Greek philosophy, being the source to which Christianity has had to return for refreshment and renewal at every crisis of her history. It proceeds on the assumption that if Christianity is to be fitted for universal acceptance, it must rely on something more than the mere testimony of eye-witnesses, or the demonstrations of fulfilled prophecy—or even of such visions as he himself had had" (J. B. Crozier, *Hist. Intell. Developm.*, pp. 340, 341). (Havet, "Je ne dirai pas : Voilà la théologie de Paul. Je dirai : Voilà la théologie !) Cp. also Wrede, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode d. sogen. NT Th.* (1897), p. 64 f.

[1] On the contrast between the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the epistles, see Dr. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, ch. vii., where most of the chief points are thrown into sharp relief.

spring up to meet the moment's need, although they presuppose wide thought and labour, and are the outcome of a lengthy deep experience,

A.D.		
c. 30 (31)	Conversion of Paul.	
31–34	Three years in Arabia : Damascus.	
34	Visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1^{18} = Ac $9^{26f.}$?).	
34-48	Fourteen years in Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1^{21}–2^{1}) — with Barnabas in Syrian Antioch—including also FIRST TOUR : with Barnabas through Cyprus and S.E. Asia Minor (Ac 13^{4}–14^{26}).	
49	Visit to Jerusalem : Apostolic Council (Gal 2^{1} = Ac 14^{27}–15^{35}).	
49–52	SECOND TOUR : with Silas through S.E. Asia Minor and Galatia—westward to Macedonia, Athens (two years), Corinth, $T^{1.2}$ (Ac 15^{36}–18^{22}). Return to Syrian Antioch : Dispute with Peter (Gal 2^{11-21}).	$T.^{1.2}$ = 1 and 2 epp. to Thessalonika.
52–56	THIRD TOUR : through Galatia and Phrygian highlands—Ephesus, G C^{1} (two years at least), I—across to and through Macedonia, C^{2}, Tt^{n}, Achaia (Illyricum)—Corinth, R e^{n} (three months)—return through Macedonia —voyage by Troas and Miletus to Tyre (Ac 19^{1} 21^{3}).	G = ep. to Galatia. I = Intermed. Letter. $C^{1.2}$ = I. and II. epp. to Corinth. Tt^{n} = note to Titus (Tit $3^{12.13}$). R = ep. to Rome. e^{n} = note to Ephesus (in Ro 16).
56–58	Last visit to Jerusalem : arrest and imprisonment for two years in Caesarea (Ac 21^{4}–26^{32}), T^{n}.	T^{n} = note to Timotheus (2 Ti $4^{13-15.\ 21-22a}$).
59–62	Voyage to Rome—imprisonment there for two years (Ac 27^{1}–28^{31}), C^{1} P^{m} E Ph [T^{n}].	C^{1} = ep. to Colosse. P^{m} = note to Philemon. E = ep. [to Ephesus]. Ph = epp. to Philippi. T^{n} = note to Timotheus (2 Ti 1^{15-18} $4^{6-12.\ 16-19}$).

even in their most unpremeditated sallies. His writings were not the true events of his life, nor were they intended to present his ordinary teaching and average ideas. Like the rest of the apostles, he had a mission first and foremost to teach and preach among the early Christian communities. But—

> "As mistakes arose or discords fell,
> Or bold seducers taught them to rebel,

As charity grew cold or faction hot,
Or long neglect their lessons had forgot,
For all their wants they wisely did provide,
And preaching by Epistles was supplied:
So great physicians cannot all attend,
But some they visit and to some they send.
Yet all those letters were not writ to all,
Nor first intended but occasional—
Their absent sermons."[1]

(*b*) Further, he did not outlive himself as a writer. His last letter bears no evidence of slackened force or wavering insight. We shut up the story of his days with the impression of a mental and religious fulness which, so far from being on the point of degenerating, seems rather to combine the riper experience and grasp of age with something of a youth's vigour. Paul dies at his work, and he dies in the increasing momentum of his power. With all respect to its authors, the attempt to explain the style of Tim-Tit by discovering throughout these writings evidence of Paul the old man's looser, less sustained, less vigorous intellect,[2] must be pronounced little better than a myth of desperate and needless conservatism. It is not quite on a par with the similar attempt to explain the characteristics of 2 Peter from as imaginary a senility; but it scarcely seems to merit any more serious consideration. The difference between Galatians and Col-Philippians is the difference between the earlier and the later styles of a man for whom wider interests and maturer conceptions have arisen, necessitating fresh expressions. The difference, again, between Col-Philippians and the "pastorals" is almost the difference between one world and another; and the element of undoubted "Paulinism" in the latter (both in idea and phrase) only serves to emphasise their perfectly new setting and development. Besides, the interval in the latter case—three years at the outside—would not be adequate to account for so complete an alteration, especially in a style like that of Paul, which, for all its flexibility, had become well marked and characteristic. Neither the length nor the contents of the period 60–64 (64–67) are at all sufficient to meet the demands made by this hypothesis of senility. It is unnecessary and unworthy. The apostle disappears from the NT with a message of strenuous personal confidence (Ph $4^{19\ 23}$) which contains implicitly a note of quiet triumph[3]: ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. The words have a ring of satisfaction. His hope had been realised. His work had carried the church into the heart of the empire, and the consciousness that this aim had been successfully achieved brought him a strange new joy upon the very edge of death.

The critical scheme of his epistles involves two questions, relating to their order and their dates.

A. *Their Order.*

The consecutive arrangement of the letters, as printed in this edition, is one which commands the support of a consensus of excellent author-

[1] Dryden in *The Hind and the Panther*, part ii.

[2] Dr. Stalker's happy comparison of Paul's style (*Life of St. Paul*, p. 89) to that of Cromwell, in point of rugged effectiveness and a certain formless originality, applies pre-eminently to the Galatian, Corinthian, and Philippian letters. They were appeals struck out of crises, words for an emergency.

[3] Cp. the close of his biography by the author of Acts, ch. $28^{30.\ 31}$. The correct interpretation of ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ (Ph 1^{13}) as the supreme court of judicial authorities is given by Mommsen, *SBBA* (1895), p. 498 f.

ities. A different order, however, has often been adopted both in the earlier and in the later letters, for which a case can be reasonably stated. When reduced to its simplest terms,[1] the whole question at issue turns upon the relative position of (I) "Galatians" in the earlier, and (II) "Philippians" in the later period.

I. The relative date of Galatians depends upon two questions—(*a*) Did the Galatians addressed belong to the territory of northern Galatia, a district inhabited by Kelts—especially to its chief cities, Ancyra, Pessinus (Juliopolis?) Germa, and Tavium—or to the Roman province of Galatia, which would include the southern cities, Derbe, Lystra, Ikonium, and Pisidian Antioch? The letter seems to imply two previous visits (4^{13}, *εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον*). As upon the northern Galatian theory, these occurred during the second (Ac 16^{6}) and third (Ac 18^{23}) tours, the epistle—written shortly after the latter of these visits (Gal 1^{6}) —was composed later than Paul's visit and epistles to Thessalonika. Upon the southern Galatian theory, as the two visits took place on the first (Ac 13–14) and second (Ac $16^{1.6}$) tours, the epistle can be put much earlier than in the northern Galatian theory. It is then possible to place it either in the interval between the second and third tours, or in the latter part of the second tour itself; at any rate, it must be dated before, not after, Ac 18^{23b} (*διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*), which refers to a third visit of Paul.

Still, even these results do not close the question of the date. Upon the northern Galatian theory, Galatians must be subsequent to 1 and 2 Thessalonians: it may be either prior or subsequent to 1 and 2 Corinthians. Upon the southern Galatian theory, Galatians must be prior to 1 and 2 Corinthians: it may be either prior or subsequent to 1 and 2 Thessalonians. A fixed point is the composition of 1 and 2 Thessalonians at Corinth, a few months after Paul's visit thereupon his second tour. The southern Galatian theory puts Paul's second visit to Galatia in the earlier part of this tour; hence the epistle to the Christians of that province may have been written between that visit and Paul's arrival at Corinth. In this case it would be the earliest of his extant epistles.[2] But while this position is favoured by the southern Galatian theory,[3] it is not necessarily involved in it. So far as the facts of the situation are concerned, Galatians may have been composed either at Corinth after

[1] The older theory (of Grotius, Ewald, Laurent, and—from his own standpoint—Baur) which put 2 Thess. previous to 1 Thess. may be regarded as extinguished. 2 Thess. does not, it is true, refer (unless ii. 2^{1}=i. 4^{17}; cp. ii. 2^{15}) to 1 Thess., but this is because it goes further back in order to elaborate part of the oral teaching which preceded that epistle. The other grounds for the theory are even less conclusive, and in fact the reversed order is not only needless but beset with additional difficulties of its own creation. In the ordinary arrangement, from which there is no reason to depart, the first epistle lies close to the original founding of the Christian community at Thessalonika, while, if the second be genuine, it presupposes an interval during which matters had appreciably developed (cp. Johannes, *Comm.* 1 *Thessalon.* (1898), pp. 124–128).

[2] So Hausrath, iii. pp. 188, 219 (dating Galatians in the autumn of 53, and 1 Thess. 54); Bartlet (*AA*, p. 113 f.); Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. 270–275), and Pfleiderer, *Urc.* pp. 57–78; Rendall, *Exp.*[4] ix. 254 (from Corinth), and McGiffert, *AA*, 226–230 (from Antioch, between Ac 15^{30} and 16^{1}).

[3] For a concise statement of the theory and a list of authorities, cp. Ramsay's article on "Galatia," *DB*, vol. ii. pp. 89 f. Add, in favour of the position, Adeney, *BI* pp. 372, 373. Mr. Askwith in his monograph (*The Ep. to the Galatians, its destination and date*, 1899) accepts the southern Galatian theory, but adheres to Lightfoot's order of the epistles.

1 and 2 Thessalonians, or slightly later, during the interval between the second and third tours (Ac 18^{23a}, *ποιήσας χρόνον τινά*), which Paul spent at Antioch.[1] The conclusion that 1 and 2 Thessalonians preceded Galatians—an order which is imperative upon the northern Galatian, and probable upon the southern Galatian theory—is corroborated by the internal evidence of the respective epistles, which is fairly decisive in regard to the relative position of Galatians and the other three chief epistles as well.

(*b*) The affinities of Galatians, in spirit and expression, are with the Corinthian and Roman, not with the Thessalonian, epistles. The latter stand by themselves, their theology is simple,[2] their atmosphere unvexed by Judaistic agitation against the principles of the gospel, or the mission of the apostle. It is true that Paul's relations with Thessalonika were comparatively smooth and bright. The community there drew upon itself none of the incisive strokes which fell from him upon the vacillating Galatae. But even after a fair allowance has been made for this difference in the character of the two churches, it seems almost incredible that Galatians should have preceded 1 and 2 Thessalonians by one or two years, leaving hardly a trace of its hot arguments within these letters, and yet echoing subsequently in several of its moods through the Corinthian and Roman letters. Psychologically this order might be vindicated. But it would require clearer evidence than has yet been offered to make the theory acceptable, especially when arguments from other quarters tell decidedly against it.

With the exception of the hypothesis in regard to Galatians which we have discussed and put aside, there is a wide agreement among scholars that the similarities of the group Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, can be most satisfactorily explained if the four epistles are dated generally within one epoch—and that, the third tour of Paul. Between his arrival at Ephesus and his departure from Corinth (a period, roughly speaking, which embraced four years), the letters were composed. Within this group, 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians hang together. The former was written from Ephesus (1 Co 16^{8}); the latter, at a later stage of the tour, from Macedonia (2 Co 7^{5}). During this interval neither Galatians nor Romans can be placed. Further, Romans is on all hands allowed to have followed 2 Corinthians. In the former epistle he is on the point of conveying to Jerusalem (Ro 15^{25}) the proceeds of that collection made

[1] *E.g.* Renan (*S. Paul*, chaps. x.–xi.), Burton, *RLA*, Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 189–192, 260 (with Schmiedel's review, *ThLz* (1897), 609–613, adverse to the southern Galatian theory), and *Exp.*[5] June 1898, pp. 401 f., where, like Haupt (*SK*, 1900, pp. 137, 138), he unfavourably criticises the recent attempt of Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 117–145) to place Galatians early in Paul's first visit to Corinth (Ac 18^{1}). His whole application of the southern Galatian theory to *Galatians* (*Exp.*[5] 1898, 1899, expanded and reprinted in *A Historical Comm. on Galatians*, 1899), is a most persuasive and vivid piece of historical writing. Volkmar, however (*Paulus von Damascus bis zum Galaterbrief*, p. 31 f.), dates Galatians from Antioch at the close of Paul's second missionary tour (Ac 18^{22}); while Bartlet (*Exp.* October 1899, pp. 263–280, "Some Points in Pauline History and Chronology"; *AA*, p. 83 f.), dating Paul's conversion, 30–33, puts Gal. 48 (49)–49 (50) A.D. written from Antioch, or as Paul was on his journey to Jerusalem to fight the battle of Christian freedom.

[2] Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Redemption*, pp. 3–9; cp. Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, viii. To Professor Bruce (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 15–25) the Thessalonian epistles represented the rudimentary teaching given by Paul to a young Christian community: they were, in fact, a kind of Christian primer. Certainly Paulinism, in the technical sense of the word, is as indistinct in the Thessalonian letters as the characteristic genius of Carlyle in his life of Schiller.

by the Greek churches which forms the subject of his appeals and praise in the earlier letters to Corinth (i. 16^{1}, ii. 8^{1} 9^{4}). The latter epistles were of course composed before he finally visited the city on the Isthmus. Romans then falls towards the time of his departure (Ac 20^{3}) from Achaia, and this date is corroborated by the fact that Sosipater and Timothy (Ac 20^{4}) were in his company then, and joined in his greetings (Ro 16^{21}). The result is that Galatians must fall either (i) before 1 and 2 Corinthians; or (ii) between 2 Corinthians and Romans; or (iii) after Romans.[1]

(i.) is the generally received order of the epistles: cp. Baur, *Paul* (Eng. Tr.), i. 260–267; Renan, *S. Paul*, passim; Weiss; Havet, *Origines*, iv. pp. 101 f.; Mackintosh, *Essays tow. N. Theol.* 299–308; J. S. Black, *EB*, art. "Gal."; Hilgenfeld, *Einl.* pp. 249–327; also *ZWTh* (1883), pp. 303–343; Sabatier, *Paul* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 135–211; Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 217–245; Sieffert (-Meyer); Jülicher, *Einl.* 50–77; Holsten, *Das Evglm. des Paulus;* Lipsius, *HC*, II. ii. pp. 11, 12; Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 189–192; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans" (*ICC*, 1895), pp. xxxvi, xxxvii; Warfield (*Journ. Exeg. Soc.*, December 1884); Burton, *RLA*, pp. 212–216; Godet (*INT*), Reuss (pp. 76 f.), Ménégoz (*op. cit.*); Professor Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 53, 54, etc.; Bovon, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 73–120; Vollert, *Tabellen zur neutest. Zeitgesch.* (1897), pp. 20-22; Drummond, *Ep. to Galat.* (1892), pp. 17–22 (more vaguely, *IH*, ii. pp. 189 f.); Schäfer, *Einl.* p. 87 f, etc.

The strength of this theory is chiefly to be felt by a detailed exposition of the separate writings in their connection and development, and can only be shown from such an examination. It is an order which, it may be argued, suits most accurately the controversial and dogmatic movements of Paul's mind, so far as it is possible to reconstruct those from the extant sources; but it is further corroborated by the evidence afforded when each writing is isolated and placed according to its characteristic references. Indeed, the latter line of argument is often more convincing than the former. The style and inner development of thought throughout the letters cannot be said to give anything like reliable data for determining precisely the dates and order; they merely converge in favour of an order which depends upon conclusions drawn from the historical data of each writing separately viewed and sifted. Certainly these forbid any long interval between the Christianisation of the Galatians and this epistle. No situation suits the unequivocal language of Gal 1^{6} so naturally as the composition of these words at a period earlier than that at which he wrote 1 Corinthians from Ephesus.

(ii.) has been held after Lightfoot (*Galatians*, pp. 36–56) by several critics, including Hort, Farrar, Salmon, and Findlay, *Galatians*, Expositor's Bible (1891): *CR* (1895), p. 362; cp. also Bleek, *Einl.* p. 548 f., and, upon the whole, S. Davidson (*INT.* i. pp. 73–83), with Adeney, *BI*, pp. 374-375; Dr. Dods seems undecided (*DB*, ii. pp. 95, 96).

The really plausible[2] element in this theory is drawn from the

[1] The curious opinion, prevalent especially in the Eastern Church, that Gal. was composed during Paul's imprisonment (at Rome) was probably due to the canonical position of the epistle close to Ephesians. From this several ancient writers, from Eusebius of Emesa to Theodoret, naïvely concluded that it must have been written very late in Paul's life, finding also in 4^{20} an allusion to confinement and suffering. Zahn quotes a modern rehabilitation of this fantasy upon slightly different but equally impossible lines (Halmel, *Ueber röm. Recht im Galat.* 1895).

[2] Hartmann (*ZWTh* (1899), pp. 187–194), partly following Clemen, argues that the reckonings of time in 2 Co 12^{2} and Gal 2^{1} imply that the passages were written in that order.

admitted resemblances in style and subject which accompany the distinctive features in the group of letters. Galatians, it is argued, takes up the closing tone of 2 Corinthians, while in its turn it anticipates and is amplified by the tone of Romans; consequently its place is not merely with, but between, those writings. But, apart from the special considerations involved, this line of argument is too logical to be entirely human. Romans, in some aspects (*e.g.* the ideas of the spirit and sonship, also of works and the law) stands unquestionably near to Galatians, but the Corinthian epistles need not therefore be dated before the others. The fact may be admitted, and the inference denied. In his letters to Corinth the apostle is largely preoccupied with local questions which inevitably colour and shape the treatment of his main ideas. In Galatians he is—to use the modern phrase—more objective, for all his versatile and urgent personality. These writings to Corinth are not a reliable clue to the exact and average nature of the ideas which possessed his mind. They represent him at a most eager, energetic point, it is true; but for the time being, turned aside. Hence the similarity of attitude in Galatians and Romans does not permit any safe inference as to the period of their composition.[1] Psychologically, it is quite reasonable to argue that Romans carries forward the conceptions of Galatians after a brief lapse of time, during which other and more pressing questions had kept these comparatively latent in the apostle's mind.[2] Besides, it may be disputed whether the coincidences and affinities between Galatians and Romans really form an important feature in either epistle. The divergencies are far more noticeable. Pre-eminently among the Pauline epistles Galatians has its special task and individual setting. Its contents are too isolated to admit of reliable inferences being drawn from them to determine its date through its connections and resemblances; and the absence (in 2 Corinthians) of doctrinal controversy with the Judaistic emissaries proves, not that his conflict with them was still in an inchoate stage compared to that reflected in Galatians, but simply that the particular conditions and local circumstances at Corinth demanded tactics of a personal rather than a doctrinal nature. The special exposure in 2 Corinthians is not inconsistent with a previous refutation of their principles such as is hurled out in Galatians.

(iii.) has been recently revived and ingeniously stated, not only for

[1] As Rendall aptly remarks: It is one thing to note in two letters familiar workings of the same mind, and another to identify their dates on the ground of that resemblance. The force of such a presumption depends largely on circumstances; a man may well repeat the same thoughts and the same expressions at considerable intervals, if the intervening tenor of his life and his environment continue constant (*Exp.*[4] ix. p. 260). So too, I am glad to find, Mr. C. H. Turner (*DB*, i. p. 423): "Perhaps too much stress has been laid on such resemblances taken alone—as though St. Paul's history was so strictly uniform that a given topic can only have been handled at a given moment—and too little on the influence of external circumstances to revive old ideas or to call out new ones." (On this point at least, though apparently not upon the date of Philippians, he has broken away from the Lightfoot tradition). Similarly and emphatically Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 143, 144, 358 ("Paulus nicht der geistlose Schulmeister war, welcher zur Zeit und zur Unzeit seine Einförmigen Lehrsätze wiederholte").

[2] W. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 174–192), from a widely different standpoint, comes to the same conclusion as Lightfoot upon the order of the epistles, dating them—Cor. Gal. Rom.—however, in the years 61-62, and suspecting the historicity even of Ac 24, 25. But, like Ménégoz, he heartily agrees that if 1 Thess. is to be taken as a Pauline document it must be dated early in the apostle's life, previous to these four chief epistles (*ibid.* pp. 193–199).

his own purposes and reasons by Steck,[1] but also by Clemen (*Chron.* also, *SK* (1897), pp. 219–270, "Die Reihenfolge der paul. Hauptbriefe"). His scheme[2] involves a late date for the apostolic council, which is identified not with Ac 15 but with Ac 21, and therefore placed in 54 A.D. Previous to this come—

37. Saul's conversion (2 Co 12^2), two years after crucifixion.
40–45. First mission tour, chiefly in Galatia.
45–50. (Spring), second tour, through Greece, etc., to Ephesus.
47–48. Stay in Corinth (1½ years) (**Thess. epp.**).
49–50. First (lost) epistle to Corinth (1 Co 5^9), in early spring of 50.
50–52. Stay in Ephesus (2¼ years), including (**1 Co, 2 Co 9**) visit to Corinth (**2 Co 10-13**^{10}).
52–54. Third mission tour (**2 Co 1-8,** $13^{11.end}$), in summer of 52.
52–53. Winter in Nikopolis (**Tit** 3^{12-14}).
53–54. Winter in Corinth (**Rom**).
54. Apostolic council in Jerusalem (Ac 20–21^{21}), dispute at Antioch (**Gal**).
58. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem.

The stress of the argument lies on the supposed increase of controversy with the Judaisers in Galatians as compared with Romans, for which —on this hypothesis—the events at Antioch are required as the preliminary cause. But the greater probability is that the larger, milder exposition of Paul's teaching on the law followed the sharper dialectic of Galatians, and it may be held that passages like Ro 5^{20} 7^7 show quite as clear and decisive a standpoint in regard to the law as Gal 2^{19}. Clemen's views mean development in the ideas of the law, righteousness, the person of Christ, etc., but neither these nor his somewhat arbitrary treatment of "Acts" have moved recent scholarship from adhering to the old verdict pronounced by Baur's insight upon Galatians (see prefixed note below).

There need be little hesitation, then, in accepting Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, as the proper chronological order of the writings; it has found wide assent among scholars, and, upon the whole, may be considered as the hypothesis which is most successful in setting the facts and feelings of the author's life in a reasonable and natural sequence.

II. The crucial point in the problem of the prison-letters is the position of Philippians. Almost certainly, however, this letter is to be ranked as the latest. It has always impressed editors as the final expression of Paul's mind and heart, written by one who was conscious of standing near the last step. This tone does not appear in the

[1] *Der Galaterbrief* (1888), opposed in a special monograph by Gloël; *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes* (1890), and by R. J. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles* (1892), ch. iii. Zahn also refers to his own convincing article in *ZKWL* (1889), pp. 462–466. Steck's order is Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, all composed between 120 and 140 A.D.

[2] Cp. Kuhn, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschr.* (1895), pp. 981–990, on the argument that the evidence of the epistle agrees with the tone of Paul during the Caesarean imprisonment, when he could not (4^{20}) get away to visit his friends, and had been maltreated (6^{17}) by the Jews (Ac 21^{32})! Clemen's theory has been adversely examined by Schmiedel, *LC* (1894), pp. 1129–1131, and especially F. Sieffert in an essay (*ThSt*, pp. 332–357), "Die Entwickelungslinie der paulinischen Gesetzeslehre, nach den vier Hauptbriefen des Apostels." Cp. also J. Weiss' review, *SK* (1895), pp. 252–296, "Paulinische Probleme; die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe," Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 142, 143 (especially on the incompatibility of Gal 2^{10} with this theory), A. Robertson (*DB*, i. pp. 485, 486), and Gercke (*GGA* (1894), 577–599).

Colossian (1^{29} 4^{3}) or Ephesian (6^{19}) letters, which in all probability preceded Philippians; they indicate a less disturbed situation, in which the writer's mind was free to deliberately expand. So Sabatier (p. 250 f.), Weiss (*INT*, ii. pp. 131–137), Godet (*INT*, p. 427 f.), Reuss (p. 106 f.), Ramsay (*SPT*, pp. 357–359), Lipsius (*HC*, ii. 2, pp. 210, 211), von Soden (*ibid.* iii; *EBi*, i. p. 816; and "Der Philipperbrief" (1889)), Klöpper (in his edition of *Philip.* 1893), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 364–393), Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 380–391), Bovon (*NTTh*, ii. 73–120), Vollert (*Tabellen*, pp. 32, 33), Adeney (*BI*, p. 401 f.), Bartlet (*AA*, p. 178 f.), Schäfer (*Einl.* pp. 133–146), Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy (*Exp. Ti.* x. pp. 22–24), Bernard (*DB*, iii. 833), Gibb (*DB*, iii. 841), besides those who, with Holtzmann,[1] reject both Colossians and Ephesians. Still, neither the internal evidence, which may be drawn from the character and prospects of the epistle, nor the evidence sought in its relation to Col.-Ephes., is absolutely decisive; although, in the absence of reliable data, they serve to make this position inherently probable. In writing to the Philippians, Paul is no longer supported by the companions who had been with him when the earlier epistles were composed. Further, the letter gives the impression of having been written at a time when the author's position had become serious ($1^{23\text{-}25}$ $2^{23.\ 24}$), so acute, indeed, that the immediate future must end in a total change—death or liberation. This is scarcely compatible with the continued imprisonment which would be required, were Col.-Ephes. placed after Philippians.

Assuming, then, that Philippians and (as is highly probable) Colossians and Ephesians were all written from Rome, one may conclude that Philippians is subsequent to the others. The only argument on the other side of any weight is furnished by the admitted excess of dogmatic teaching in Col.-Ephes., and the apparent resemblance of Philippians to Romans. These are more or less obvious facts. But they do not necessarily imply chronological sequence, except upon the untenable hypothesis that Paul was concerned to show himself a careful and logical theologian. All three letters fall within less than a couple of years. The differences between them involve no great internal development of thought in Paul's mind. They simply arise from the different objects and interests roused in the apostle as he confronted the varying situations[2] in Asia Minor and Macedonia. Hence Philippians follows Romans just as Galatians precedes it; all these carry forward a certain and coherent train of argument, but immediately before as immediately after Romans, Paul finds himself suddenly brought face to face with crises and controversies which, like a living and versatile missionary, he turns aside to treat upon their own lives. Col.-Ephes. intervene after, as the Corinthian epistles before, Romans. They spring from a campaign, with its quick phases and unexpected transitions, in which the soldier has often to fight and

[1] Philippians "ist jedenfalls nach den 3 anderen geschrieben. . . . Es ist das Testament des Apostels, das wir vor uns haben" (*Einl.* p. 267).

[2] Ramsay: "The tone of *Col.* and *Ephes.* is determined by the circumstances of the churches addressed. The great cities of Asia were on the highway of the world, which traversed the Lycos valley, and in them development took place with great rapidity. But the Macedonians were a simple-minded people in comparison with Ephesus and Laodiceia and Colossai, lying further away from the great movements of thought. It was not in Paul's way to send to Philippi an elaborate treatise against a subtle speculative heresy which had never affected that church."

On the historical situation of Col.-Ephes. an adequate study is given in Renan's *L'Antéchrist*, ch. iv.

move abruptly. It is much safer to take each upon its own merits as a living product of Paul's mood and duty at the time being, than to view them as documents which, for reasons of style and matter, are to be plausibly but unnaturally classified in certain groups.

The main positive evidence for the later date of Philippians is drawn from the length of time required for the relations which the letter presupposes as existing between Paul and the Philippian church. They learn of Paul's arrival, send him funds by Epaphroditus, and hear of the latter's illness. Epaphroditus further is informed of their anxiety, which naturally implies that he had somehow received definite news from Philippi. All this requires a considerable time, and cannot be crushed into a few months. Further, the developed state of Christianity in the capital, with its propaganda and controversies, is an effect which is distinctly traced by Paul (1^{12-14}) as in part due to the stimulus of his presence there, and cannot be wholly set down to the previous exertions of the local Christians. The importance and extension of the church, as these are represented in Philippians, demand a space of time dating from the hour of Paul's entrance into the city, and thus involve a considerable retrospect. On the more difficult evidence drawn from the letter with regard to the particular stage of the trial at which Paul wrote, see the recent examination by R. R. Smith, *The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial* (1899), where the epistle is placed at a somewhat advanced point in the legal process, but previously to the verdict.

This place of Philippians in the series has been disputed by Lightfoot [1] ("Philippians," pp. 30–46), Farrar (*St. Paul*, ch. xlvi.), Hatch (article "Philippians," *EB*), and Hort ("Jud. Christianity," pp. 115–129; "Romans and Ephesians," p. 102). These, with some other critics (including Renan), put it earliest, partly on the ground of its coincidences with Romans, partly because the ideas of the church and of Christ's person in Col.-Ephes. are considered to mark a further stage of theological development. The former of these arguments has no more weight here than in regard to the similar question of the relationship between Galatians and Romans, and the latter epistle has equal affinities with Col.-Ephes. The latter argument is inconclusive. In Col.-Ephes. a distinct advance in theology is patent. Philippians does not carry the theology to any higher expression, but this fact does not imply that the latter epistle must have preceded the former. It is *a priori* criticism to expect a graded development of thought in one epistle after another, instead of a mobile, versatile personality. The different tone of Philippians is perfectly credible when the change in Paul's situation is taken into account, along with the specially private relation to Philippi (2^{25} 4^{18}) which occupied his mind at the moment.

Colossians is certainly to be placed before Ephesians (when the last-named is taken as genuine), though priority here carries with it very little significance. Both letters were written about the same time, and reflect essentially the same temper of mind; but Ephesians, as the wider expanded and less particular treatment of the topics, is more naturally understood as a subsequent writing.[2] Upon any theory of its relation to Colossians, it presupposes that more concrete epistle.

[1] So still Burton (*RL*, 1895), Spitta (*Urc*, i. p. 34), Trenkle (*Einl.* pp. 49, 50), and Dr. Lock (*DB*, i. pp. 718, 719, article "Ephesians").

[2] "On comprend qu'un catéchisme général puisse être tiré d'une lettre particulière, mais non qu'une lettre particulière puisse être tiré d'une catéchisme général" (Renan); Godet (*INT*, i. pp. 490–492) emphatically agrees.

The note to Philemon falls with the Colossian letter. Apart from this connection there is no evidence forthcoming for its date. Jülicher, hesitating upon Ephesians, puts Philemon close to Philippians, *i.e.* 62–64 A.D. Weizsäcker, on the other hand, persists in considering it, with Colossians, as an allegorical product of the second century (*AA*, ii. pp. 245, 383), and Steck (*JpTh* (1891), p. 571 f.) finds it is an imitation of Pliny's ninth epistle, written between 125 and 150 A.D. But this theory of Philemon has been finally superseded by the recent verdict in favour of Colossians, and cannot be regarded as seaworthy.

To the period of Paul's imprisonment under Felix at Caesarea, some of the Asiatic epistles have been occasionally assigned: Colossians + Philemon + Ephesians (by Meyer, Laurent, Hilgenfeld, Sabatier, pp. 225–249, Reuss, and Weiss [1]), Colossians + Philippians (part) + Philemon (by Clemen, *Chron.* p. 249 f.), Philippians (by O. Holtzmann, *ThLz* (1890), p. 177; *Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte* (1895), pp. 133–134; Spitta, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 281; *Urc.* i. 34; and Macpherson, *Ephesians*, pp. 86–94). The difficulties of such hypotheses, however, have been rightly felt by the majority of scholars to be insuperable. The few indications which seem to refer to Caesarea are capable of being explained, without undue forcing, upon the usual Roman theory; and Rome gives a more satisfactory background [2] for the total phenomena of the letters. Negative and positive evidence alike point to the capital as the *locus* of the prison-letters. From Rome Paul wrote, in all likelihood, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians, certainly Philippians. He may have taught in Rome, but he wrote for Asia Minor.

B. *Their Dates.*

Apart from the internal evidence, which is discussed in the respective editions and Introductions, the chronology of the epistles depends upon the chronology of the apostolic age, a matter which naturally did not specially interest that age itself, and is but obscurely reflected in the later sources. Here we have a question of considerable difficulty, involving the discussion of some half-dozen separate problems in Roman and Palestinian history which bear more or less upon the main issue, *i.e.* the rule of Aretas—the Nabataean monarch—in Damascus, the exact date of the famine in Claudius' reign, his interference with the Roman Jews, the period of Gallio's proconsulship in Achaia, the precise date of Felix's departure and Festus' arrival in Judaea; and finally the limits of the Neronic persecution. These events touch here and there the biography of Paul and the history of the early church. But while they might be expected to yield several fixed points in the chronology, the misfortune actually is that they themselves are not absolutely fixed. Even the most crucial point of all—the date of the change in the procuratorship—

[1] So recently Haupt (-Meyer). But all the probabilities favour the Roman origin of Philemon (cp. recently Bernard, *DB*, iii. p. 833). Paul was far more accessible to outsiders in Rome than in Caesarea, and runaway slaves naturally took refuge amid the crowds of the metropolis (Sallust, *Catil.* 37^5; Tacit. *Annal.* 15^{46}). And Philemon is contemporary with the others. Surely, too, had Col.-Ephes. been written at Caesarea, some mention of Paul's friend Philip (Ac $21^{8\text{-}14}$) would have occurred among the list of his helpers and companions.

[2] Philippians must be decisively placed in the Roman captivity, when 1^{13} and 4^{22}—to say nothing of other passages—are fairly read. The past extent of his influence, his present situation, and his prospects, imperatively demand Rome as the place where this letter was written (*vide* Hort, "Rom. Ephes." p. 100 f.).

lies in dispute. On one reckoning, that of the "accepted" chronology, the recall of Felix falls into the period 59–61 A.D.; on the other, that of the "new" or "Eusebian" chronology, it is usually thrown back to 55 [1] or 56. Broadly speaking, we may say that a range of four or five years is thus possible for any of the chief dates in the life of Paul which depend upon conclusions drawn from this event.

In the accompanying table the outstanding events of Paul's life are arranged according to the various schemes of several prominent authorities. Of these, the majority, it will be seen (in the main, apart from questions of detail), represent the "accepted chronology" upon the whole. Harnack and McGiffert, on the other hand, base their schemes on data taken from the "Eusebian" chronicle, which practically puts the arrival of Festus in the year Oct. 55–Oct. 56 A.D. This position has been advocated by (among others) O. Holtzmann (*Neutestam. Zeitgesch.* pp. 118–135), favoured by Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, proleg. § 10, pp. 21–24), and criticised more or less adversely by Batiffol (*Revue biblique*, vi. pp. 423–432), Ramsay (*Exp.*[5] v. p. 201 f.), Bacon (*ibid.* February 1898, Nov.-Dec. 1899), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 628–639).

The accepted chronology is stated [2] admirably by Schürer (*HJP.* I. ii. p. 182 f.; *ZwTh* (1898), pp. 21–42), Sabatier ("Paul" (Eng. tr.), pp. 13–21), Beet (*Corinthians*, Dissertation iii.), or Wendt (-Meyer[8], *Acts*, § 10). Mr. Turner's study (*DB.* i. 415 f.) is by far the most lucid and trustworthy discussion of the whole question which has yet appeared, and to it the reader is referred for the detailed evidence and arguments; although exception might be taken—as I find has been done by Professor Bacon (*Exp.*[6] ii. p. 9 f.)—to the inadequate importance assigned in that article to Jewish authorities and evidence, *e.g.* upon the calendar.

The results upon which the tentative chronology of this volume is based, as compared with those of the earlier or Eusebian chronology,[3] start from the crucifixion of Jesus in 29 A.D. The conversion of Paul can be approximately dated a year or so later. The narrative of 1 Co $15^{3ff.}$ certainly implies no long period between the earlier and later appearances of Jesus in the series, while upon the other hand some interval must be allowed between the death of Christ and Paul's visit to Damascus in order to admit of a sufficient development of Christianity. Hence the date of his conversion may be put roughly as 30 (31) A.D. To date it in the same year as the crucifixion is as unsatisfactory as to place it four or five year afterwards. Later on, a fixed point is gained in the accession of Festus, *c.* 59 A.D., which helps to determine some of the preceding and subsequent dates in Pauline chronology. With the close of Paul's imprisonment for two years in Rome, the curtain falls upon his life. Any reconstruction of his further career depends largely

[1] *E.g.*, by Weber in his monograph, *Kritische Geschichte d. Exegese d. IX. Kap. d. Römerbriefs* (1889), p. 177 f. A good conspectus of the whole question is given by Votaw (*Bibl. World*, xi. pp. 112 f., 177 f.).

[2] In a recent and careful monograph, which exposes blunders in Eusebius—"Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus" (*TU*, neue Folge, vierter Band, Heft 1, 1899)—C. Erbes fixes the arrival of Festus in Palestine and the journey of Paul to Rome, 60–61 A.D.: the apostle lost his case, and died on the 22nd of Feb. 63 A.D. Peter suffered a year later. Cp. Zahn (*Einl.* i. p. 435 f., ii. p. 16 f.) for a long defence of the traditional dates of Peter's and of Paul's martyrdom.

[3] Besides one or two older scholars like Bengel, the adherents of this position include a Roman Catholic critic, Kellner, who is quoted in support of the Eusebian data (article "Felix" in Hergenröther's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2nd ed. iv. p. 1311 f.; *Katholik* (1887), p. 146 f.; *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theologie* (1888), p. 640 f.).

	L	J	R	H	McG	*DB* (i.)	*DB* (iii.)	N
Crucifixion of Jesus,	[30]	[30]	30	29 (30)	30	29	...	29
Conversion of Paul, .	34	35	33 (32)	30	31–32	35–36	36	30
First visit to Jerus.,	37	38	35	33	34–35	38	39	...
Second ,, (Ac $11^{27f.}$ 12^{25})	45	...	45–46	[44]	45	46	...	44
First mission tour, .	48	...	47	45	bef. 45	47	46	44 (45)
Council at Jerus.,	51	52	49–50	47 (46)	45	49	49	47
Second mission tour,	51	52–53	50	47 (46)	46	49	49	47
Third mission tour, .	54	55–56	53	50	49	52	53	51
Arrest in Jerus., .	58	59–60	57	54 (53)	53	56	57	55
Arrival in Rome, .	61	62	60	57 (56)	56	59	60	57
Death of Peter, .	64	...	[80]	64	64	64–65	...	67
Death of Paul, . .	67	(64)	(66) 67	64	58	64–65	67	67
	Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* (pp. 215–233; paper written as far back as 1863). So practically Schmiedel (*HC*, II. i. p. 3).	Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 20–27. He rejects the second visit to Jerusalem, and fills 38–52 with work in Syria and the neighbouring provinces.	Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 363f., and *CRE*, p. 168. In *Exp.*[6] ii. pp. 88-105 ("a second fixed point in Paul. chronology"), he attempts to confirm his hypothesis that 59 was the year of Festus' accession.	Harnack: *Chron.* pp. 233–243, 707, 708. He dates Paul's freedom, 59 (58)–64. Blass also inclines to date Council in 46 (47), the Roman captivity, 57–59.	McGiffert: *AA*, pp. 164, 172, 356f., 680.	C.H.Turner, "Chronology of the N.T." (*DB*, i. pp. 415–425).	G. G. Findlay, "Paul the Apostle" (*DB*, iii. pp. 696–731).	Neteler (*Untersuchung neutestamentlicher Zeitverhältnisse*, 1894).

	OH	Z	*EBi*	Rn	S	*RLA*
Crucifixion of Jesus,	29	30	30	33	...	30
Conversion of Paul, .	29	35	31–35 28–32	38	35	36 *c.*
First visit to Jerus.,	32	38	34–38 31–35	41	38	39
Second ,, (Ac $11^{27f.}$, 12^{25})	...	44	...	...	...	45–46 (?)
First mission tour, .	...	50–51	...	bef. 51	50–51	46
Council at Jerus.,	46	52	45–49	51	52	51 *c.*
Second mission tour,	47	52	46–50 (?)	51	52–55	51
Third mission tour, .	49	54	...	54	55	54
Arrest in Jerus., .	53	58	54–58	58	58–59	58
Arrival in Rome, .	56	61	57–61	61	61–62	61
Death of Peter, .	...	64	...	64	...	...
Death of Paul, . .	64	66–67	...	64	...	65
	O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (1895), §§ 15–17. He places Paul's travels in Syria Cilicia between 32 and 46; his first stay at Corinth, 48–49; and his journey to Rome, 55–56.	Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 628–639. Farrar (*Life and Work of St. Paul*) dates the conversion as late as 37; the first visit to Jerusalem, 39; second, 44; first tour, 45 f.; the Council, 51; the second tour, 53–56; the arrest, 58; the arrival in Rome, 60; and the death in 68. Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 777 f.) also accepts 64 as the year of Peter's martyrdom.	Von Soden, *EBi*, i. 799–819. In an impartial but scarcely lucid way, he leaves the details of the general chronology largely an open question, contenting himself with giving the alternative schemes. This makes it somewhat difficult to follow the arguments or to grasp the results of the article as a whole. After Schleiermacher, he identifies the two visits to Jerusalem (Ac 11 and Ac 15), but considers that the former passage places it with greater chronological accuracy.	Renan, *Les Apôtres, Saint Paul, L'Antéchrist*. Similarly Laurent, pp. 67–91: second visit to Jerusalem, 47; first mission tour, 47–50; second, 52–55; arrest, 59; arrival in Rome, 62.	Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* (Eng. tr.), p. 13 f. The second visit to Jerusalem he also regards as apocryphal.	Professor E. D. Burton, *RLA*, pp. 201–207.

	Wgn	W	Ws	G	B	W	D	*Bl*
Crucifixion of Jesus,	33 c.	29 or 31	...	...	29	...	...	...
Conversion of Paul, .	...	35	35	32	31–32	34	35	35 (32)
First visit to Jerus.,	...	38	38	35	34–35	37	38	38 (35)
Second ,, .	...	...	44	(44)	46	46	44	44–45 (45–46)
(Ac $11^{27f.}$, 12^{25})								
First mission tour, .	...	betw. 45 & 50	..	45–47	47	46–47	46	45 (46)
Council at Jerus., .	52	52	52	48	49	48	51	49
Second mission tour,	...	52	52	49–51	49	49	51–54	49–52
Third mission tour, .	...	55	55	52–56	52	52	54–58	52–57
Arrest in Jerus., .	58	59	59	56	56	...	...	57
Arrival in Rome, .	*c.* 60	62	62 [1]	59	59	...	...	60 (spring)
Death of Peter, .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Death of Paul, . .	64	64	...	65 (66)–68	61–62	...	...	67
	Weingarten, *Zeittafeln und Überblicke zur Kirchengeschichte* (1891), p. 4 f.	Wendt (-Meyer,)[8] *Acts*, pp. 53-60). He rejects the sec. visit to Jerusalem as an unhistorical mistake.	Weiss, *INT*, i. p. 154 f. Workman[1] (*Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 316–319) argues from the Jewish calendar (Ac 27^{9}) that Paul's voyage could not have occurred in the years 55, 58, 61, but only in 56, or more probably in 59. Even 60 he regards as beset with difficulties.	Prof. G. H. Gilbert, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1898), p. 244 f.; *Life of Paul*, pp. 242–259.	Vernon Bartlet, *AA*, pp. xiii, xiv, and passim. He places the visit of Gal. 2^{1-10} prior to 46, as a private visit previous even to the famine visit of that year, and passed over by Acts on account of its non-representative character.	Wandel: "zur Chronologie des Lebens Pauls" (*ZKWL*, 1887–1888).	Dr. J. Drummond, *Epistle to Galatians* (1892), p. 39.	Belser, "zur Chronologie des Paulus" (*TQ*, 1898, pp. 353–379). The bracketted dates are less probable, but, in Belser's judgment, not impossible. He puts the arrival of Festus, 58 (59).

upon conjecture and the vague inferences drawn from an inferior tradition.

As an expert does well to remind us, one of the greatest difficulties in ancient chronology is to be met in the question of Pauline chronology, namely, "the fact that in almost every case the reasoning which assigns an event to a special year would be almost, if not quite, equally well satisfied by the year next to it" (Ramsay, *Exp.*[6] ii. pp. 88, 89). In consequence, the whole arrangement of this period is uncertain in details, and has been variously sketched. Fortunately, however, the divergence of these chronological results does not preclude an attempt to exhibit a general and relative chronology of the epistles.[1] These, to some degree, are independent of absolutely accurate conclusions upon several of the points above noted; hence it is possible to draw up a further table which will represent some recent and varying lines of criticism on the literature, and prove that the records can be approximately fixed in relation to each other, if not to definite points in the history.

[1] There is a monograph by Rovers ("De chronolog. volgorde der brieven van het NT") in the *Bibliotheek van Moderne Theol. en Letterkunde*, xi. p. 487 f., which I have not been able to see.

	Clemen, McGiffert.	Substantially, Renan, Weiss, Holtzmann, Lightfoot, Sabatier, Laurent, Godet, etc.	Jülicher.	Harnack, Ramsay.	Zahn.
1 Thess.	47–48	52–55	± 54	48–49	53 I. = Spring
2 ,,	48: McG.			51–52: R.	II. = Summer
Galat.	54–55	55: Lips. Sieffert. 56 ± 58: Lgft. Salmon.	55–57	53: R. 50–53	53 (beg.)
	46: McG.			51-52: Rendall.	
1 Cor.	50–52	57–58	56–58	55: R. 53	57
2 ,, .			58–60	56: R.	
Rom.	53–54	58 59: Laurent, Holtzmann	60–61	53–54	58
	52–53: McG.	58–59: Lips.		56–57: R.	
Coloss.	58				
Philem.		59: Laurent.			
		58–61 so von Soden (—Eph).	63–64	57–59 (—Eph.)	62
Ephes.	56–58: McG.	61–63: Lgft.		Early in 61: R.	
Philipp.	56–58: McG.	62–63	62–64	Late in 61: R.	63
		63–64: Lips.			

There is nothing tame about these brief pages, nothing vague or indefinite ; on the contrary, they breath a spirit of strong faith and overflowing life, and above all, an ardour of hope destined before long to be extinguished. They give a first sketch of Paul's doctrine, corresponding with that primitive period when it possessed all its vigour without having as yet attained its fulness. . . . This early type of Paulinism is still closely allied in its general conceptions to the preaching of the other apostles, but bearing within it already the new and bold ideas to which it subsequently gave birth. It is admirably calculated to serve as a transition and means of organic connection between the apostolic preaching with which Paul set out and the independent conception of the gospel to which he afterwards attained.—**Sabatier.**

1^{1} **Greeting.**

1^{2}-3^{13} **Personal:** thanksgiving for their Christian life: its
1^{2-10} origin,
2^{1-12} connection with himself and his ministry,
2^{13-16} endurance.
2^{17}-3^{10} his anxiety for them: the mission and report of Timotheus.
3^{10-13} his prayer for them.

4^{1}-5^{24} **Counsels on:** moral purity,
4^{9-12} brotherly love and sober diligence.
the second Arrival of the Lord: in relation to
4^{13-18} the dead.
5^{1-11} the living—need of watchfulness.
5^{12-15} social duties.
5^{16-22} religious duties.
5^{23-24} a prayer for them.

5^{25-28} **Conclusion.**

I. THESSALONIANS

1 1 Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus
to the Community of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ:
grace to you and peace.
2 We always give thanks to God for you all when we make mention of
3 you in our prayers, as we remember without ceasing your active faith and labouring love and patient hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, before
4 our God and Father. For, brothers beloved by God, we know that you
5 were chosen; because our gospel came to you not in word only, but in power as well, in the holy Spirit with much assurance (as you know the
6 kind of men we showed ourselves among you for your sake), and you became imitators of us and of the Lord, and accepted the word amid
7 great distress with the joy of the holy Spirit, so that you became a
8 pattern to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia. For the word of the Lord has sounded out from you—not only in Macedonia and Achaia but in every place, your faith to God has gone abroad. We do
9 not need to speak of it at all. The people themselves acknowledge with regard to us what kind of entrance we had to you, and how you turned
10 to God from idols, to serve a living and a real God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus our rescuer from the wrath to come.

2 1 Brothers, you know yourselves that our entrance to you has not proved
2 in vain. Although we had already suffered and been ill-treated (as you know) at Philippi, yet confident in our God we spoke the gospel of God
3 to you amid great conflict. For our appeal does not proceed from fraud,
4 or from impurity, nor does it work by guile; nay, as God has held us fit to be intrusted with the gospel, so we speak, to please not men but
5 God, who tests our hearts. For never were we found using either words of flattery (you know that) or—God is witness—a pretext for covetous-
6 ness, or seeking human credit, either from you or from others; we could
7 have claimed authority as apostles of Christ, but we behaved among you
8 gently, as a nursing mother cherishes her children. Yearning thus over you, we were ready and willing to impart to you not merely the gospel
9 of God but also our very souls, since you had won our love. You remember our labour and toil, brothers; night and day we worked so as not to be a burden to any of you, while we preached to you the gospel of
10 God. You are witnesses, and God is witness, how holy and upright and
11 blameless was our behaviour to you believers, how (as you know) we treated each one of you as a father treats his children, comforting and
12 encouraging you, and charging you to walk in a manner worthy of the God who calls you to his own reign and majesty.
13 And for this we also give thanks to God without ceasing, namely, that in receiving from us the word of the divine message, you accepted it not as men's word but as what it really is, God's word—which also is active

14 in you believers. For, brothers, you became imitators of the Communities
of God which are in Judaea in Christ Jesus, since you suffered also at the
hands of your fellow-countrymen in the very same way as they did at
15 the hands of the Jews—who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets,
and harassed ourselves, who please not God, and are against all men,
16 who forbid us to speak to the Gentiles for their salvation; and all, that
they may *fill up* their *sins* evermore. [The Wrath has come upon them
at last.]
17 But when we were bereft of you, brothers, for a short while—distant
in person, not in affection—we endeavoured more and more eagerly to see
18 you with great longing. (We did desire to come to you, I Paul once
19 and again, yet Satan hindered us.) For who is our hope or joy or wreath
20 to exult in—who if not you—before our Lord Jesus at his arrival? Yes,
3 1 indeed, you are our credit and joy. Therefore, unable to bear it
2 any longer, we preferred to be left behind at Athens by ourselves; send-
ing Timotheus, our brother and God's minister in the gospel of Christ, to
3 establish and encourage you for the furtherance of your faith, that no one
should be shaken by these distresses. For you know yourselves that we
4 are destined to this; indeed we told you beforehand, when we were with
5 you, "We are to suffer distress." And so it befel, as you know. For my
part then, unable to bear it any longer, I sent in order to learn your faith,
in case after all the tempter had tempted you, and our labour proved in vain.
6 But when Timotheus reached us a moment ago from you, bringing us
the good news of your faith and love, and of how you always have a kindly
7 remembrance of us, longing to see us as we long to see you, then amid
all our trouble and distress we were cheered about you, brothers, by
8 your faith. This is life to us now, if you stand firm in the Lord.
9 Yes! how can we render thanks to God for you, for all the joy we have
10 on your account before our God? Night and day we pray especially
11 to see you and to supply the deficiencies of your faith. May our
God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way to you!
12 And may the Lord make you increase and excel in love to one another
13 and to all men (as we also do to you), to establish your hearts blameless
in holiness before our God and Father at the arrival of our Lord Jesus
with all his saints!
4 1 Well, then, brothers, our prayer and appeal to you in the Lord Jesus
is to excel more and more in walking, as you received word from us how
you ought to walk, so as to please God—and as, indeed, you are walking.
2, 3 You know the charges we gave you by the Lord Jesus. For it is God's
4 will that you be holy, that you abstain from fornication, that each of
5 you learn to possess his own wife in chastity and honour, not in the
6 appetite of lust like *the Gentiles who know not God*, to prevent any man
overreaching and taking advantage of his brother in this affair; since,
as we told you before and testified to you, *God is the avenger* in all these
7 matters. For God did not call us to be impure; his is a holy calling.
8 Therefore he who contemns this, contemns not man so much as God *who*
9 *gives you his* holy *Spirit*. But in regard to brotherly love you have no
need of anyone to write to you. You are yourselves taught by God to
10 love one another; indeed, you act thus to all the brothers in all
Macedonia. Still we exhort you, brothers, to excel more and more in
11 that; also to make it your ambition to live quietly, to mind your own
12 affairs, and—as we charged you—to work with your hands, so as to
behave yourselves with propriety to those outside and be dependent on
no one.

13 In regard to those who sleep, we would not have you ignorant,
14 brothers, that you may not grieve like the rest, who have no hope. If
we believe that Jesus died and rose, so also will God bring with him
15 through Jesus those who have fallen asleep. For by a word of the Lord
we tell you this: "We, the living, who survive until the arrival of the
16 Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. The Lord himself,
with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet of
God, shall descend from heaven, and first the dead" in Christ "shall
17 rise: then we," the living, "who survive, shall be caught up in the
clouds along with them to meet the Lord in the air. And thus we shall
18 be ever with the Lord." So comfort one another with these words.

5 1 But in regard to the times and the seasons, brothers, you have no
2 need of being written to; you know perfectly well that the day of the
3 Lord comes like a thief in the night. When they are speaking of
"peace" and "safety," then sudden upon them destruction comes, as birth-
4 pangs on a woman with child; and they shall not escape. But you are
not in darkness, brothers, for the Day to overtake you like thieves.[1]
5 You are all sons of light and sons of the day.
We belong not to the night nor to the darkness:
6 Well, then, let us not sleep like the rest, but be wakeful and sober.
7 For sleepers sleep at night,
And drunkards are drunk at night:
8 But as for us who belong to the day, let us be sober,
Putting on faith and love as our *coat of mail;*
And, *for a helmet*, the hope of *salvation;*
9 since God appointed us not to wrath but to possess salvation through our
10 Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us that whether we wake or sleep we
11 should live along with him. Therefore exhort one another, and let each
build up the other—as indeed you do.
12 Now, brothers, we pray you to respect those who labour among you
13 and preside over you in the Lord and admonish you; for the sake of
their work esteem them with especial love. Be at peace among your-
14 selves. Also we appeal to you, brothers, to admonish the irregular,
encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak, be long-suffering to all.
15 See that no one renders evil for evil: always aim at what is good for
16, 17 one another and for all men. Always rejoice, pray without ceas-
18 ing, in everything give thanks: such is God's will in Christ Jesus for
19, 20, 21 you. Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophecies: test everything,
22 retain the good, *abstain from every* kind of *evil.*
23 May the God of peace himself sanctify you perfectly, and may
your spirit, soul, and body be kept entire, blameless at the arrival of our
24 Lord Jesus Christ! He who calls you is faithful: he will do it.
25, 26 Brothers, pray for us. Salute all the brothers with a saints' kiss.
27 I adjure you by the Lord to have this letter read to all the brothers.
28 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

[1] Reading κλέπτας.

II. THESSALONIANS

This letter purports to have been written shortly (2^{15}) after 1 Thessalonians, partly to give further encouragement to the Christians of that city under their depressing trials, but especially to steady them against a feverish outburst of excitement. Symptoms of unrest were visible generally throughout the Empire at the time. But the particular and immediate cause at Thessalonika was furnished by the idea of the second Advent, the near approach of which had been proclaimed by several teachers as a revelation from God. They had also appealed to some written words of Paul himself.[1] Against this delusion and its moral consequences the epistle is written. It supplements the first epistle, while at the same time it faces a novel development of the situation. Paul had thought his friends did not require special instruction on eschatology (1 Th 5^{2}). He now finds they do, and proceeds to give the requisite explanation and information on the fundamental principles of the last things. This is done, as the subject necessitated, in characteristically Jewish form. The spirit is Christian and Pauline, but the writer has for the time being become to the Jews a Jew.

The reasons which have made many scholars unsure of its authenticity and disposed to look for a later date, vary in weight. Some are obviously minor. The style of 2 Thessalonians is, on the whole, genuinely Pauline (cp. besides Bornemann's copious discussion in Meyer, *ad. loc.*, and Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 181–183 ; Jowett, *Epp. of Paul*,[3] i. pp. 70–76), and no stress can be safely put on the linguistic arguments. The emphasis on Paul's authority ("die betreffenden Wendungen haben ein mehr offizielles Gepräge," Spitta) is not unnatural in the circumstances, and cannot be regarded with suspicion as exaggerated. The different motives for his labour (1 Th 2^{9}, 2 Th 3^{7}) are not contradictory but correlative. In fact the really crucial points which determine the question of the later date lie exclusively in the eschatological features of the writing. An estimate of these is decisive, and the other evidence must be used chiefly to corroborate the conclusion reached upon surer grounds.

i. The idea of the Antichrist has been frequently taken as implying the Montanist conceptions of the second century ; the commoner interpretation, however, finds in it a reference to the legendary return of Nero after his death. This gives a good sense, but it is not a necessary inference from the text. Nero's reappearance is merely one of several

[1] Perhaps in 1 Thessalonians ($5^{1\text{-}11}$ 2^{16}), but not necessarily. Before the date of that epistle Paul may well have written others, and even some (two) to Thessalonika itself (as Professor Rendel Harris, *Exp.*[5] viii. 161 f., 401 f., has recently suggested), which are no longer extant. At any rate, the reference to the admitted practice of forgery (2^{2} 3^{17}) is no valid argument against the Pauline authorship (cp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 4) ; nor is there sufficient reason for supposing that the rumour was unfounded and Paul's fear mistaken. The difficulty of 2^{2} is not eased by Dr. Field's ingenious conjecture, ὡς δὴ ἡμῶν, "as pretending to be ours" (cum irrisione quadam plerumque ponitur ὡς δή, Ast), *Otium Norvicense*, part III. (1899), p. 202.

facts that suit the conception of Antichrist in this writing. If any political significance had to be found for it here, then, as Grotius saw long ago, the irreligious procedure of the madcap Caligula (Hausrath, ii. pp. 31–74) with his claim to deity (2^4) would furnish an even apter basis; and it is to be noted that the coincidences between the Apocalypse and this epistle mostly occur in passages of the Apocalypse (chaps. 13, 17), where on other grounds critics have suspected an original apocalyptic piece belonging to Caligula's reign.[1] But the conception of an enemy of God and his manifestation is really a dogmatic postulate[2] taken over from the OT (Schürer,[3] *HJP*, II. ii. p. 164 f.). It required no one emperor to suggest it. The whole scheme was prompted rather by the inner glow of expectation for the future and indignation at the present, which possessed the loyal heirs of the OT prophecies. Resemblances with outer conditions might be traced, but the aptness of the prophecy's repetition never depended altogether on its exact and detailed applicability to such conditions. Here, as in the Apocalypse of John, a certain contentment with indefiniteness is one of the self-denying ordinances of good criticism. Nor again has the reference of 2 Th $2^{6.\ 7}$ to the restraining influence of the Roman Empire, which still seems the most satisfactory view,[4] any necessary connection with the individual Caligula, much less with Vespasian. The tone agrees perfectly with subsequent Pauline passages like Ro 13^{1-7}. It is the emperor officially not individually, who is meant. Indeed, the disposition on the part of many critics to assume a frequent reference to political affairs in Paul's epistles is often little better than a modern conceit. Paul viewed the world largely *sub specie aeternitatis*. He had by birth and training his apocalyptic categories and possibly an apocalyptic tradition of Jesus (1 Th 4^{15}) from the early church. These are quite sufficient of themselves to explain this and

[1] On his attempted insult to the Jews, cp. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9, "Jussi a Caio Caesare effigiem eius in templo locare, arma potius sumpserunt: quem motum Caesaris mors diremit." There is quite a case for dating 3 Mac at this period as a book of consolation written for Alexandrian Jews.

[2] In Ps Sol 17^{13-20}, Pompey, the first violator of the temple, is ὁ ἄνομος, his people οἱ ἄνομοι. Cp. passages like Ps 88^{23} and Dan 7^{25} $11^{36.\ 37}$, with their traditional interpretation in Judaism (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 221 f.).

[3] He will not accept the epistle as authentic (*EB*, article "Thessalonians"), but the reference to Nero is not one of his grounds for that decision. Bousset's researches into the Antichrist tradition (*Antichrist*, pp. 115 f., 129 f., 132 f.) throw some light upon its history. His aim is to prove the existence of a Jewish tradition going back to Herod's time or even to the later Maccabees, in which the ideas of a tyrant who is God's opponent and of a false Messiah were not strictly distinguished at all points. This originally unpolitical tradition (cp. his edition of *Apoc.* pp. 431 f.) would be reflected in the NT in 2 Th 2, the small apocalypse of the synoptic gospels, and Apoc 11^{3-13}. Cp. also Assumpt. Mos. 8–10 and Didachê, c. 16.

[4] Cp. Weiss, *NTTh*, i. pp. 305–311. In this event the obstinate malevolence of Judaism underlies the "mystery of iniquity." Warfield, however (*Exp.*[3] iv. pp. 30–44), prefers to reverse the usual interpretation. He takes the man of sin as representing the imperial line and its rage for deification. The restraining power is the Jewish state, which "hid the tender infancy of the church within the canopy of a protecting sheath until it should grow strong enough to withstand all storms." As a modern reading of the history, this has some truth. The question is whether it would have occurred to Paul. It seems scarcely possible that he would have subtly combined in one letter a polemic against Jewish obstinacy and antagonism, and also a theory of their providential and unconscious service to the Christian communities. For the eschatological atmosphere and vista of the epistle, cp. Sabatier, pp. 117–123, and Denney, "Thessalonians" (*Expos. Bible*, 1891), pp. 303–337, besides the catena of details in Bornemann's or Schmiedel's excursus, and Klöpper's paragraphs in the monograph cited below.

many other passages in his writings, without the importation of outside allusions. Further, the general reference to the restraint of the Empire is borne out by the Jewish character of "the man of lawlessness," who plays in the main the *rôle* of a pseudo-Messiah[1] (4 Esdras 4^1) among the Jews. The Antichrist is religious, not political. The secret antagonism which the Christian faith had to encounter is in all likelihood the hostility of Judaism both in Palestine and in the provinces, and the conception of Rome as a bar to this antagonism could hardly have survived the seventh decade with its Neronic frenzy. If this interpretation be correct, it helps to explain the almost cryptic and oracular vagueness of Paul's reference to the removal of the restraining force. Allusions to an emperor's death had of necessity to be couched in very guarded language.

ii. Even were the alleged contradiction between the views of the two epistles upon the second Advent established, it would tell in favour of the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians rather than otherwise. The discrepancy would be easier of explanation as the variation of one man's mind, than as the work of a later Christian who ostensibly intended to reproduce Paul's ideas, and yet allows himself to openly dispute the apostle's written utterances. But between passages like 1 Th 5^2 and 2 Th 2^3 there is little discrepancy—except on paper. To be instantaneous and to be heralded by a historical prelude, are not contradictory ideas (*e.g.* Mt 24^{29-39}, Apoc $3^3 = 6^{1\,f.}$). The second passage represents another aspect of the belief which Paul afterwards found it useful to press. Then, as ever, he was more concerned for the practical situation of his readers than careful to be strictly and verbally consistent with his past utterances.[2] Apostasy as a prelude to the second Advent is neither to be taken as an essential dogma of Paulinism up to the last, nor to be set aside as in itself an impossible conception for the apostle. At this time he cannot have had then any crystallised dogma—if he ever had—upon the contents of the interval between the present and the finale. For practical purposes it was enough to insist now on the unexpectedness of the Advent, now on its possible delay, according to the trend of current notions upon the subject. In reality the future outlook in both epistles is substantially identical: the crisis is not localised in either, yet it is not far away.

Baur, who rejected both the Thessalonian epistles, dated the second after Paul's death, *c.* 68–70, the Antichrist being Nero, the apocalyptic

[1] This is corroborated if the scene of the beast's activity in Apoc 11 is interpreted to be Jerusalem. So Bousset (*Antichrist*, ch. i.), who accepts the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians, "without, however, laying too much weight on this assumption." He rightly quotes Jo 5^{43} as a direct parallel to 2 Th 2^{9-12}. But one is less sure about his theory of the personal pseudo-Messiah. This figure he traces back to the dragon-opponent of God in the old myths, but without proving that such an incarnation of rebellion must necessarily have been viewed as a false Messiah by the Jews. At the same time, so far from being a political personality, he is "a purely eschatological figure in every sense of the word," neither Simon Magus nor Bar-Kokhba.

[2] "Dass P. immer viel über die Gründe des Verzuges der Parusie nachgedacht hat, ist selbstverständlich, halb freute er sich desselben, halb war darob betrübt; er kann aber auch lebenslänglich bei der Anschauung von 2 Th 2 stehen geblieben sein. Eine religiöse Fundamentalfrage war es nicht, was vor der Parusie sich noch abspielen müsse; die Katechumenen hat er darüber unterrichtet, an solche wendet er sich aber nicht in seinen späteren Briefen, braucht also auf den Gegenstand nicht einzugehen" (Jülicher); cp. Clemen, *Chron.* pp. 41–43, also—from an opposite standpoint—Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. 190–192, and Dr. O. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher* (pp. 102, 103), *Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 348, 349.

"beast" (*Paul* (Eng. tr.), ii. 85–97, 314–340), and Schmiedel (*HC*, II. i.) has recently supported this date with much candour. On the later form of this view, the epistle is an apocalypse[1] which desires to win Pauline sanction for its conceptions, founding itself upon 1 Thessalonians and the Corinthian epistles especially. If a later date than the usual one has to be taken, certainly the close of the seventh decade is infinitely more probable than one in Trajan's reign, when the background of the writing would consist of antinomian Gnostic controversies. The latter position is held, after Hilgenfeld, by Bahnsen ("Zum Verständniss von 2 Th 2," *JpTh.* (1880), pp. 681–705, the "restraint" being in this case the episcopate), Pfleiderer (*Urc.* 77–78, 356–358), who considers it as a pendant to the Johannine Apocalypse, composed not earlier than Trajan's reign, and Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 253–256. Havet (*Origines*, iv. p. 373) thinks of Vespasian as the κατέχων (2[7]), J. Weiss (*SK* (1892), pp. 253, 254) assigns both epistles to Silvanus ("Der nutzmassliche Schreiber oder Inspirator des ersten Petrusbriefes die Thessalonicherbriefe zum wenigstens mitgestaltet habe"), while C. Rauch again (*ZwTh.* (1895), pp. 457–465) regards 2 Thessalonians as composed fifty years after Paul's death, subsequent to the Apocalypse and previous to Barnabas, in order to exhibit Pauline eschatology under Jewish-Christian conceptions. On all these theories the letter is a revision of 1 Thessalonians. The writer has worked over and remodelled that writing, using Paul's style as far as he could, to convey later eschatological teaching through the medium of Pauline traditions.[2]

Holtzmann closes his discussion (*Einl.* pp. 212–216), however, with the significant admission, "The question at the present time is, not whether the second epistle should be thrust down into the post-apostolic age, but whether, on the contrary, it does not reach back to the lifetime of the apostle, and is not therefore authentic and written shortly after 1 Thessalonians, *i.e.* about 54 A.D." Upon this position the above-noted lines of interpretation converge. Indeed, despite the inferiority of interest and vigour of which so much has been made, the impression of the letter's genuinely Pauline character has been spreading among critics.[3] Even Spitta, who is unwilling to accept its authenticity (*Offenbarung Joh.* 497–590, *Urc.* i. pp, 111–153), feels bound to do justice to what are its undoubtedly Pauline elements. The contents, he supposes, with their somewhat formal and official strain, were not dictated to, but rather composed in the name of the others (2 Th 1[1]) by Paul's companion Timothy, whose acquaintance with Jewish fables and scriptures is inferred from the tradition embodied in the "Pastorals" (Ac 16[1]). More thoroughly the Pauline authorship and the 52–54 A.D. date have been frankly accepted by Reuss (pp. 73–75); Grimm (*SK* (1850), pp. 753–816); Schenkel, *Das Christusbild d. Apostel*, pp. 68, 69; Renan, *Saint Paul*, pp. 248–255; Mangold (-Bleek, § 143); Sabatier; Weiss, *INT*, i. pp.

[1] The dreaded outbreak being of course the return of Nero redivivus, and the restraint the imperial power of Vespasian or Galba.

[2] Weizsäcker, *AA*, i. pp. 295–298; cp. von Soden, *SK* (1885), p. 263 f.; and S. Davidson, *INT*, i. pp. 250–265. The improbability of such a method after Paul's death is brought out very forcibly by Zahn (*Einl.* i. p. 177 f.), especially in its connection with Nero redivivus.

[3] Especially among those who, like Haupt (*Die eschatol. Aussagen Jesu* (1895), pp. 136, 137), and Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 159, 160, are able to accept the synoptic eschatology, with its prediction of false prophets and apostasy, as a genuine deliverance of Jesus, *c.* 29 A.D., to which subsequent Christian teaching—as here and in the Apocalypse—owes its initiative and justification.

232–235, *AJT*, i. 338–344; Gloël, *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*, pp. 40–42; Salmon, *INT*, pp. 365–369; Godet (*INT*, i. p. 164 f.); Jowett; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans" (*ICC*), p. xiv; G. G. Findlay ("Thessalonians," *Cambridge Bible*, 1891); Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 40–44; Clemen, *Chron.* pp. 240–246; McGiffert, *AA*, pp. 257–253; and Adeney, *BI*, pp. 357–360. The most wealthy exposition is that of Bornemann (-Meyer); there is a Dutch monograph by Westrik, "De echtheid van den tweeden brief aan de Thessal." (1899), especially useful on the question of style, and a skilful defence of the authenticity by A. Klöpper, *Theol. Stud. u. Skizzen aus Ostpreuzzen*, Heft 8, 1889. So too Monnet, "Les épitres aux Thess." (*Thèse aux Montauban*, 1889); Schäfer, *Einl.* pp. 81–84; and Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 160–183; also Dr. Drummond (*IH*, ii. pp. 6–13), who decides that "the very passages which are relied upon as an evidence of forgery are more surprising from a forger than from Paul." It is a pity, however, to introduce the alien conception of forgery at all into the discussion of such problems in ancient literature.

Of the three Pauline epistles which cannot be accepted without scrutiny and hesitation, 2 Thessalonians perhaps comes next to Colossians in point of genuine self-attestation. To a less degree than Ephesians it ultimately justifies the doubt raised by a first survey of its contents and allusions; and this estimate is true, even although the result of investigation is to leave it a problem as well as an authority for the study of early Christianity.[1]

[1] As I rewrite this note, the disorder produced by eschatological superstition in Thessalonika (2 Th 3[6 f.]) is curiously paralleled by a recent instance of similar disorganisation in Tripoli. Letters from that district (quoted in the *Westminster Gazette*, Nov. 1899) "report an amazing state of affairs consequent upon the report that the end of the world will come on November 13. The Israelites are sending their wives to pray in the synagogues, and most workmen have ceased work. Debtors refuse to pay their debts, so that trade is almost paralysed. On Monday last one of the cases before the Tunis native court was that of an Arab who sued a Jew for a small sum of money. The debtor acknowledged the debt, but asked for fifteen days' delay to pay it. The Arab refused to grant the delay on the ground that the world would be destroyed before it expired. The judge sent the debtor to prison."

II. THESSALONIANS

The whole of the epistle is written under what may be termed "the feeling of persecution"; that is to say, the sense of resignation, on the one hand, to the present will of God; on the other hand, a sure and certain hope that "times of refreshment" were at hand. Such was the feeling of the apostle himself, and he implies the existence of a similar feeling in the church to which he was writing. Sadness and consolation, hope and fear, the array of glory and of terror, were present with them or passing before them. A life thus divided between this world and another was naturally liable to become a life of excitement and disorder. Times of persecution needed extraordinary religious supports; the withdrawal of those supports, the momentary clouding of the heaven above, would from time to time lead to reaction.—**Jowett.**

1^{1-2} **Greeting.**

1^{3}–2^{17} **Thanksgiving and prayer** for faith under persecution:
courage in prospect of the Lord's second Arrival.

2^{1-12} the time of the second Arrival—Paul's apocalypse—"The man of sin," "the mystery of lawlessness."

2^{13-15} renewed thanksgiving

2^{16-17} and prayer for them.

3^{1-16} **Personal:** prayer asked for himself:
his wish and hope for them.
Warning against the disorderly and the idle—a prayer.

3^{17-18} **Conclusion.**

II. THESSALONIANS

1 1 Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus
to the Community of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the
Lord Jesus Christ:
2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.
3 We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brothers, as is
fitting, because your faith is growing greatly, and the love of each one of
4 you all to one another is increasing, so that we ourselves exult about you
among the Communities of God for your patience and faith amid all your
5 persecutions and the distresses that you endure; these clearly prove the
just judgment of God, namely, that you are to be held worthy of the
6 reign of God, on behalf of which you also suffer—seeing that God con-
7 siders it but just to render distress to those who distress you, and to you
who are distressed relief with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from
8 heaven with the angels of his power *in flaming fire, when he inflicts*
punishment on those who know not God, and *on those who obey not* the
9 gospel of our Lord Jesus, men who shall pay the penalty of eternal
destruction *from the presence of the Lord, and from the majesty of his*
10 *might, when he comes to be exalted in his saints*, and *to be wondered at*
among all believers (because our witness did find belief with you) *in that*
11 *day*. Wherefore we also pray for you always, that our God may hold
you worthy of your calling, and powerfully accomplish every desire of
12 goodness and work of faith, *so that the name* of our Lord Jesus *may be*
exalted in you and you in him, through the grace of our God and of the
Lord Jesus Christ.
2 1 Now, brothers, with regard to the arrival of our Lord Jesus Christ
2 and our gathering together to him, we pray you not to be hastily dis-
turbed from your sober mind, nor to be disquieted by a spirit, or by a
word, or by a letter (as if from us) to this effect, that the day of the Lord
3 is imminent. Let no one beguile you at all. For the apostasy must
come first, with the revelation of the man of lawlessness, the son of
perdition,
4 the adversary *who uplifts himself over all* that is called *divine* or
that is an object of worship,
and finally *sits down in the* sanctuary *of God*, giving himself out to
be *God*.
5 Do you not remember that I used to tell you this when I was still with
6 you? Well, you know now what restrains him from being revealed
before his proper season.
7 For the secret of lawlessness is at work already;
Only, it cannot be revealed until he who at present restrains it is
removed.
8 Then shall *the lawless one* be revealed,

Whom the Lord Jesus *shall slay with the breath of his mouth.*
And put down by his appearing and arrival—
9 The lawless one, whose arrival is due to Satan's force,
With all the power and signs and wonders of falsehood,
10 And with all the deceit of iniquity for the perishing,
Because they did not accept the love of the truth for their salvation.
11 Therefore God sends them a force of error,
So that they believe the falsehood,
12 That all might be judged who believed not the truth
But delighted in iniquity.

13 But we are bound always to give God thanks for you, brothers, *beloved by the Lord*, because God has chosen you from the beginning for salvation through sanctification by the Spirit and belief in the truth:
14 for this he has called you through our gospel, even to possess the majesty
15 of our Lord Jesus Christ. So then, brothers, stand firm, and hold to the
16 traditions that you have been taught by word or by letter from us. May our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God our Father who has loved us
17 and given us eternal comfort and good hope through his grace, encourage your hearts and establish them in every good work and word!

3 1 Pray, then, for us, brothers,
that the Lord's word may speed on and be exalted,
even as it has been with you,
2 and that we may be rescued from those who are perverse and evil—
for the faith is not possessed by everyone.
3 But the Lord is faithful: he shall establish you and preserve you
4 from the evil one. We rely upon you in the Lord, confident
5 that[1] you are doing and will do as we charge. May the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God and into the patience of Christ!

6 Now, brothers, we charge you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to avoid every brother whose walk is irregular and not after the
7 tradition received from us. You know yourselves how you ought to
8 imitate us. We did not lead an irregular life among you, nor did we eat bread at any man's hand for nothing, but with labour and toil we
9 worked night and day, so as to be no burden to any of you. It was not that we lacked the right; it was simply to set ourselves as a pattern for
10 you to imitate. We gave you this charge even when we were with you:
11 "If any man will not work, neither let him eat." Whereas we hear of some who are leading an irregular life among you, not busy, but busy-
12 bodies. Such people we charge and beseech in the Lord Jesus to work
13 quietly and eat their own bread. As for yourselves, brothers, never lose
14 heart in well-doing. But if anyone obeys not the word we send by this letter, note him, keep no company[2] with him, that he may be shamed.
15 Yet do not consider him as if he were an enemy: admonish him as a
16 brother. And may the Lord of peace himself ever give you peace in every way!
The Lord be with you all.
17 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul—it is a token in every letter; such is my way of writing.
18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

[1] Omitting [[*καί*]]. [2] Reading *συναναμίγνυσθε*

This epistle places us in the midst of the great excitement of the critical struggle which had begun between Judaism and Christianity, in the decision of the momentous question whether there should be a Christianity free from Judaism and essentially different from it, or whether Christianity should only exist as a form of Judaism, that is to say, as nothing else than a modified and extended Judaism. . . . There can scarcely be any doubt with regard to these Judaising opponents, that from the way in which the apostle opposed them, the conflict was now being carried on for the first time. We see that this is the first time this subject has been handled; the apostle perceives that he is absolutely obliged to give an account of how he was summoned to his apostolic office, and he speaks of it in such a manner as he could not have done, if he had ever before come in contact with these opponents in the same way. He puts himself thoroughly in opposition to them; as thoroughly as can only be done when for the first time the full importance of a principle dawns upon a man, and when the maintenance of this principle against a vexatious opposition constitutes the task of his whole life.—**Baur.**

1^{1-10} **Introduction.**

1^{11}–2^{21} **Personal:** the independence of his gospel—
from God not man:
his early relations with the apostles, and especially Peter.

3–4 **Dogmatic:** the Law and the Spirit—
the Law provisional: the problem of Abraham and his faith—
the Law superseded: the allegory of Hagar—
Christianity, final and free.

5^{1}–6^{10} **Ethical:** Christian freedom:
Paul's gospel a gospel of liberty,
but not of licence.
The ethics of the Spirit.

6^{11-18} **Epilogue:**

GALATIANS

1 1 Paul, an apostle not from men nor by a man, but by Jesus Christ and
2 God the Father who raised him from the dead, with all the brothers who
are beside me,
to the Communities of Galatia:
3 grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus
4 Christ, who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us from the
5 present evil world according to the will of our God and Father, to whom
be the honour for ever and ever, Amen.
6 I wonder that you are going over so hastily from him who called you
7 through the grace of Christ, going over to a different gospel.—It is not
another gospel: only, there are certain persons who trouble you and
want to pervert the gospel of Christ.
8 But even though we or an angel from heaven were to preach [1] a gospel
contrary to that which we preached to you,
let him be accursed.
9 As we have said before, so now I say again:
If anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to that which you received,
let him be accursed.
10 Now is that "speaking to conciliate men," or God?
Trying "to please men"!
If I were still pleasing men, I should not be Christ's slave.
11 I tell you, brothers, about the gospel preached by me,
It is not after the manner of man:
12 I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it;
Nay, I had it by a revelation of Jesus Christ.
13 You have heard of my conduct at one time in Judaism, that I persecuted
14 the Community of God and made havoc of it beyond measure, and that I
advanced in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries, zealot as I was
15 more and more for the traditions of my fathers. But when it was the
good pleasure of him [2] who set me apart *from my mother's womb* and
16 *called* me through his grace, to reveal his Son for me, that I might preach
him among the Gentiles, I did not immediately communicate with flesh and
17 blood, or go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me. No, I
18 went away to Arabia, and returned once more to Damascus. Then, after
three years, I went up to Jerusalem to become acquainted with Kephas,
19 and with him I stayed for fifteen days. I saw no one else of the apostles,
20 except James the brother of the Lord. (Lo, before God, I swear I am
21 not lying in what I write to you!) Then I came to the regions of Syria
22 and Cilicia. And still I was personally unknown to the Communities of
23 Judaea which were in Christ. They only heard reports that "he who
24 once persecuted us, is preaching now the faith of which he once made
2 1 havoc"; and they magnified God on my account. Then after
fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem once more, along with Barnabas;

[1] Omitting [[ὑμῖν]]. [2] Omitting [[ὁ θεὸς]].

2 I also took Titus with me. Now I went up owing to a revelation. And I
laid before them the gospel I preach among the Gentiles—it was in private,
however, before those of repute—lest haply I might be running or might
3 have run, in vain. (But, Greek as he was, even Titus my companion
4 was not compelled to have himself circumcised. On account of the false
brothers stealthily introduced, men who crept in by stealth to spy out
that freedom which we possess in Christ, for the purpose of enslaving us,
5 we did not yield in the way of submission for a single hour; in order that
6 the truth of the gospel might remain with you.) But from those of some
repute—whatever they were at one time makes no difference to me, God
regards no man's person: to me certainly they communicated nothing.
7 On the contrary, when they saw that I had been intrusted with the
8 gospel for the Uncircumcision just as Peter had been for the Circumcision
—for he who worked by Peter for a mission to the Circumcision, worked
9 also by me for the Gentiles—and when they recognised the grace given
to me, then James and Kephas and John, those who were of repute as
pillars, gave the right hand of fellowship to myself and to Barnabas, on
condition that we should be for the Gentiles, and they for the Circum-
10 cision. Only, we were to "be mindful of the poor"—the very thing I
11 endeavoured to do. But when Kephas came to Antioch I opposed
12 him to his face. The man stood self-condemned. For, before certain per-
sons came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came, he
began to draw back and separate himself, as he feared those who belonged
13 to the Circumcision. And along with him the rest of the Jews also dis-
sembled, so that even Barnabas was carried away by their dissembling.
14 But when I saw that their course was not straightforward, in line with the
truth of the gospel, I said to Kephas before them all, "If, Jew as thou
art, thou livest like the Gentiles and not like the Jews, how is it thou art
15 trying to compel the Gentiles to Judaise?" We are by nature
16 Jews, and not "sinners of Gentiles"! Yet as we know that a man is not
justified by deeds of law, but only through faith in Christ Jesus, we our-
selves believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ
and not by deeds of law; for by deeds of law *no flesh shall be justified.*
17 Now if we ourselves, as we sought to be justified in Christ, "were found
18 also to be sinners," is Christ then a minister of sin? God forbid! Rather
I prove myself to be a transgressor, if I build up again that which I
19 destroyed. For I through the law died to the law, that I might live
20 for God. I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I who
live, Christ lives in me; the life I now live in the flesh I live in faith,
21 faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave up himself for me. I
do not frustrate the grace of God; for if uprightness is through the law,
then Christ died without a cause.

3 1 O foolish Galatians, who bewitched you—you before whose eyes
2 Jesus Christ was depicted on the cross? I would learn merely this from
you: was it by deeds of law that you received the Spirit, or by the
3 message of faith? Are you such fools? Did you begin in the Spirit
4 only to stop now with the flesh? Had you all that experience in vain
5 (if indeed it is really in vain)? Does he who supplies you with the
Spirit and works miracles among you, do that by deeds of law (pray) or by
6 the message of faith? It is just as with Abraham, who *believed God, and*
7 *it was counted to him as uprightness.* Understand then
8 that those who depend on faith are the sons of Abraham. Moreover
the scripture, foreseeing that it is by faith God justifies the Gentiles,
preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham: *In thee shall all the*

9 *nations be blessed.* So that those who depend on faith are blessed with
10 Abraham the faithful. For all who depend on deeds of law are
under the curse: for it is written, *Cursed is everyone who abides not*
11 *by all the things written in the book of the law, to do them.* Further,
that in the law no one is justified before God is clear, because it is
12 *by faith* that *the upright shall live.* Now the law does not exist by
13 faith; nay, *he who does them shall live thereby.* Christ ransomed us from
the curse of the law by becoming accursed for us (For it is written,
Cursed is everyone who hangs upon a gibbet),
14 That the blessing of Abraham might reach the Gentiles in Christ
Jesus,
That through faith we might receive the promised Spirit.
15 Brothers, when a man's will has been ratified—to use a merely human
way of speaking—no one sets it aside or adds new conditions, though
16 it be but the will of a man. Now it was to Abraham that the promises
were spoken, *and to* his *offspring.* He does not say "and to offsprings"
in the plural, but in the singular "*and to thy offspring*"—which is Christ.
17 My point is this: the law which came four hundred and thirty years
later does not cancel a will previously ratified by God, so as to annul
18 the promise. If the inheritance is by law, it is no longer by promise.
19 Now God has bestowed it on Abraham by promise. What of the law
then? It was added to produce the transgressions, until the coming of
the seed to whom the promise has been made; and it was given through
20 the administration of angels by the agency of a mediator. (Now a
21 mediator implies more than one; whereas God is one.) Is the law then
opposed to the promises of God? God forbid! Had a law been given
which was able to make alive, uprightness would have really been by
22 law; but the scripture shut up all things under sin, in order that the
promise which is by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who
believe.
23 Now before that faith came, we were guarded under control of law,
24 shut up with a view to the faith which was to be revealed. So that the
law proved our tutor till Christ came, in order that by faith we might
25 be justified. But faith has come, and we are under a tutor no longer.
26, 27 You are all God's sons through faith in Christ Jesus; for all of you who
28 had yourselves baptized into Christ, put on Christ. There is no place for
Jew or Greek, there is no place for slave or freeman, there is no place for
29 male and female: all of you are one being in Christ Jesus. Now,
if you are Christ's, why then, you are Abraham's offspring, heirs owing to the
4 1 promise. As long as the heir is a child, I mean, he does not differ at all from
2 a slave, though he is lord of all. He is under guardians and trustees until
3 the term previously fixed by his father. So also with us: when we were
4 children we were held in slavery under the elements of the world; but
when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman,
5 born under law, that he might ransom those who are under law, that we
6 might get our sonship. And because you are sons God sent forth the
7 Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying "Abba! Father!" So thou art
a slave no longer, but a son; and if a son, an heir also through God.
8 But at that time, since you did not know God, you were in servitude
9 to gods which by nature are no gods. Now that you have come to know
God, however, or rather to be known by God, how is it you are turning
back again to the weak and beggarly elements, desiring to be slaves to
10 them once more? Observe days and months and festal seasons and
11 years! You!—I am afraid, after all, I may have laboured on you in vain.

12 Turn to be like me, brothers, I entreat you; I also have turned to be like
13 you. You have done me no wrong. Rather, though (as you are aware)
it was owing to bodily sickness that I preached the gospel to you on my
14 former visit, and though my flesh was a trial to you, you did not despise
nor spurn me. Nay, you received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus.
15 You pronounced yourselves "happy." Then where is that happiness? (I
bear you witness, you would have plucked out your very eyes and given
16 them to me, had it been possible.) So I have become your enemy by
17 dealing honestly with you? These men are not paying you court with
any honourable zeal! Nay, they would shut you out from others in order
18 that you may have to pay court to themselves. It is a capital thing to be
courted zealously in an honourable cause, and that at all times, not merely
19 when one is with you, O my children—you with whom I am once more in
20 travail, until Christ be formed in you! Would that I could be with you
just now, and alter my tone! for I am perplexed about you.

21 Tell me, you who would fain be under law, do you not understand
22 the law? Surely it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by the
23 bondmaid and one by the free woman; but while the son of the bond-
maid was born after the flesh, the son of the free woman was born through
24 the promise. This is allegorical. These women are two covenants. One
is from Mount Sinai and bears children for bondage; that is Hagar
25 (Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia). She corresponds to the present
26 Jerusalem, for she is in bondage along with her children. But the
27 Jerusalem on high is free; and she is our mother. For it is written,

Rejoice, thou barren who bearest not:
Burst out with joyful cry, thou who travailest not:
For many are the children of the desolate,
Many more than hers who is married.

28, 29 Now you are like Isaac, brothers, children of promise. But as at that
30 time he who was born after the flesh persecuted him who was born
after the Spirit, so is it now. Nevertheless, what saith the scripture? *Cast*
31 *out the bondmaid and her son, for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir*
along with the son of the free woman. Therefore, brothers, we are children
not of a bondmaid but of the free woman.

5 1 It was for freedom that Christ freed us. Stand firm then, and be not
2 caught once more in a yoke of bondage.—Behold, I Paul tell you; if you
3 have yourselves circumcised, Christ will be no use to you. Again I
protest to everyone who has himself circumcised, he is under obligation
4 to obey the whole law. You who would fain be justified by law, you are
5 done with Christ, you are fallen from grace. For by faith we wait in the
6 Spirit for uprightness, our hope. Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision
7 is of any avail in Christ Jesus, but only faith that works through love. You
8 were running nobly. Who hindered you from obeying the truth? The
9 persuasion to that does not come from him who calls you. (A little
10 leaven leavens the whole lump.) For myself, I am confident about you
in the Lord that you will not go wrong. But as for him who is troubling
11 you, he will have to bear the doom, whoever he may be. As for me,
brothers, if I am "still preaching circumcision," why am I still persecuted?
12 In that case the hindrance of the cross is abolished! O that those who
are unsettling you would have themselves mutilated also!

13 You were called to be free, brothers. Only, do not turn your freedom
into an opportunity for the flesh, but serve one another through love.
14 For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, in the command: *Thou shalt love*
15 *thy neighbour as thyself.* But if you "bite and devour one another," take

16 care that you do not consume one another. I tell you, walk by
17 the Spirit: then you shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusts
against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh (these are opposed
to one another), in order that you may not do the things that you would.
18, 19 And if you are led by the Spirit you are not under law. Now the
works of the flesh are obvious: they consist of fornication, impurity,
20 sensuality, idolatry, magic, enmities, quarrelling, jealousy, angry passions,
21 factions, dissensions, parties, envies, bouts of drunkenness, of revelry, and
such like. I tell you beforehand as I already told you beforehand, that those
22 who practise such things shall not inherit the reign of God. But the fruit
of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faith-
23, 24 fulness, gentleness, self-control: against such things there is no law. And
those who are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and
25, 26 lusts. If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us walk. Let us
6 1 have no empty pride, nettling one another, envying one another. Brothers,
even though a man is detected in some trespass, do you as spiritual
people restore such a one in the spirit of gentleness: look to thyself lest
2 thou also be tempted. Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of
3 Christ. For if a man imagines himself to be something great when he is
4 a mere nobody, he is cheating himself. Let each man test his own work,
and then he shall have something to exult about in himself, and not
5 in comparison with his neighbour. For each shall bear his own load.
6 Let him who is instructed in the word share with his instructor,
in all good things.
7 Be not misled: God is not to be mocked,
8 For whatever a man sows that shall he also reap.
He who sows to his flesh shall from the flesh reap destruction,
But he who sows to the Spirit shall from the Spirit reap life eternal.
9 Let us not lose heart in doing good: for we shall reap in due season,
10 if we faint not. So then while we have[1] time, let us work at what
is good toward all men, but especially toward those who belong to the
household of the faith.
11 Look, with what large letters I write you, with my own hand.
12 The men who are compelling you to be circumcised are those who
would like to make a fine display in the flesh; it is only to avoid being
13 persecuted for the cross of Christ. Why, even those who get circumcised
do not observe the law themselves! Nay, they would have you circum-
14 cised so as to exult in your flesh! But never be it mine to exult save in
the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been
15 crucified to me and I to the world. For circumcision is nothing and
16 uncircumcision is nothing, but a new creation is everything. And as for
all who walk by this principle, *peace be* on them and mercy, yea *on the*
Israel of God.
17 In future let no man molest me, for I bear on my body the brands of
Jesus.
18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brothers:
Amen.

[1] Reading ἔχομεν.

The apostle, who had himself founded the Corinthian church, specially loved it, and nurtured it with uncommon care. His experiences among these converts were diversified, his difficulties peculiar; and the human side of his individuality is seen in what he writes to them more clearly than in any other epistle. His practical sagacity, spiritual insight, tact and delicacy, were called into exercise by the weighty problem to be solved—the planting of a new religion in Greek soil. . . . Nowhere is the manysidedness of the apostle's mind so evident—the breadth and largeness of view that touch topics of multifarious difficulty with masterly ability. All his powers were needed for the successful solution of the problem, which the first church reared on the classic ground of ancient Greece presented; nor did they fail to meet it successfully.—**S. Davidson.**

1^{1-9} Greeting: introduction.

1^{10}–4^{21} **Party-spirit and parties in the church:**

1^{10}–3^{4} The genuine character of Christianity as evidenced in Paul—its "foolishness" and "wisdom."

3^{5}–4^{21} The genuine character of the ministry as evidenced in Paul—subordinate and co-operant.

5^{1-13} **A case of incest.**

6^{1-9a} **Litigation in pagan courts.**

6^{10-20} **Fornication.**

7–16^{4} **Answer to Corinthian letter on:**

Marriage and its problems—the principle of celibacy.

8–11^{1} Food offered to idols—the principles of forbearance and liberty.

11^{2-16} Worship: (α) The rules for women.

11^{17-34} (β) The rules for the Lord's supper.

12–14 (γ) Spiritual gifts: their nature, degree, and purpose.

13 The pre-eminence of love:

14 practical application.

15 The Resurrection of the dead—of Christ, of mankind: its necessity and reasonableness.

16^{1-4} The Collection.

16^{5-18} **Personal.**

16^{19-24} **Farewell.**

I. CORINTHIANS

1 1 Paul, called to be an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God,
and Sosthenes the brother,
2 to the Community of God which is in Corinth, to those who are
sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, along with all who in every
place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, theirs as well as ours :
3 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
4 I always thank my God for you, for the grace of God granted you in
5 Christ Jesus, because in him you were enriched in everything, in all
6 speech and all knowledge, since the testimony borne to Christ was con-
7 firmed in you ; so that you do not suffer want in any privilege, while you
8 wait for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who also will confirm you
9 to the end, to be irreproachable in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God
is faithful, by whom you were called into fellowship with his Son Jesus
Christ our Lord.
10 Now I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,
to be all in unison and have no divisions among you, but be at harmony
11 together in the same mind and the same judgment. For I have news
of you, my brothers, from the household of Chloê to this effect, that there
12 are quarrels among you. What I mean is this : each of you is saying,
13 "I am of Paul," or "I of Apollos," or "I of Kephas," or "I of Christ." Is
Christ divided up? Was it Paul who was crucified for you? Or did
14 you get baptized into the name of Paul? I am thankful I baptized none
15 of you except Krispus and Gaius, that no one may say you got baptized
16 into my name (well, I did baptize the household of Stephanas also ; for
17 the rest, I do not remember if I baptized anyone else). Christ did not
send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel—not in wisdom of word,
lest the cross of Christ should be rendered void.
18 For the word of the cross is foolishness to the perishing,
But God's power to us who are being saved.
19 For it is written,
I will ruin the wisdom of the wise,
And the cleverness of the clever I will frustrate.
20 *Where is the wise man? Where is the scribe? Where is* the debater of this age?
Has not God *made the wisdom* of the world *foolish?*
21 For since in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom failed
to know God,
It pleased God to save those who believe, through the foolishness of
what is preached ;
22 Seeing that Jews demand signs and Greeks require wisdom,
23 While we preach Christ crucified,
To Jews a hindrance, to Gentiles foolishness,
24 But to those who are called (both Jews and Greeks), Christ God's
power and God's wisdom :
25 For the foolishness of God is wiser than men,
And the weakness of God is stronger than men.

26 Why, look at your calling, brothers:
There are not many wise after the flesh, not many principal men, not many of high birth;
27 Nay, God has chosen the foolish things of the world to put the wise men to shame,
And God has chosen the weak things of the world to put the strong things to shame,
28 And God has chosen the low-born things of the world and the despised things—the things which are not, to put down the things which are,
29 That no flesh should exult before God.
30 From him you have your being in Christ Jesus,
Whom God made our "wisdom," that is, uprightness and sanctification and redemption;
31 So that, even as it is written,
Let him who exults, exult in the Lord.

2 1 And so, brothers, when I came to you, I did not come proclaiming
2 the testimony of God to you by way of elaborate speech or wisdom. I decided not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ—and him
3 crucified. And when I was with you I was in weakness and fear and
4 great trembling; nor did my speech and preaching rest on persuasive words of wisdom, but on a "demonstration" of the Spirit and of power;
5 that your faith might not rest on men's wisdom, but on God's power.
6 Wisdom however we do speak among the mature,
But not a wisdom which belongs to this age
Or to the leaders of this age (who are being put down);
7 It is God's wisdom as a secret that we speak,
The hidden wisdom which God fore-appointed before the ages in our honour.
8 None of the leaders of this age knows it
(For had they known it, they had not crucified the Lord of majesty);
9 Nay it means, as has been written,
Things no eye has seen, no ear has heard,
That have not entered the mind of man,
Even all that God has prepared for those who love him.
10 To us God has revealed them through the Spirit,
For the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God.
11 Among men, who knows the things of a man
Save the spirit of the man that is within him:
So is it also with the things of God,
None has knowledge of them save the Spirit of God.
12 Now we received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God,
That we might know the things bestowed on us by God;
13 And these are what we speak in words taught by no human wisdom, but by the Spirit,
Interpreting spiritual things to spiritual men.
14 The natural man rejects the things of the Spirit of God, to him they are foolishness:
Indeed he cannot understand them, for they are estimated spiritually.
15 Whereas the spiritual man has an estimate for everything,
Yet no man has an estimate for him.
16 For *who has known the Lord's mind, so as to instruct him?*
No man: and our mind is the mind of Christ.

3 1 And so, brothers, I could not speak to you as spiritual men, but as
2 creatures of flesh, as mere children in Christ. I fed you with milk, not
with solid food; you were not able for solid food. No, and you are not
3 able yet. You are fleshly still. For in so far as jealousy and quarrelling
exist among you, are you not fleshly? are you not walking after the
4 manner of men? When one says, "I am of Paul," and another, "I am of
Apollos," are you not merely human?
5 What is Apollos, then? What is Paul?
Ministers through whom you believed—each indeed in the measure
granted him by the Lord.
6 I planted, Apollos watered,
But God made the growth.
7 So then neither planter nor waterer is anything,
But God who makes the growth.
8 Planter and waterer alike are one,
Yet each shall receive his individual reward according to his indi-
vidual labour.
9 For we are God's fellow-workers;
You are God's field, God's building.
10 By virtue of God's grace granted me I laid the foundation like an expert
master-builder;
But another man is building on it.
Let each man take care how he builds on it.
11 (For no man can lay any other foundation than the foundation laid,
namely, Jesus Christ.)
12 If any man is building on the foundation gold, silver, precious stones,
wood, hay, stubble—
13 Each man's work shall be disclosed:
The Day will make it plain, for the Day is revealed with fire,
And the fire itself will test each man's sort of work.
14 If the work built up by any man survives,
He shall receive a reward:
15 If any man's work be burned up,
He shall be a loser;
He shall be saved himself, yet saved as through fire.
16 Do you not know that you are God's sanctuary, and that God's Spirit
dwells in you?
17 If any man is destroying God's sanctuary, him shall God destroy.
For God's sanctuary is holy—and such are you.
18 Let no man beguile himself:
If anyone among you imagines he is wise in this age,
Let him become a fool to become wise—
19 For with God the wisdom of this world is foolishness.
For it is written,
He who seizes the wise in their craftiness,
20 and again
The Lord knows that the designs of the wise are futile.
21 So let no man exult in men;
For all things are yours,
22 Be it Paul or Apollos or Kephas,
Or the world or life or death,
Or the present or the future,
23 All are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

4 1 Let a man look on us as servants of Christ and stewards of the secrets
2 of God. Well, then, in this matter of stewardship, it is required that
3 a man be found faithful. But with me it is a very small thing that
I should be cross-questioned by you or by any human court. I do
4 not even cross-question myself. For though I am conscious of nothing
against myself, that does not clear me; he who cross-questions me is the
5 Lord. So judge not at all before the time, until the Lord come, who will
bring to light the hidden things of the darkness and also disclose the
counsels of the hearts: then shall each man get his praise from God.
6 Now, brothers, I have transferred these things by a fiction to
myself and Apollos for your sake, so that from our case you might learn the
maxim: "Up to what is written, and no further," not to be puffed up one
7 against another in favour of this one or the other. Who singles thee out?
What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Why exult as if thou hadst
8 not received, when thou didst receive? Have you been sated already?
Grown rich already? Come to reign, apart from us? Ah, would that
9 you had come indeed to reign, for us to share your reign as well! For
God, I think, has exhibited us apostles last and lowest, as men doomed
to death; we are made a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men.
10 We are fools for Christ's sake, you are sensible in Christ; we are weak,
11 you are strong; you are illustrious, we unhonoured. Even to this hour
12 we hunger and thirst, we are ill-clad, buffeted, waifs, and toilers, working
with our own hands. Reviled, we bless: persecuted, we bear patiently:
13 defamed, we strive to appease: to this hour we are made like offscourings
14 of the world, the refuse of all things. I am not writing this
15 to shame you, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For though
you should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet you have not more
16 than one father: in Christ Jesus through the gospel I begot you. I
17 appeal to you then, become imitators of me. For this reason I have
sent you Timotheus, my beloved and faithful child in the Lord; he will
remind you of those methods in Christ Jesus, which I teach everywhere
18 in every Community. Certain people have got puffed up, however, as
19 though I were not coming to you? But I shall come to you soon, if the
Lord will, and learn not what is the word of those who are puffed up,
20 but what is their power; for God's reign is not a matter of words but of
21 power. What is your choice? Must I come to you with a rod, or with
love and the spirit of gentleness?

5 1 It is actually reported that there is fornication among you, and
fornication such as does not even exist among the Gentiles, namely, that a
2 man has his father's wife. And yet you are puffed up! You ought rather
to have mourned, so that the perpetrator of this deed might be removed
3 from your midst. For my part, absent in body but present in spirit,
I have already—as though really present—passed judgment upon him
4 who has practised this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus (you being
gathered together and my spirit also, with the power of our Lord Jesus),
5 to have the man in question delivered to Satan for the destruction of the
6 flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.[1] Your
exulting is discreditable. Do you not know that a little leaven leavens the
7 whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new lump; even
as you are free from leaven, for indeed Christ, our *paschal lamb, has been*
8 *sacrificed*. So then let us keep festival not with old leaven, nor with the
leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity
9 and integrity. I wrote you in my letter to keep no company

[1] Omitting ['Ιησοῦ].

10 with fornicators—not that I meant you absolutely to shun the fornicators
of this world, or the covetous and extortionate, or idolaters, since in that
11 case you would be obliged to withdraw from the world. What I did
write to you was this: if anyone who bears the name of "brother" be a
fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or
extortionate, keep no company with him, with such a man do not even
12 eat. As for those outside, what have I to do with judging them? Is it
13 not those inside that you judge? Those outside are judged by God.
Banish the wicked one from your midst.

6 1 Dare any of you, with some dispute against another, go to law
before the unjust instead of before the saints?

2 What! do you not know the saints shall rule the world?
And if the world is to be ruled by you, are you unfit to adjudicate
upon mere trifles?

3 Do you not know we shall rule angels, let alone secular affairs?

4 So then, if you have to adjudicate on secular affairs, do you set up as
judges people who in the Community are of no account whatever?

5 I say this to rouse your shame. Has it come to this, that there is
not a single wise man forthcoming among you, who can decide a dispute
6 between his brothers? Must brother go to law with brother, and that
7 before unbelievers? Nay, so far as that goes, it is altogether a defect in
you that you have law-suits with one another. Why not rather be
8 wronged? Why not rather be defrauded? Instead of which you your-
selves inflict wrong and practice fraud, and that upon your brothers.
9 What! do you not know that unjust men shall not inherit the reign of
God? Be not misled: neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers
10 nor voluptuaries nor sodomites nor thieves nor covetous people nor
drunkards nor revilers nor extortioners shall inherit the reign of God.
11 And such creatures some of you were; but you washed yourselves, but
you were sanctified, but you were justified in the name of the Lord
Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.

12 "All things are lawful for me"?
Yes, but not all things are profitable.
All things are lawful for me:
Yes, but I will not be brought under the power of anything.

13 "Foods for the belly, and the belly for foods":
Yet God shall do away with it and them alike.
But the body is not for fornication, it is for the Lord and the Lord for
the body:

14 God raised up the Lord, and by his power he will also raise up us.

15 Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?
Am I to take Christ's members then, and make them members of a
harlot? God forbid!

16 What! do you not know that he who joins himself to a harlot
Is one body with her
(For *the two*, it is said, *shall become one flesh*)?

17 But he who joins himself to the Lord
Is one spirit with him.

18 Flee from fornication:
Every sin a man does is outside the body,
But the fornicator sins against his own body.

19 What! do you not know that your body is a sanctuary of the holy Spirit
which is in you,
Which you have from God?

20 And you are not your own, you were bought with a price;
Then honour God in your body.

7 1 Now in regard to the matters of which you wrote to me.
2 It is an excellent thing for a man not to touch a woman. Still, on account of fornications, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.
3 Let the husband render to the wife her due,
And likewise the wife to the husband.
4 The wife has not authority over her own body, but the husband:
And likewise the husband also has not authority over his own body, but the wife.
5 Defraud not one another, unless for a time perhaps by agreement, that you may have leisure for prayer, and then come together again—so
6 that Satan tempt you not on account of your incontinence. But I say
7 this by way of permission, not by way of command. On the contrary, I would that all men were what I am. Yet each is endowed by God in his own way, one for this and another for that.
8 To unmarried men and to widows I say: it is an excellent thing for
9 them if they remain as I am. Still, if they have no self-control, let
10 them marry. Better marry than be afire with lust! Married people I charge (not I, but the Lord) that the wife should not be
11 separated from her husband—should anyone have actually separated, let her remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband—also, that
12 the husband should not dismiss his wife. To the rest I say (I, not the Lord):—
If any brother has an unbelieving wife, and she consents to dwell with him,
Let him not dismiss her.
13 And if a woman has an unbelieving husband, and he consents to dwell with her,
Let her not dismiss her husband.
14 For the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife,
And the unbelieving wife in the brother.
Else, of course, your children are unclean;
While as it is they are holy.
15 (However, if the unbeliever is bent on separating, separation let it be: in such cases the brother or the sister is under no constraint.)
It is for a life of peace that God has called us.[1]
16 Why, how dost thou know, O wife, whether thou shalt not save thy husband?
Or how dost thou know, O husband, whether thou shalt not save thy wife?
17 Only, let each walk as the Lord has assigned him his lot,
As God has called him.
(And such are my instructions in all the Communities.)
18 Was any man called after being circumcised?
Let him not become uncircumcised.
Has any man been called in uncircumcision?
Let him not be circumcised.
19 Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing,
But to keep the commandments of God is everything.
20 Every man in the condition in which he was called,
There let him remain.

[1] Reading ἡμᾶς.

21 Thou wast called a slave? Never mind. (At the same time, if thou
art able to get free, avail thyself of it rather than not.)
22 For the slave called in the Lord is a freedman of the Lord;
Likewise the free man who was called is a slave of Christ.
23 (You were bought with a price, do not turn slaves of men.)
24 Brothers, wherein every man was called,
Therein let him remain with God.
25 In regard to maidens I have no command of the Lord, but I give my
opinion as one who is trustworthy owing to the mercy he has obtained
26 from the Lord. I think then that, considering the present trouble, this
is an excellent plan: namely, for a man to be just as he is.
27 Art thou bound to a wife? Seek not release.
Art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife.
28 Still, even if thou shalt marry, there is no sin in that;
And if a maiden marry, there is no sin in that.
(At the same time such persons shall be distressed in the flesh, and I
29 would spare you that.) What I mean is this, brothers:—
The time is shortened.
Let those then who have wives be as though they had none,
30 The weeping as though they wept not,
The joyful as though they rejoiced not,
The buyers as though they grasped not their possessions,
31 Those who use this world as not using it to the full,
for the fashion of this world is passing.
32 I would have you free from anxiety.
The unmarried man is anxious about the affairs of the Lord,
how he may please the Lord:
33 The married man is anxious about the affairs of the world,
how he may please his wife—and his attention is divided.
34 So also with the wife and the maiden.
The unmarried woman is anxious about the affairs of the Lord,
that she may be holy both in body and in spirit:
The married woman is anxious about the affairs of the world,
how she may please her husband.
35 I say this for your own advantage. It is not that I may restrict your
liberty, but to promote propriety and undistracted attendance upon the
36 Lord. But if anyone considers that he is not treating his unmarried
daughter properly, then, should she be past her bloom and should it re-
quire to be thus, let him do what he pleases, there is no sin in it—let her
37 be married. But the man of firm purpose who has made up his mind,
who instead of being under any compulsion possesses power to carry
out his own wish, and has determined in his own heart to keep his
daughter unmarried, he shall do well.
38 So then he who gives his unmarried daughter in marriage does well;
He who refuses to give her shall do better.
39 A wife is bound during the lifetime of her husband; but if he be
fallen asleep, she is free to be married to anyone whom she pleases—
40 only, in the Lord. She is happier, however, if she remains as she
is; that is my opinion, and I think that I also possess the Spirit of
God.
8 1 In regard to food offered to idols, we are aware that "we all have
knowledge." Knowledge puffs up, love builds up.
2 Whoever imagines that he knows something,
Does not yet know as he ought to know:

But whoever loves God,
The same is known by him.
—In regard to eating food offered to idols, then, we are quite aware that "an idol in the world is a mere nothing," and that "there is no God but one."
For though there be so-called gods, in heaven or on earth,—as gods there are in plenty and lords in plenty!—yet for us
there is one God, who is the Father,
from whom all things exist
(and we exist for him),
and one Lord, Jesus Christ,
through whom all things exist
(and we exist through him).
Yet knowledge is not in all men. Some, hitherto accustomed to an idol, eat the food as food offered to an idol; and as their conscience is weak, it is defiled. Now, food will not present us to God.
If we do not eat, we are not inferior:
And if we do eat, we are not superior.
But take care lest haply this right of yours prove a stumbling-block to the weak. For if anyone should see thee, a man with knowledge, reclining at meat in an idol's temple, will not his conscience (as he is a weak man) be emboldened to eat food offered to idols? Then certainly he who is weak perishes through thy knowledge, the brother for whose sake Christ died. In sinning thus against the brothers, and wounding their weak conscience, you sin against Christ. Wherefore, if food be a hindrance to my brother, eat flesh I never will, never!—that I may not be a hindrance to my brother.

Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If to others I am no apostle, yet to you at least I am, for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. My defence to my inquisitors is this. Have we no right to eat and drink? Have we no right to take about a sister as a wife, like the rest of the apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Kephas? What! Do we alone, I and Barnabas, lack the right to abstain from working at a trade?
Who ever serves in war at his own expense?
Who plants a vineyard without eating of its fruit?
Or who shepherds a flock without drinking of the milk of the flock?
Is this to speak from a merely human standpoint? Does not the scripture say the very same? Why, it is written in the law of Moses: *Thou shalt not muzzle an ox when he is treading out corn.* Is God's concern for the oxen?
Or does he say it altogether for our sakes?
Assuredly for our sakes it was written.
For the ploughman needs to plough in hope,
And the thresher to thresh in the hope of partaking.
If we sowed you spiritual good,
Is it a great matter if we reap your material good?
If others partake in this right over you, why not we still more? But, you say, we did not avail ourselves of this right. No, we bear anything so as to avoid putting any obstacle in the way of the gospel of Christ.
Do you not know
that those who perform sacred rites
get their food from the sacred place,
that those who attend on the altar
have their portion along with the altar?

14 So too the Lord's instructions are
that those who proclaim the gospel
should "live by the gospel."
15 But I have not availed myself of these provisions at all, nor am I writing thus that it may come to this in my case. Better for me to die
16 than that anyone should render my exultation void? For if I preach the gospel I have nothing to exult about; necessity is laid on me. Woe
17 to me if I preach not the gospel! For if I act thus from my own choice, I have a reward; but if it is not from my choice, then I am intrusted
18 with a stewardship. What then is my reward? This, that in preaching the gospel I make the gospel free of charge, so as not to entirely avail myself of my right in the gospel.
19 Why, free as I was from all, I made myself slave to all,
To win over the greater number.
20 To the Jews I made myself like a Jew,
To win over Jews:
To those under the law like one under the law—
I who was not under the law myself—
To win over those under the law:
21 To those outside the law like one outside the law—
I who was not outside the law to God, but under law to Christ—
To win over those outside the law:
22 To the weak I made myself weak,
To win over the weak.
To all men I have made myself all things,
To save some in any and in every way.
23 I do all for the sake of the gospel,
That I also may have my share in it.
24 [Do you not know that while the runners on a race-course all run, only
25 one receives the prize? So run that you may attain it. Every athlete practises complete self-control. They do it, however, to receive a perish-
26 ing wreath, while we do it for an imperishable. For my part, then, I
27 run with no unsteady aim; I plant no blows upon the air. Nay, I bruise my body and master it, lest haply after having preached to others I should myself become a reprobate.]
10 1 For I would not have you ignorant, brothers, that
Our fathers all lived under the cloud and all passed through
2 the sea,
and all got baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea,
3 and all ate the same spiritual food,
4 and all drank the same spiritual drink
(For they drank of a spiritual Rock which followed them—
and the Rock was the Christ);
5 But in most of them God took no delight,
for *they were laid low in the wilderness.*
6 Now these things took place as warnings for us,
That we should not *lust* after evil, even as they *lusted.*
7 Nor be idolaters like some of them;
As it is written, *The people sat down to eat and drink,*
and they rose up to sport.
8 Nor let us commit fornication even as some of them did,
And in a single day three and twenty thousand fell.
9 Nor let us make trial of the Lord as some of them did,
And perished by the serpents.

10 Nor murmur in the way that some of them murmured,
And perished by the destroyer.
11 Now these things happened to them typically,
But they were written to admonish us upon whom the ends of the ages have come.
12 So then let him who considers he is standing firm take care lest he
13 fall. No temptation has seized you except what is common to man; and God is faithful, he will not allow you to be tempted beyond your strength, but along with the temptation he will provide the escape, that you may have strength to bear it.
14, 15 Wherefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry. I am speaking as I speak to sensible people; judge for yourselves what I say.
16 The cup of blessing which we bless,
Is that not participating in the blood of Christ?
The bread we break,
Is that not participating in the body of Christ?
17 Because the bread is one,
We the many are one body,
For we all partake of the one bread.
18 Look at Israel after the flesh. Do not those who eat the sacrifices par-
19 ticipate in the altar? What do I mean? that food offered to idols
20 is anything, or that an idol is anything? No, but that what people[1] sacrifice, *they sacrifice to daemons and not to God;* and I would not have you participate in daemons.
21 You cannot drink the Lord's cup and also the daemons' cup:
You cannot partake of *the Lord's table*, and also of the daemons' table.
22 *What! dare we stir up the Lord to jealousy?* Are we stronger than he?
23 "All things are lawful":
Yes, but not all things are profitable.
"All things are lawful":
Yes, but all things do not build up.
24 Let no one seek his own interest, but that of his neighbour.
25 Eat whatever is sold in the meat-market, without making any in-
26 quiries on the score of conscience; *the earth and its contents belong to the*
27 *Lord.* If an unbeliever invites you to a feast and you consent to go, eat whatever is put before you without making any inquiries on the score of
28 conscience. But if anyone says to you, "This has been sacrificial meat," do not eat it, out of regard to him who informed you, and on the score of
29 conscience—his conscience, I mean, not thine. For why should my
30 freedom come to be judged by another man's conscience? If I partake with thankfulness, why am I to be maligned over a thing for which I
31 give thanks? Whether then you eat or drink or whatever you
32 do, do all with a view to God's honour. Give no offence either to Jews
33 or to Greeks or to the Community of God; even as I also please all men in all matters, seeking not my own advantage, but the advantage of the
11 1 majority, namely, their salvation. Become imitators of me, as I also am of Christ.
2 Now I praise you for remembering me in everything, and for holding fast the traditions even as I handed them on to you.
3 But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ,
4 and the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. Every man who prays or prophesies with his head veiled, dishonours his head.

[1] Omitting [[τὰ ἔθνη.]]

5 But every woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled, dis-
6 honours her head: she is no better than a shaven woman. If a woman is
not veiled, then let her be shorn too; but if it is disgraceful for a woman
7 to be shorn or shaven, then let her be veiled. For while man does not
need to have his head veiled, since he represents *the image* and supremacy
8 *of God*, woman again represents the supremacy of man. Man is not
9 formed from woman, but woman from man. Nor was man created
10 for woman, but woman for man. For this reason woman needs to wear
a sign of his authority upon her head, namely, on account of the angels.
11 (At any rate, in the Lord, woman does not exist apart from man, any more
12 than man apart from woman; for as woman is taken from man, so man
13 also exists through woman, while all things are from God.) Judge for your-
14 selves: is it becoming for a woman to pray to God, unveiled? Does not
even nature herself teach you that for man to have long hair is a dis-
15 honour; while on the other hand for a woman to have long hair is an
16 honour, since her head of hair is given her as a cloak. If
anyone presumes to be contentious, let him know that we have no such
custom, nor have the Communities of God.

17 But in giving you this charge I cannot praise you, seeing that you
18 assemble not for better but for worse. First of all, when you assemble
in the congregation, I hear that divisions exist among you. And I partly
19 believe it; for there must even be parties among you, if those who are of
20 genuine character among you are to be known. When you assemble,
21 then, it is impossible for you to eat the Lord's supper. As you eat, each
one hastily seizes his own supper; and so, while one is hungry, another
22 is drunk. What! have you not houses to eat and drink in? Or do
you despise the Community of God and put the poor to shame? What
shall I say to you? Shall I praise you? I cannot praise you in this.
23 For I received from the Lord that which also I handed on to you, that
24 "the Lord Jesus in the night on which he was betrayed took bread, gave
thanks, and broke it, saying, 'This is my body which is for you: do this in
25 memory of me.' In the same way the cup also after supper, saying, 'This
cup is the new *covenant* in my *blood*: do this, as often as you drink it, in
26 memory of me.'" For as often as you eat this bread and drink the
27 cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes. So, then, whoever
eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty
28 of sin against the body and the blood of the Lord. But let a man test
29 himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he
who eats and drinks, eats and drinks judgment to himself, if he does not
30 distinguish the body. For this reason many among you are weak and
31 sick, and a number are asleep. Now if we judged ourselves aright, we
32 should not be judged. Yet, when we are judged by the Lord, we are
33 chastened, that we may not be condemned along with the world. So
34 then, my brothers, when you assemble to eat, wait for one another: if
any one is hungry, let him eat at home—that you may not assemble
to incur judgment. As for the rest, I will issue instructions whenever
I come.

12 1 In regard to the spiritual gifts, brothers, I would not have you
2 ignorant. You know that at one time[1] you were heathens urged on by
3 impulse and led away to the dumb idols; wherefore I tell you,

No man who speaks in the Spirit of God says "Jesus is accursed":
And no man is able to say "Jesus is Lord," except in the holy
Spirit.

[1] Reading *ποτέ*.

4 Now there are varieties of talents,
but the same Spirit:
5 And there are varieties of ministries,
yet the same Lord:
6 And there are varieties of effects,
but the same God who produces all effects in all men.
7 Each has the disclosure of the Spirit given him with a view to profit:
8 to one through the Spirit is given speech of wisdom,
and to another speech of knowledge from the same Spirit,
9 to another in the same Spirit faith,
and to another in the one Spirit talents to heal,
10 to another the effecting of miraculous powers,
to another prophecy,
to another discerning of spirits,
to another various kinds of tongues,
and to another the interpretation of tongues.
11 But one and the same Spirit produces all these effects,
dividing as he wills to each individually.
12 For in the same way as the body is one and has many members, yet all
the members of the body, many as they are, compose one body: so too is
13 Christ. For in one spirit also we all had ourselves baptised into one
body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free men, and we were
14 all imbued with one Spirit. Why, even the body is not composed of one
member but of many.
15 Were the foot to say, "Because I am not the hand, I am no part of
the body,"
That does not make it no part of the body:
16 And were the ear to say, "Because I am not the eye, I am no part
of the body,"
That does not make it no part of the body.
17 Were the whole body an eye, where would the hearing be?
Were the whole body hearing, where would the smelling be?
18 As it is, God has set the members within the body, each one of them
even as it pleased him.
19 Were they all one member, where would the body be?
20 As it is, there are many members and one body.
21 The eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee":
Nor again the head to the feet, "I have no need of you."
22 Quite the contrary. It is rather those members of the body which
23 seem to be feebler that are necessary; and the parts of the body which we
consider less honourable are the very parts we invest with ampler honour.
24 Our uncomely parts get ampler comeliness, while our comely parts do not
need it.
Yes, God has tempered the body together,
giving ampler honour to the inferior part,
25 that there should be no division in the body,
but that the members should have the same concern for one another.
26 So if one member suffers,
all the members suffer with it:
if one is exalted,
all the members rejoice with it.
27, 28 Now you are Christ's body, and members each in his part. That is to
say, God has set people in the Community first to be apostles, secondly
prophets, thirdly teachers, then for miraculous powers, then for talents to

heal, for works of succour, works of government, various kinds of tongues.
29 Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? have all miraculous
30 powers? have all talents to heal? do all speak with tongues? do all
31 interpret? Covet the greater talents.—And yet I will further
show you a higher way than all.

13 1 Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels
Yet have no love,
I am echoing brass or a clanging cymbal.
2 And though I have prophecy and know all secrets and all knowledge,
And though I have all faith, enough to remove mountains,
Yet have no love,
I count for nothing.
3 And though I dole out all my substance in food,
And though I give my body to be burned,
Yet have no love,
I am no gainer.
4 Love is longsuffering, kind,
Love is not jealous,[1] no boaster, not puffed up:
5 She acts not unseemly, seeks not her own ends,
She is not irritated, *imputes no evil*,
6 Rejoices not at iniquity, but rejoices with the truth,
7 Bears all, believes all,
Hopes for all, endures all.
8 Love never fails:
But as for prophecies, they shall be done away,
As for tongues, they shall cease,
As for knowledge, it shall be done away.
9 For in part we know and in part we prophesy:
10 But when that which is perfect arrives,
That which is in part shall be done away.
11 When I was a child,
Like a child I talked,
Like a child I felt,
Like a child I reasoned:
Now that I have become a man,
I am done with childish things.
12 For at present we look through a mirror, dimly,
But then it will be face to face:
At present I know in part,
But then I shall fully know, as also I am fully known.
13 So now these three remain, faith, hope, and love:
But the greatest of these is love.

14 1 Be love your aim! Covet the spiritual gifts—preferring that of
2 prophecy. For he who speaks in a tongue speaks not to men, but to God.
3 No one understands; the man is uttering secrets in the Spirit. On the
other hand, he who prophesies speaks to men for upbuilding and encour-
4 agement and consolation. He who speaks in a tongue builds up himself,
5 but he who prophesies builds up the Community. Now I would have
you all speak with tongues, but I would prefer you to prophesy. He
who prophesies is greater than he who speaks with tongues; unless indeed
6 the latter interprets, so that the Community may be built up. What use
now shall I be to you, brothers, if I come to you speaking with tongues,
unless I speak to you either in the form of revelation or of knowledge

[1] Omitting [[ἡ ἀγαπᾶ]].

7 or of prophecy or of teaching? If things inanimate, like the flute or the
harp, have no intervals occurring in their music, how can one catch
the air that is being played on flute or harp, for all the sound they
8 make? And if the trumpet gives an indistinct sound, who will make
9 himself ready for battle? So too with yourselves; unless your tongue
utters speech that is readily understood, how are people to know what
10 you say? You will be speaking into the air. There are, for example,
many kinds of languages in the world, and nothing lacks a language.
11 Well, unless I understand the meaning of the language, I shall be a
foreigner to the man who is speaking; and to my mind the man who is
12 speaking will be a foreigner. So too with yourselves; since you are
bent upon having spirits, seek to excel with a view to build up the
13 Community. Therefore let him who speaks with a tongue pray that he
14 may interpret. For if I pray with a tongue, my spirit prays but my
15 understanding produces no fruit. Very well then, I will pray with the
spirit, and I will also pray with the understanding; I will sing praise
with the spirit, and I will also sing praise with the understanding.
16 Otherwise, suppose thou art saying a blessing with the spirit, how is he
who occupies the position of the uneducated to say the "amen" to thy
17 thanksgiving? The man does not know what thou art saying! Thy
thanksgiving is all very well; but then, the other man is not built up.
18, 19 I thank God that more than any of you I speak with tongues[1]; yet in the
congregation I would rather speak five words with my understanding, so
as to instruct others as well, than ten thousand words in a tongue.
20 Brothers, be not children in mind. Be infants in malice, but in mind
21 be full-grown. In the law it is written, "*By men of alien tongues and by
the lips of aliens will I speak to this people; yet not even thus will they listen*
22 *to me*," saith the Lord. So then tongues are meant for a sign not to the
believing, but to the unbelieving; prophesying again is meant for a sign
23 not to the unbelieving, but to the believing. If the whole Community
then assemble together and all speak with tongues, and if uneducated or
24 unbelieving men come in, will they not say you are mad? Whereas if all
are prophesying, and an unbelieving or uneducated person come in, he is
25 convicted by all, he is judged by all, the secrets of his heart are disclosed;
and so, falling on his face, *he will worship* God, declaring "*God is really
among you.*"
26 Very well, then, brothers: when you assemble, each one has a psalm,
a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, an interpretation; let all be done for
27 upbuilding. If any man speaks in a tongue, let only two or at most
three speak at one meeting, and that in turn; also let someone interpret.
28 But if there is no interpreter, let the man keep silence in the congrega-
29 tion, and speak to himself and to God. Let the prophets also speak, two
30 or three of them, and let the others use their judgment. But if a
revelation is made to another prophet who is sitting by, let the first
31 speaker be silent. For you can all prophesy one by one, so that all may
32 learn, and all be encouraged. And the spirits of the prophets are subject
33, 34 to the prophets, for God is a God not of disorder but of harmony. [As
in all the Communities of the saints, let women keep silence in the
congregations. They are not permitted to speak. Let them be in subjec-
35 tion, as also the law enjoins. If they wish to learn anything, let them
ask their own husbands at home; it is disgraceful for a woman to speak
36 in the congregation.] What? Was it from you that the word of God
37 started? Are you the only people it has reached? If anyone considers

[1] Reading γλώσσαις.

himself a prophet or spiritual, let him understand that what I write to
38 you is a commandment of the Lord. But if anyone disregards it—well,
let him disregard [1] it.
39 So then, my brothers, covet prophecy, and forbid not speech with
40 tongues. But let all be done with propriety and in order.
15 1 Now I make known to you, brothers, the gospel that I preached to
2 you, which also you received, in which also you stand, by which also
you are being saved, if you are holding fast the word that I preached to
3 you—unless indeed you believed in vain. For I handed on to you first
of all that which I also received: namely, that Christ died for our sins
4 according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose on
5 the third day according to the scriptures, and that he was seen by
6 Kephas, then by the twelve; after that, he was seen by upwards of five
hundred brothers all at once, of whom the greater number survive to this
7 day, but some have fallen asleep; after that he was seen by James, then
8 by all the apostles, and last of all, by one misborn (as it were), he was seen
9 also by me. For I am the least of the apostles, I who am not fit to be
10 called "apostle," because I persecuted the Community of God. But by the
grace of God I am what I am; and the grace he showed to me did not
prove in vain. No, I laboured far beyond them all—yet not so much I, as
11 the grace of God along with me. Be it I then or they, so we preach, and
so you believed.
12 Now if the preaching of Christ is that he rose from the dead, how is
it that some people among you say "there is no such thing as a resurrection
13 of the dead"? If "there is no such thing as a resurrection of the dead,"
14 Christ did not rise either; and if Christ did not rise, then [2] vain is our
15 preaching after all, vain also your faith. Yes, and we are found to be
false witnesses of God, because we witnessed against God in saying that
"he raised Christ"—whom he did not raise, if dead men after all do not
16, 17 rise. For if dead men do not rise, Christ did not rise either; and if
Christ did not rise, your faith is futile, you are still in your sins.
18, 19 Besides, those who fell asleep in Christ perished after all. If in this life
we have nothing but a mere hope in Christ, we are of all men to be
20 pitied most. But, as it is, Christ did rise from the dead, the
firstfruits of those who are asleep.
21 For since through man came death,
Through man came also resurrection of the dead:
22 As all die in Adam,
So also shall all be made alive in Christ.
23 But each in his own rank: Christ the firstfruits, after that, all who
24 are Christ's at his arrival; then comes the end, when he delivers up the
royal power to the God and Father, when he shall have put down all
25 rule and all authority and power. For he must reign until *he has put*
26 all *his enemies under* his *feet*. Last enemy of all, death shall be put
27 down. For *he has made all things subject under his feet*. Now, when it
says "all things are made subject," clearly that excludes the One who
28 made all things subject to him. But when all things are made subject
to him, then the Son himself shall also be made subject to the One who
made all things subject to him, that God may be all in all.
29 Otherwise, what can be the meaning of those who get baptized on behalf of
the dead? If dead men do not rise at all, why do they get baptised on
30, 31 their behalf? And why are we ourselves in danger every hour? (Daily
I die—I swear it by my exulting in you, brothers, in Christ Jesus our

[1] Reading ἀγνοείτω. [2] Omitting [[καί]].

Lord.) If, humanly speaking, I "fought with beasts" at Ephesus, what use is that to me? If dead men rise not, *let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!* Be not misled: "bad companionships are the ruin of honest morals." Awake to uprightness, and sin not! For some are in ignorance of God. I am speaking to rouse your shame.

But, one will say, "How do the dead rise? With what kind of body do they come?" Senseless man! what thou sowest is not made alive unless it dies. And in sowing, what thou sowest is not the body that is to be, but a mere grain of wheat, for example, or of some other kind of seed; yet God gives it a body even as he wills, namely, to each kind of seed a body of its own. All flesh is not the same flesh. There is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, one flesh of birds, and another of fishes. There are heavenly bodies and also earthly bodies; but the splendour of the heavenly is one thing, and the splendour of the earthly is another. There is one splendour of the sun, and another splendour of the moon, and another splendour of the stars; for star excels star in splendour. So it is also with the resurrection of the dead.

It is sown in the perishing,
it is raised in the imperishable:
It is sown in dishonour,
it is raised in splendour:
It is sown in weakness,
it is raised in power:
It is sown a natural body,
it is raised a spiritual body.
If there is a natural,
there is also a spiritual body.

So also it is written:

"*The* first *man* Adam *became a living soul:*
The last Adam, a life-making spirit."

But the spiritual is not first, it is the natural:
After that the spiritual.
The first *man is from the earth, material:*
The second man is from heaven.
As is the material, so are those who are material:
And as is the heavenly, so are those who are heavenly.
And as we have worn the image of the material,
We are also to wear [1] the image of the heavenly.

What I say is this, brothers.
Flesh and blood cannot inherit the reign of God,
Nor does the perishing inherit the imperishable.

Lo, I tell you a secret!
Not all of us shall fall asleep,
But all of us shall be changed—
In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet.
For the trumpet shall sound,
And the dead shall be raised imperishable,
And we shall be changed.
For this perishing thing must put on the imperishable,
And this mortal thing must put on immortality;
But when this perishing thing shall have put on the imperishable,
And this mortal thing shall have put on immortality,
Then shall come to pass the word which is written:

[1] Reading φορέσομεν.

Death is swallowed up in victory.
55 *Death, where is thy victory?*
Death, where is thy sting?
56 [The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law.]
57 Thanks be to God who gives the victory to us through our Lord
58 Jesus Christ. So then, my beloved brothers, be firm, immovable, abounding at all times in the work of the Lord; since you know that your labour is not vain in the Lord.

16 1 Now in regard to the collection for the saints, do you also follow the
2 instructions that I gave to the Communities of Galatia. On the first day of the week let each of you be laying by him in store whatever gain he may have made; so that collections may not have to be made when I
3 come. When I arrive I will despatch with letters whatever persons you
4 think fit, to convey your bounty to Jerusalem; and if it be worth while
5 for me also to make the journey, they shall accompany me. I will visit you when I have passed through Macedonia. Through Mace-
6 donia I am to pass, but possibly I shall remain awhile with you, or even pass the winter; that you may speed me on whatever journey I may under-
7 take. I do not wish to see you at this moment merely in passing by;
8 my hope is to stay for some time with you, if the Lord permit. But I
9 will stay on at Ephesus till Pentecost; for a great door of activity is open
10 to me, and adversaries are numerous. If Timotheus comes, see that he need have no fear with you; for he works at the Lord's work like
11 myself. Let no one despise him then. Speed him on his journey in peace, that he may come to me; for I expect him along with the brothers.
12 In regard to Apollos the brother—I made an urgent appeal to him to visit you with the others, but he was not quite inclined to visit you just now. However, he will come whenever he finds time.
13 Watch, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong.
14 Let all that you do be done in love.
15 I appeal to you, brothers—you know that the household of Stephanas is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have laid themselves out for
16 ministering to the saints. Be you also in subjection to such, and to
17 everyone who shares their work and labour. I am glad that Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus have arrived, for they have made up for
18 the lack of you. They have refreshed my spirit and yours. Pay regard to such men therefore.
19 The Communities of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca heartily salute you in the Lord, with the Community which is in their house.
20 All the brothers salute you. Salute one another with a saints' kiss.
21, 22 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul. If anyone loves not the Lord, let him be accursed. Maran atha.
23 The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you.
24 My love be with you all in Christ Jesus.

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

When Paul despatched 1 Co from Ephesus, he evidently contemplated a visit to Corinth which for all its salutary consequences might prove painful to his friends and to himself (1 Co $4^{19\text{-}21}$, *ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω*; cp. 11^{34} 16^{7}). That this visit actually took place is a fair inference from passages in the later epistle (2 Co 2^{1} 12^{14}, *ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἑτοιμῶς ἔχω ἐλθεῖν*, 13^{1}, *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι*). These imply two previous visits—at least that is a legitimate and highly natural, if not a necessary, conclusion from their language. Now, as Paul had only visited Corinth once before the composition of 1 Co, the second visit must have taken place between 1 Co and 2 Co.[1] From this visit Paul returned to Ephesus, saddened and baffled (2 Co 2^{5} f.). His journey had been fruitless and unpleasant. But what he had been unable to effect by a personal visit (10^{10} 12^{21}) he tried to carry out by means of a letter (2^{4} 7^{8}) written *ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων* with passionate threats and appeals; it was so sarcastic and severe,[2] indeed, that the recollection of his language afterwards caused the apostle some qualms of conscience. This letter of disturbed feelings has been partially preserved in 2 Co 10-13^{10}. These chapters are written out of the tension felt by one who is not yet sure of his ultimate success. They vibrate with anger and anxiety. Paul's authority and actions had been called in question, while his converts in Corinth were exposed to licentious errors. Yet both attacks sprang from the same overbearing, unscrupulous party who had gained a footing (11^{20}) within the church, possibly headed by some ringleader (*ὁ τοιοῦτος*, *τις*, 2 Co 2^{5} 7^{12}) who had been able to inflict severe and public humiliation upon the apostle by charging him with unscrupulous dealing, overbearing conduct, unfounded pretensions to the ministry of Christ, and so on. Since the attack on his character involved his gospel, Paul

[1] Those who (like Schmiedel, Zahn, and recently G. G. Findlay, *ExGT*, ii. pp. 736–738) deny this, are forced to the expedient of placing this visit previous to 1 Co, a device which contradicts the silence both of Acts and 1 Co. Paul's first visit to Corinth was on the occasion of his founding the church, and when writing 1 Co he refers to no other than this diffident and successful visit of his ministry (1 Co 2^{2}). He had no cause for *λύπη* then, and betrays in 1 Co no sense of any.

[2] To make this in any sense an adequate or apt description of 1 Co as a whole, is an idea which scarcely merits serious discussion. That epistle naturally contains words of blame, but blame is not its argument and object; it contained nothing to make Paul uneasy. If the above theory is discarded, the letter in question must be regarded as lost. On the other hand, 1 Co is probably alluded to in 2 Co $10^{1.\ 10c}$, possibly 2 Co 10-13 in the later epistle 2 Co 3^{13} (*πάλιν*), and $13^{1.\ 10}$ in 1^{23} 2^{1}. At any rate chaps. 10-13^{10} form the only extant passage in Paul's Corinthian correspondence which answers to the twofold description of a letter composed in personal distress and with a severe intention. It is a deceptive method to start the discussion upon the two Corinthian epistles with their superficial resemblances, as these exist in the extant and canonical form.

found a method[1] of defence ready to hand against slander and censure.[2] He proceeded to exhibit his own titles to credit and honour as an apostle Self-exultation is the keynote: *καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ*. "In great religious movements the leaders are often compelled to assert themselves pretty peremptorily, in order that their work may not be wrecked by conceited and incapable upstarts" (Drummond). These pages thus form the apostle's *apologia pro vita sua*. But like Newman's it rises above the narrow controversies and personal issues of the struggle. Instead of merely expostulating and demanding reparation from the Corinthians for insults and outrages, he was concerned to expose the futility and shamelessness of all such attacks upon himself, thereby hoping to effectively discredit the influence of such opponents upon his friends. "I wrote," he told them afterwards (2 Co 2^{9}), *ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε*. His appeal was a test of their obedience,[3] carried by Titus (2 Co 2^{13} $7^{6.\ 13\text{-}14}$). It was addressed to the Community as a whole, and intended to counteract the tyrannising and plausible influences of the Judaising party. Possibly only a fragment of it is preserved in 2 Co 10–13^{10}, but even if it is complete we need not be surprised that Paul leaves the offender (2^{5} 7^{12}) alone. His attention is concentrated on the broader issue of which that man's case formed merely one expression. The case had now fallen to the Corinthians to deal with, and Paul strove rather to raise in them a proper conscience for such a process of discipline.

From a subsequent epistle (2 Co 1–9), written from Macedonia shortly after he had left[4] Ephesus to meet Titus on his return journey from Corinth, it is plain that the Corinthians had regained their loyalty and vindicated Paul at the expense of his opponents (2 Co 2^{13} 7^{13}). Their reception of

[1] I do not understand how these chapters can be described as "wholly taken up with what the apostle means to do, when he comes to Corinth for the third time" (Denney). References to a further visit are to be expected under the circumstances, but they are mostly incidental allusions (10^{2} 12^{14} 13^{1}), and not at all the continuous or absorbing theme of the epistle. Nor does 1^{23} imply (as Sanday thinks, *EBi*, i. p. 906) that the painful letter was in lieu of a personal visit. As 2^{1} shows, the painful visit had already been made. Paul simply says he preferred not to inflict on them again such an unpleasant experience, and therefore wrote a letter instead, until such time as he could pay a visit with comfort. The resemblance of style and expression (Holtzmann) between chaps. 10–13 and chaps. 1–9 are patent, but they have no bearing on the question of the date and order of these pieces. Both were written close together by the same man. Finally, the two passages $8^{17\text{-}24}$ and 12^{18} do not refer to the same event (Jülicher). The latter touches a visit already paid. The former refers to another mission of Titus and his companion, for which Paul seeks to pave the way. Belser (*TQ* (1894), pp. 15–47) makes Paul visit Corinth four times, in 53, in 57 (summer), in 58–59 (winter), and finally in 65–66 after his release.

[2] Paul seems to have found in some of the Corinthians the same "indecent freedom" which Thomas Boston met with among the Ettrick people; who also, "generally speaking, were naturally smart, and of an uncommon assurance: self-conceited and censorious to a pitch, contemners of me and of my ministry, who often kept not within the bounds of common civility." Indeed, it is remarkable that Boston actually compares them twice over in his *Memoirs* to the church of Corinth, "burnt up with the fire of division, and drenched in fleshly abominations . . . seeing we so much resemble that church in her three grand evils, self-conceit, a divisive temper, and sins of uncleanliness." See Dr. Kennedy, (as below pp. 98–110.

[3] The omission of this whole period and intercourse in Acts proves either that the author was ignorant of the affair, or more probably that he chose to pass over so unedifying and discreditable a passage in the life of the early church.

[4] The storm of affliction (2 Co 1–2) in which Paul was tossing at this crisis was due partly to recent experiences, partly to anticipations. He had been driven from his anchorage in Ephesus, and as yet was uncertain whether Corinth, his old harbour, would have a welcome for him. The relief felt by Paul is indicated by the recurring idea of *παράκλησις* (which occurs eleven times in this epistle).

Titus and compliance with Paul's appeal fairly banished depression and disappointment from his heart. Hence the delight and relief that breathe through the epistle. It is irenical, intended to re-establish mutual confidence and obliterate the memories of the past bitter controversy. To forgive and to forget is its keynote. The original conclusion of this final letter (like the original first epistle to Corinth) has been lost; unless, as is highly probable, it is preserved [1] in 13^{11-13}. At some later period, when the two short letters were put together, the earlier ($10–13^{10}$) was stripped[2] of its opening (which under the circumstances would be brief) and added to the later and longer one, both together making up a single writing similar in size to 1 Co. The correct order of the extant Corinthian letters would then be (*a*) 1 Co, (*b*) 2 Co $10–13^{10}$, (*c*) 2 Co 1–9, 13^{11-13}. Besides the earliest (lost) letter of 1 Co 5^{9} (cp. 2 Co $6^{14}–7^{1}$, 1 Co 16^{1}), there may have been another between (*a*) and (*c*) announcing that Paul had had to alter his original plan (2 Co 1^{15-23}) of visiting Corinth *viâ* Macedonia; unless he allowed that plan to silently drop when circumstances arose to prevent its execution.

A case can be made out for the substantial integrity of the epistle, partly on the ground that the closing four chapters represent not a fresh standpoint or situation, but an emotional and argumentative climax, the last charge of Paul's dialectic carefully held in reserve till it could break out and complete a victory already gained in measure (1^{14}), partly also on the score of the epistle's internal characteristics. The former argument has been already answered by implication.[3] The latter is more plausible. 2 Co is a writing of moods, not composed at a single sitting nor in face of a single phase of life. Hence, on psychological grounds, the broken character of the problem might be taken as an explanation of the lack of unity in its

[1] Note the characteristic play on words (χάρις, χαίρετε, 9^{15} 13^{11}), and the fitness of the sentiment ($13^{11\,12}$) as a finale to the advice and counsel in ch. 9, where as ever the collection is treated as a bond of union and opportunity of brotherly kindness. The personal question at issue between Paul and the Corinthians is rounded off in ch. 7. Kennedy (see below) explains the welding of the two letters by the fact that a copyist confused the visit promised (in ch. 9) with that mentioned in ch. 10. "It is indeed a visit of a very different kind. There is an apparent resemblance concealing a deep-seated difference; but this is precisely the complexion of things which would be likely to mislead a copyist." As the autographs were probably written on leaves, transposition of this kind would be materially facilitated.

[2] It is not necessary to suppose that a (lost) previous section of the intermediate epistle was composed by Timotheus or some other (Ephesian) companion of the apostle. The αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ (2 Co 10^{1}) is a natural plunge into vehement reproach and personalities. Nor is it probable that Timotheus himself was the ἀδικηθείς (Beyschlag, Pfleiderer, and G. G. Findlay). A favourite theory of the traditional school is that Paul had received fresh news from Corinth at this point; but in that case it is extraordinary how he does not refer to such bad tidings at all, and how he goes on without any allusion to the altered circumstances. The absence of directions (in 10–13) about the case of the guilty person is not a crucial objection, as Dr. Drummond admits; "this part might have been omitted" from the final recension "as of temporary interest," particularly as the matter ended satisfactorily.

[3] The indulgent consideration of 2 Co $5^{6.\,11}$ blending policy with generosity, refers to a situation which did not exist when 1 Co was written. Such leniency is almost incredible in the case of a shameless breach of morals like that so scathingly treated in 1 Co 5. But it suits a case of personal insult. Paul ὁ ἀδικηθείς could well afford to overlook an affront to himself or to one of his friends, when the aggressor had frankly given up his arms and the church had taken the apostle's part. See a lucid presentment of the whole case by Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 341–353), who further conjectures that a court was held during the second visit to adjudicate upon Paul's apostolic claims, and that in the course of the discussion the church allowed Paul to be grossly insulted by a prominent individual among the intriguers.

treatment. "Probably there is no literary work in which the cross-currents of feeling are so violent and so frequent. Again and again they sweep the apostle far away from his intended course of thought and grammar. He struggles back again, only to be once more hurried away in yet another direction. Or, to change the metaphor, we see a thought bubbling up from the ground of the argument, fresh and vigorous. But at once it passes beneath the sudden rising-ground of some new idea; at length it appears again tinged with the soil through which it has flowed."[1] Still, there are limits to versatility. In this case interruptions and mobility of temperament will not bear the weight put upon them by the traditional hypothesis. The difference of tone between the first nine and the last four chapters is so marked, that it may very reasonably be held to indicate a serious difference of situation; and upon the whole the references and outlook of chaps. 10–13 ("Eine durch Stimmung u. Sprache zusammengehaltene Gruppe," J. Weiss, *ThLz*, 1894) are most naturally explained when they are allowed to lie within the earlier period of strained relations and bitter animosity between 1 Co and 2 Co 1–9. The hypothetical character which appears to beset this solution is in reality due to the whole question of Paul's relations with the Corinthian church, which are intricate and subtle to the last degree. Any theory of their nature is based partly on conjecture, and the choice lies simply between historical reconstructions of less and more probability. Whatever scheme be adopted, the investigator has to be content with a series of situations in which the details are only to be harmonised in part.

The discovery that 2 Co is no unity is not recent. As far back as 1776, Semler conjectured that three letters were included in the canonical epistle, namely, (i.) 1–8, 13^{11-13}, a letter sent with Titus on his second visit to Corinth; (ii.) 9, a letter to the Christians of Achaia; (iii.) 10^{1}–13^{10}, a further letter to Corinth. The credit of detecting the intermediate letter in chaps. 10–13 must be given to Hausrath[2] (iv. p. 55f.), and among the chief adherents of this position (besides others quoted by Schmiedel) are S. Davidson (*?INT*, i. pp. 57f., 63f.), Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 105–110), Clemen (*Chron.* p. 226f.), Brückner (*Chron.* p. 198f., "an *oratio pro domo*"), J. H. Kennedy (*Exp.*[5] 1897; pp. 231f., 285f., 1899, pp. 182f.), König (*ZwTh* (1897), pp. 482–554, full and clear), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 313–315), and Adeney (*BI*, p. 368f.).[3] Schmiedel's subtle and elaborate exposition has

[1] Chase, *Cluss. Rev.* (1890), p. 151; cp. Deissmann, *Bibel-Studien* (1895), pp. 239, 240. But the variations and terms in 2 Co are too great to be explained even upon the supposition that the writer stopped now and then to pause and reflect, or hurried from one subject to another. This is an adequate view of 1 Co, but not of 2 Co—least of all, of 10^{1}–13^{10}. Nor is there any reason to suppose that between 9^{15} and 10^{1} Paul had received fresh and unsatisfactory news of his converts at Corinth. In that case Titus (2 Co $7^{6f.}$) had been grossly misled.

[2] Especially in his monograph (1870, *Der Vier-Capitel Brief des Paulus an die Corinther*. 2 Co is much more weakly attested in the later literature than 1 Co, and in any case the extant canonical letters of Paul to Corinth are only the fragmentary relics of a larger correspondence.

[3] Cp. Lipsius (*JpTh* (1876), p. 531) and Dr. O. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Teacher, and the Missionary*, pp. 47, 125. By several critics, chaps. 10–13 are separated from chaps. 1–9, but placed subsequent to them: so most recently upon varying constructions of the history, Krenkel (*Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte u. der Briefe des Paulus* (1890), p. 308 f.), and Dreschler (*SK* (1897), pp. 43–111); *vide Theol. Jahresber.* xvii. 153. On the other side, cp. Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh* (1899), pp. 1–19. Volter's dissection is given in *Theol. Tijds.* (1889), pp. 296 f., and Dr. J. H. Kennedy has just written a volume upon the subject (*The Second and Third Letters of Paul to Corinth*, 1900). Even Sabatier (p. 170), in rejecting Hausrath's

given quite a fresh rank and impressiveness to the theory (*HC*, ii. pp. 74–80) and set many points in it practically beyond dispute. Lisco's acute monograph (*Die Entstehung des zweiten Korintherbriefes;* Berlin, 1896) again reduces the whole epistle to a perfect mosaic of tiny Pauline notes: A=10–13[10] with 6[14]–7[1] between 12[10] and 12[20], B=1[1]–6[13] with 12[11-19] 7[2-13] 9 13[11-13], C=7[4]–8[24]. Upon this view, expanded in his *Judaismus triumphatus:* "Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der vier letzten Kapitel des zweiten Korintherbriefs" (1896), A is the sharp letter presupposed in B, while C forms the letter intrusted to Titus (cp. *Theol. Jahresber.* (1897), pp. 143, 144). The best defences of the traditional position are given by Klöpper and Heinrici among the editors, and by Zahn (i. pp. 220-226) and Jülicher (pp. 64–67) in their Introductions; in English by Weiss (*AJT*, i. 355–363), Dr. Robertson (*DB*, i. article "Corinthians," pp. 496, 497), and N. J. D. White (replying to Kennedy, *Exp.*[5] vii. pp. 113f.), the second of whom candidly allows that "it would be going too far to say that" the *Vier-Capitel* hypothesis "is absolutely disproved." Dr. Drummond (*IH*, ii. pp. 48–54) also inclines upon the whole to the integrity of the canonical epistle.

hypothesis, admits that "the vehement, the ironical and impassioned tone of these last pages represents very fairly, I believe, that of the lost letter." If so, why did Paul resuscitate the old quarrel, after the church had made reparation and won his generous pardon? But for this argument, and indeed for an exhaustive presentment of the whole subject, one is glad now to be able to refer the reader to Dr. Kennedy's convenient and masterly volume, which is in several respects an advance even upon Schmiedel, particularly in the discussion upon "The Character of the Minority" (pp. 98–110), and in an account of the mechanical and material factors by which ancient manuscripts were rendered liable to such treatment as is implied in this hypothesis of 2 Co 10-13.

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

His authority had apparently been defied, and his credit and influence decidedly lowered; and he had even had to endure personal insult. It was under these circumstances that he wrote another letter to the Corinthians immediately upon his return to Ephesus, defending himself against the attacks of his enemies, and calling the Corinthians sharply to account for their disloyalty to him, and for allowing themselves to be influenced by his opponents and detractors. The general tone of chapters x.–xiii. is exactly what Paul's references to that epistle would lead us to expect. Those chapters were evidently written out of much sorrow and anguish of heart, and there was good reason to doubt whether the Corinthians would receive them kindly. They were calculated, if they did not move them to repentance, to make them angry, and to widen the breach already existing. . . . This sharp and passionate epistle, which was carried by Titus to Corinth, produced the effect for which it was intended. Paul had feared for the result, but his fears proved groundless. The Corinthians realised their error, and took their stand unequivocally on his side.—**McGiffert.**

[2 Co		
10^{1}–13^{10}	**The invective:**	Vindication of his mission and himself against opponents—
11^{1-6}		his sincerity,
11^{7-15}		,, maintenance,
11^{16}–12^{10}		,, exultation.
12^{11-18}		Closing appeals.
12^{19}–13^{10}]		A warning and a remonstrance, in view of an approaching visit.

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

(2 Co 10^{1}–13^{10})

10 1 . . . Now personally I Paul appeal to you by the gentleness and for-
bearance of Christ, I who "am humble in presence" among you "but
2 make a brave front to you in my absence." I do entreat you that when I
am present I may not have to "make a brave front," with the confidence
with which I am determined to deal boldly with certain persons who look
3 upon us as if we "walked according to the flesh." No, we walk in the
4 flesh, but we do not make war according to the flesh—for the weapons of
our warfare are not of the flesh, but divinely powerful to throw down
5 strongholds—we throw down reasonings and every rampart that erects
itself against the knowledge of God, we bring every scheme captive to
6 obey Christ, and we are in readiness to punish all disobedience, when
once your obedience is complete.
7 Look at what lies before your very face. If any man is self-confident
that he "is Christ's," let him once more reflect to himself that just as he
8 "is Christ's," so too are we. For though I were to exult further over our
authority, which the Lord has given to upbuild you, not to throw you
9 down, I shall not be put to shame. But I refrain, in case it might
10 appear as if I wanted to frighten you merely by my letters. For "his
letters," says one, "are of weight and forcible: but when he is here in
11 person, he is weak, and his speech despicable." Let him who says so
take this into consideration: what we are in word by letters when we
are absent, that we shall prove ourselves to be in deed when we are
12 present. We do not venture forsooth to include ourselves among, or to
compare ourselves with, some of those who commend themselves! Nay,
as we measure ourselves by ourselves and compare ourselves with our-
13 selves,[1] ours will be no immoderate exultation; it will be exultation
according to the measure of the sphere which God has assigned to us—a
14 measure by which we reach the length of you. For we are not stretching
beyond our limits, as though our reach did not include you; we came
the length of you before anyone else came with the gospel of Christ.
15 Ours is no immoderate exulting on the ground of other men's labours;
our hope rather is that, as your faith grows, we shall be magnified yet
16 more and more in you according to our sphere, our object being to preach
the gospel even to the regions that lie beyond you, not to exult in another
17 man's sphere over work that lies already done. *Let him who exults exult*
18 *in the Lord.* For the man of genuine character is not he who commends
himself, it is he whom the Lord commends.
11 1 Would that you could bear with a little "senselessness" from me!
2 Yes indeed, do bear with me! With a divine jealousy I am jealous
over you; for I have betrothed you, to present you as a chaste maiden to

[1] Omitting οὐ συνιᾶσιν : ἡμεῖς δὲ.

3 one husband, to Christ. But I am afraid lest haply, as *the serpent beguiled*
Eve with his craftiness, your minds be corrupted from that singleness of
4 heart[1] which is for Christ. For indeed if the new-comer preaches
another Jesus, whom we did not preach, or if you get a different spirit, a
spirit which you did not get, or a different gospel, which you did not
5 accept—you put up with them well enough! Why not with me? I
6 reckon myself not a whit inferior to those superlative apostles! Even if
in speech I am uneducated, in knowledge I am not. No, we have made
7 that perfectly clear to you in every way. What! did I commit
a sin when I humbled myself that you might be raised, preaching the
8 gospel of God to you for nothing? Other Communities I robbed by
9 taking pay from them that I might minister to you; and when I was
with you and fell into want, I did not become an encumbrance to any
one. My want was supplied by the brothers who came from Macedonia;
and so in every way I kept (and will keep) myself from proving a burden
10 to you. As the truth of Christ is in me, I will not be stopped from exult-
11 ing thus in the regions of Achaia. Why? Because I do not love you?
12 God knows I do. But I will continue to do what I am doing, that those
who would fain have the opportunity may be deprived of it, that in the
13 matter of exulting it may be found they are just like ourselves. Such
men are false apostles, deceitful workers, masquerading as "apostles of
14 Christ." And no wonder! Satan himself masquerades as an angel of
15 light. It is in no wise remarkable then if his ministers also masquerade
as "ministers of uprightness." As their works are, so shall be their fate.
16 Once more I say, let no one think me "senseless." Even if they do,
put up with me, were it only as with a "senseless" man, that I too may
17 have some little exulting. (In what I now say, I speak not after the
18 Lord, but as in "senselessness," from this standpoint of exulting. Since
19 many exult after the flesh, I too will exult.) For you, who are sensible
20 people, are glad to bear with the senseless! You bear with a man if he
enslaves you, if he devours you, if he catches you, if he uplifts himself,
21 if he upbraids you to your face!—I say this to my discredit, implying
that we at all events were "weak." But in whatever point any-
one makes bold (I am speaking in "senselessness"), I make bold as well.
22 Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they
23 the offspring of Abraham? So am I. Are they ministers of Christ?
(I am speaking like one out of his senses.) I still more: far beyond
them in labours, far beyond them in imprisonments, in stripes above
24 measure, in deaths many a time. Five times have I received from the
25 Jews forty stripes save one. Three times have I been beaten with rods,
once I was pelted with stones, three times I have suffered shipwreck, for
26 twenty-four hours I was in the ocean. Many a time have I been on
journeys, in dangers amid rivers, in dangers amid robbers, in dangers
from my own race, in dangers from the Gentiles, in dangers in the city,
in dangers in the desert, in dangers in the sea, in dangers among false
27 brothers, in labour and toil, in vigils many a time, in hunger and thirst,
28 in fastings many a time, in cold and nakedness. Apart from all the
rest, there is my daily oversight, my anxious care for all the Com-
29 munities. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is hindered, and I
30 am not on fire? If exult I must, then I will exult about my weakness.
31 The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, he who is blessed for ever,
32 knows that I lie not. [In Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king
33 was guarding the city of the Damascenes, in order to arrest me. But

[1] Omitting [[καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος]].

through a window I was lowered in a hamper over the wall, and so
12 1 escaped his hands.] Exult I must, though advantage there is
none. But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.
2 I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago—
whether in the body I know not, or out of the body I know not:
God knows—
was caught up as far as the third heaven.
3 And I know the man in question—
whether in the body or apart from the body I know not: God
knows—
4 he was caught up into paradise
and heard utterances ineffable, which it is not for man to utter.
5 I will exult on his behalf
But on my own I will not exult—unless in the matter of my
weaknesses.
6 (Did I wish to exult I would not be "senseless," for I should be
speaking the truth; but I abstain, in case anyone should esteem me
beyond what he finds me to be or what he hears from me.)
7 That[1] I might not be uplifted overhighly by the pre-eminence of the
revelations, a thorn in the flesh was given me,
An angel of Satan to buffet me, that I might not be uplifted over-
highly.
8 Three times over this I appealed to the Lord, that it might leave me;
9 yet he has said to me, "My grace is enough for thee: for in weakness
my power is perfected." Right gladly then will I rather exult in my
10 weaknesses, that the power of Christ may settle upon me. Wherefore
on behalf of Christ I take delight in weaknesses, in insults, in
troubles, in persecutions and calamities. For when I am weak, then am
I strong.
11 I have become "senseless"? It was you who compelled me to it. For
I ought to have been commended by you. "Nothing" though I am, in no
12 whit have I been inferior to those superlative apostles! The signs of an
apostle were indeed effected among you in all endurance, by signs and
13 wonders and miraculous powers. For in what way were you rendered
inferior to the rest of the Communities, except in the fact that personally
14 I was no encumbrance to you? Forgive me this terrible wrong!
Look, for the third time now I am ready to visit you. Nor will I be any
encumbrance to you. I seek not your goods but yourselves: children
15 ought not to lay up for parents, but parents for children. And right
gladly will I spend and be spent entirely for your souls. If I love you
16 more and more, am I to be loved the less? But "that is granted": I,
you admit—I did not come upon you as a burden. No, but I was
17 "crafty," you say, "and caught you by guile"? Did I take advantage
18 of you by any of the men whom I despatched to you? I appealed to
Titus, and despatched the brother along with him. Did Titus take any
advantage of you? Did he and I not proceed in the same spirit? in the
same steps?
19 Do you imagine all this time that we are "defending ourselves to
you"? It is before God that we speak, in Christ; and all is for your
20 upbuilding, beloved. For I am afraid that perhaps I may come and
find you are not what I would like to find, and that you may find
me not what you would like to find; afraid there may perhaps be
quarrelling, jealousy, angry passions, factions, accusations, secret slanders,

[1] Omitting δέ.

21 lofty ways, disorders; afraid that my God will humiliate me before you
when I return, and that I shall mourn for many of those who were pre-
viously in sin, yet have not repented of the impurity and fornication and
sensuality which they practised.

13 1 For the third time now I am coming to you: *on the statements of two*
2 *witnesses or three every case shall be decided.* I have said and I now say
beforehand (as when I was present for the second time, so now when I
3 am absent) to those who were previously in sin, and to all the rest: if
I come again, I will be unsparing—since you require a proof of the
Christ who speaks in me. Nor is he weak among you, he shows himself
4 powerful in you; for he was indeed crucified in virtue of weakness, yet
he lives in virtue of the power of God. And truly we are weak in him,
5 but we shall live with him, in virtue of the power of God among you. Try
yourselves, to see if you are in the faith. Put yourselves to the test. Do
you not understand yourselves, that Jesus Christ is within you?—unless
6 indeed you are reprobates. (As for ourselves, I hope you will find we
7 are no reprobates.) We pray to God that you may do no evil; not that
we may appear as men of genuine character, but that you may do what
8 is good, though we may look like reprobates. For we have no power
9 against the truth, but for the truth. Yes, we rejoice when we are weak
10 and you are strong; it is your development that we pray for. I am
writing thus in absence, so that when I am present I may not have to
deal severely, in virtue of the authority which the Lord has given me to
upbuild, not to throw you down. . . .

In the first place, it shows pre-eminently how completely the apostle was master of his mood. The letter is, from beginning to end, one of mood; but the mood, far from being identical, varies constantly. . . . And yet there is neither vacillation nor contradiction. As each is roused and warranted by circumstances, so he remains master of all. He throws his whole being into every emotion, and he is always the same. . . . The second feature disclosed pre-eminently by this letter is the interchange of the particular and the universal, the mingling of the discussion of the subject in hand with instruction in the highest matters. The letter, which at a first glance is entirely concerned with the questions and interests of the day, yet contains, in the midst of these, passages which belong to the most important sources for the doctrine of the apostle as a whole. . . . It may be said that not even the slightest point is discussed without a universal application, without a reference to that which is ultimate and supreme. The look that has just been fixed upon the near-lying scene passes immediately to the distant prospects.—**Weizsäcker.**

1^{1-11} **Epistolary introduction.**

1^{12}–7^{16} **Paul as an apostle:**

Personal explanations and vindication—

2^{12}–4^{6} an apostle's ministry,

4^{7}–5^{10} ,, ,, sufferings,

5^{11}–6^{10} ,, ,, life.

6^{11}–7^{16} Epilogue: final appeal to the Corinthians.

8–9 **The collection:**

Christian liberality:

Its examples { the Macedonians. / Jesus Christ.

Its principle and issues.

13^{11-14} **Farewell.**

II. CORINTHIANS

1 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and
Timotheus the brother,
to the Community of God which is in Corinth, along with all the
saints who are in the whole of Achaia :
2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.
3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father
4 of tender mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our
distress, that we may be able to comfort those who are in any distress
by means of the comfort with which we are comforted ourselves by
5 God ; for just as the sufferings of Christ abound for us, so our comfort
6 also abounds through Christ. Are we in distress ? it is for your comfort
and salvation ; are we comforted ? it is for your comfort—a comfort whose
effect is the patient endurance of the same sufferings as we also suffer.
7 And our hope for you is firm, since we know that as you share in the
8 sufferings, so you share also in the comfort. For we would not
have you ignorant, brothers, with regard to the distress which befell us
in Asia. Beyond measure, past our strength, we were weighed down, so
9 that we despaired even of life. Yes, for ourselves we decided the end
must be death—it was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God,
10 who raises the dead, who rescued us out of so terrible a death and
rescues now,[1] on whom our hope is set that he will also rescue us still ;
11 while you also co-operate on our behalf by prayer, in order that on the
part of many persons thanks may be given on our behalf for the boon
bestowed upon us.
12 For the cause of our exulting lies in the evidence of our conscience,
that it was in holiness and godly sincerity, not with fleshly cunning
but with God's grace, that we conducted ourselves in the world, and
13 especially towards you. We are not writing you anything else than what
you read, or in point of fact acknowledge. And to the end, I hope, you
14 will acknowledge—as also you have partly acknowledged us—that we
are your reason for exulting, as also you are ours, in the day of our
15 Lord Jesus. And it was with this confidence that I meant to
16 come to you before, that you might have a second benefit : intending to
pass through you to Macedonia, and from Macedonia to come to you
17 again, and be sped by you on my journey to Judaea. With this in view,
then, did I display fickleness ? Or do I make my proposals according
to the flesh, so as to be one who practically means "yes" as well as
18 "no"? As God is faithful, our word to you was not "yes and no."
19 For the Son of God, Christ Jesus, who was proclaimed among you by
us (by myself and Silvanus and Timotheus) was not "yes and no";
20 in him "yes" has come to be. For in him is the "yes" to all God's
promises ; therefore through him also comes the "amen," to the honour

[1] Reading *ῥύεται*.

21 of God through us. Now he who confirms us with you in Christ and
22 anointed us, is God: who also sealed us as his own and set the pledge
and instalment of the Spirit in our hearts.
23 I call God to witness against my soul, it was to spare you that I
24 forbore to revisit Corinth. (Not that we exercise lordship over your
faith. Nay, we work together for your joy. For by your faith you
2 1, 2 stand.) I decided that I would not visit you again in sorrow. For if I
make you sorrowful, then who is to make me glad? who but he who is
3 made sorrowful by me? and I wrote just for this reason, in case upon
my arrival I might have sorrow from those who ought to furnish me
with joy; confident as I am in you all, that my joy is the joy of you
4 all. For it was out of much distress and misery of heart that I wrote
you, with many tears; not to make you sorrowful, but to make you
5 realise the love which I have for you especially. If anyone has
caused sorrow, he has not caused sorrow to me, but to you all; at least—
6 not to be too severe—to a section of you. This punishment from the
7 majority is enough for the individual in question, so that on the
contrary you should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest haply the
8 man be swallowed up by excessive sorrow. Wherefore I appeal to you
9 to ratify your love to him. For it was with this object that I also
10 wrote, to find out the proof of your obedience in every point. The
man whom you forgive for anything, I forgive also. And truly what-
ever I have forgiven, my forgiveness has been for your sakes in the
11 presence of Christ—to prevent Satan from taking any advantage of us;
12 for well do we know his schemes. Now on arriving at Troas to
preach the gospel of Christ, even although a door stood open for me in the
13 Lord, I got no relief for my spirit, since I did not find Titus my brother;
14 so I took leave of them and departed to Macedonia. Thanks be to God
who ever makes our life a pageant of triumph in Christ, and dis-
15 closes through us in every place the odour of his knowledge! For to
God we are a fragrance of Christ, in the saved and in the perishing:
16 to these an odour of [1] death to death, to those an odour of [1] life to life.
17 (And who is qualified for this?) For we are not like the majority who
adulterate the word of God; nay, out of sincerity, from God, thus it is
we speak in Christ before God.
3 1 Are we beginning once more "to commend ourselves"? or do
we require, like some people, letters of commendation to you or
2 from you? You are yourselves our letter, written within our hearts,
3 recognised and read by all men. It is plain, to look at you, that
you are a letter of Christ, executed by our ministry, *written* not
with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not on *tablets of*
4 *stone*, but on *tablets that are hearts of flesh*.—Such is the confidence
5 we have through Christ towards God. It is not that we are personally
qualified to form any judgment by our unaided selves; our qualifica-
6 tion is from God, who has also qualified us to be ministers of a new
covenant, not of written law but of spirit. For the written law
7 puts to death, but the spirit makes alive. Now if the ministry of
death, engraved in letters of stone, was accompanied with such
splendour that the sons of Israel could not gaze on the face of *Moses*
8 for *the splendour of his face*—a splendour that was waning—surely the
9 ministry of the Spirit shall be of still greater splendour? For if
splendour belongs to the ministry of condemnation, far far more does
10 the ministry of uprightness excel in splendour. Indeed in this respect

[1] Omitting ἐκ.

what has been made splendid possesses no *splendour*, in view of the
11 splendour that is surpassing. For if the appearance of what was
waning was splendid, then splendid far far more is what remains.
12, 13 Since then we have such a hope, we use great openness, and are
not like *Moses*, who *used to put a veil upon his face*, to prevent the sons
14 of Israel gazing on the end of what was waning. Moreover their minds
have been hardened. For to this very day, upon the reading of the
old covenant, the same veil remains. Veiled to them the fact that it
15 has waned in Christ! Yes, down to this day, whensoever Moses is
16 read, a veil lies on their heart. *But whensoever they turn to the Lord, the*
17 *veil is taken away.* The Lord is the Spirit: where the Spirit of the
18 Lord is, there freedom is. And while we all, with face unveiled,
behold as in a mirror *the splendour of the Lord*, we are transformed into
that very image from splendour to splendour, even as by the Spirit of
the Lord.

4 1 Therefore, after the mercy we have obtained, we do not lose
2 heart in this, our ministry. The practices which very shame conceals,
we have disowned; we do not proceed by craft or falsify the word
of God, but by the disclosure of the truth we commend ourselves to
3 every man's conscience in the sight of God. And even if our gospel
4 is veiled, it is veiled for the perishing; in their case the god of this
age has blinded the minds of the unbelieving so that no ray should
reach them from the radiance of the gospel of the splendour of Christ,
5 who is the image of God. For it is not ourselves that we preach, it is
Christ Jesus as Lord and ourselves as your slaves for the sake of Jesus.
6 For the God who said, "Out of darkness light shall shine," is he who
shone within our hearts to irradiate the knowledge of God's splendour in
the face of Christ.

7 But this treasure we hold in earthen vessels,
That the pre-eminence of the power may be God's, not due to us—
8 In everything distressed yet not straitened,
perplexed yet not despairing,
9 persecuted yet not forsaken,
prostrate yet not destroyed,
10 Bearing about ever in the body the dying of Jesus,
That the life of Jesus also may be disclosed in our body:
11 For we who live are always being delivered to death for Jesus'
sake,
That the life of Jesus also may be disclosed in our mortal flesh.

12, 13 In us then death is active, in you life. Yet having the same spirit of
faith as that whereof it is written, *I believed: therefore I spoke*—we too
14 believe, and therefore speak; since we know that he who raised up the
Lord Jesus shall also raise us up with Jesus and present us with you.
15 All is for your sakes, that grace multiplied may cause thanksgiving to
abound through the greater number to the honour of God.

16 Wherefore we lose not heart:
Although our outer man decays,
Day after day our inner man is renewed.
17 For the moment's[1] light distress results for us in an eternal weight of
majesty:
18 While we look not at the seen, but at the unseen,
For the seen is for a time,
But the unseen is eternal.

[1] Omitting ἡμῶν.

5 1 For we know that if our earthly house of the tabernacle be taken down,
We have a building from God, a house that no hands made, eternal
in the heavens.
2 And truly this is why we groan,
As we yearn to be clothed upon with our habitation from heaven;
3 Seeing that once it is put on, we shall not indeed be found naked.
4 And truly we who are in this tabernacle do groan under the burden,
Since our desire is not to be unclothed, but clothed upon,
To have mortality swallowed up by life.
5 For this very end has he formed us,
Even the God who gave us the pledge and instalment of the Spirit.
6 So then we are ever confident, knowing that for us to be at home in
7 the body is to be abroad from the Lord (for the sphere of our walk is
8 faith, not appearances)—we are confident, I say, and would far sooner be
9 abroad from the body and at home with the Lord. Wherefore we also
make it our ambition, whether at home or abroad, to be well-pleasing to
10 him. For we must all be exposed before the tribunal of Christ, that
each may be paid back for what he has done with the body, according to
his deeds, be they good or ill.
11 Knowing the fear of the Lord, then, we "try to win over men." But
what we are is plain to God; plain also, as I hope, within your consciences.
12 We are not "commending ourselves to you" again, but giving you an
opportunity to exult on our behalf, that you may have some answer for
13 those who exult in appearance and not in heart. We have "gone out of
our mind"? that is God's concern. We are "in our senses"? that is in
14 your interest. For it is the love of Christ that urges us: because our con-
15 viction is that one died on behalf of all—so then all died—and died on
behalf of all, in order that the living might live no longer for themselves
16 but for him who died and rose again on their behalf. So, as for
us, from henceforth we know no man after the flesh. Even though we
have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him thus no more.
17 Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: the old things
18 have passed away, behold, they have become new! And it is all of God,
who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the ministry of
19 reconciliation, whose purport is: God was reconciling the world to him-
self in Christ, not reckoning to them their trespasses; and he has placed
20 with us the word of reconciliation. On Christ's behalf then we
are envoys, as though by us God made appeal. We entreat you on behalf
21 of Christ, accept reconciliation to God. Him who knew no sin he made
6 1 to be sin for us, that we might become God's uprightness in him. As his
fellow-workers we appeal to you also not to receive the grace of God in
2 vain—for he saith,

At an acceptable time I hearkened to thee,
And in a day of salvation I helped thee.
Lo now is *the highly acceptable time!*
Lo now is *the day of salvation*—

3 and we give no occasion for stumbling at any point, that our ministry
4 may not be impugned. No, as ministers of God we commend ourselves
in every point, in much endurance, amid distresses, amid troubles, amid
5 calamities, amid stripes, amid imprisonments, amid tumults, amid labours,
6 amid vigils, amid fastings, in purity, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in
7 kindness, in the holy Spirit, in love unfeigned, in the word of truth, in
the power of God: by the weapons of uprightness in the right hand and
8 in the left, by credit and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as

9 "impostors" yet truthful, as "unknown" yet well known, as *dying* yet
10 lo! *we live*, as *chastised yet not put to death*, as sorrowful but ever rejoicing,
as poor but enriching many, as having nothing yet possessed of everything.
11 We keep nothing back from you, Corinthians; our *heart is wide open.*
12, 13 Your constraint lies not in us, it lies in your own hearts. Now one good
turn deserves another (I am speaking as to my children), be you wide
14 open too. **Share no incongruous yoke with unbelievers.**

For what partnership can exist between uprightness and wickedness?
Or what has light in common with darkness?
15 **What harmony has Christ with Beliar?**
Or what part has a believer with an unbeliever?
16 **What compact has God's sanctuary with idols?**
For we are the sanctuary of the living God: even as God said,
"*I will dwell in them and walk in them,*
And I will be their God and they shall be my people.
17 **Therefore,** *come out from the midst of them and be separate," saith the*
Lord.
"**And** *touch nothing unclean, and I will welcome you with favour:*
18 **So** *will I be* **to you** *a father, and to me* **you shall be** *sons and*
daughters,"
Saith the Lord Almighty.

7 1 **As we possess these promises, then, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all**
defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.
2 Take us into your hearts. We have wronged no one, we have ruined
3 no one, we have taken advantage of no one. I am not speaking to
condemn you; I have said before that you are in our hearts to die
4 together and to live together. Great is my frank confidence in regard to
you, greatly do I exult on your behalf amid all our distress. I am full
5 of cheer, brimming over with delight. For even when we came
to Macedonia our flesh got no relief, we were in utter distress—it was
6 wrangles without, fears within. But the God who cheers the depressed
7 cheered us by the arrival of Titus; and it was not merely by his arrival,
but also by the cheer with which he had been encouraged over you, as he
reported to us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I
8 rejoiced more and more. For though I caused you sorrow with my letter,
I do not regret it. I had regrets, it is true, when I discovered [1] that that
9 letter had caused you sorrow (though it was only for a time); but, as
matters stand, I rejoice—not because you had sorrow, but because you
had sorrow to repentance. For you had sorrow in God's way, that you
10 might suffer no loss through us; for sorrow in God's way results in repent-
ance to salvation—a repentance not to be regretted—but the sorrow of
11 the world results in death. Look at this very fact, that you were caused
sorrow in God's way! what earnest care was its result in you, yes and
clearing of yourselves, yes and indignation, yes and fear, yes and longing,
yes and zeal, yes and punishment! You gave every proof that you were
12 innocent in the business. So then, although I wrote to you, it was not
for the sake of him who did the wrong, nor for the sake of him who was
wronged, but in order to make clear to yourselves in the sight of God
13 how earnestly you care for us. Hence our cheer. But over
and above our own cheer we rejoiced more abundantly than ever at the
14 joy of Titus, because you had all refreshed his spirit. For I was not
put to shame over any exultation that I had made to him upon your
behalf; but as all that we said to you was true, so our exulting on your

[1] Reading βλέπων: omitting [[γὰρ]].

15 behalf before Titus proved also to be truth. And his affection for you is
all the greater as he recalls the obedience of you all, and how you received
16 him with fear and trembling. I rejoice that in everything you give me
confidence.

8 1 Now we would inform you, brothers, about the grace of God which
2 has been given to the Communities of Macedonia. Amid a severe ordeal
of distress, their abundant joy and their deep poverty have had an abund-
3 ant issue in rich generosity upon their part; up to their means (I bear
4 witness) and beyond their means, they of their own free will besought us
with urgent entreaty for the favour of participating in the ministry to
5 the saints. And they surpassed our expectations. They actually gave
themselves—first to the Lord, to begin with, and to us by the will of God.
6 So much so that we appealed to Titus to get this bounty completed among
7 you also, since it was he who had previously made a beginning. Come,
as you excel in everything, in faith and speech and knowledge and all
earnestness and in your love to us, excel also in this bounty.
8 I do not speak by way of command, but through the earnestness of others
9 I would put the genuineness of your love also to the proof. [For you know
the bounteous grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; how for your sakes, rich
though he was, he became poor, that through his poverty you might
10 grow rich.] Still, on this subject I give my opinion (it is for your own
advantage, you who a year ago were the first not only in deed but also in
11 desire to make a beginning); complete the deed now as well as the desire,
so that after your readiness in desiring you may likewise complete the
12 doing, in proportion to what you possess. For if the readiness is there, it
is right welcome—according to what a man has, not according to what he
13 has not. This does not mean ease for other people and hardship for you:
14 it is a matter of equality. On the present occasion your abundance serves
to supply their lack, in order that their abundance also may come to
supply your lack; so that there may be equality, even as it is written:

15 *He whose gathering was large had nothing over,*
And he whose gathering was small had not too little.

16 Now thanks be to God for putting into the heart of Titus the same
17 earnest care of you. For, while he accepted our appeal, he has gone off to
18 you of his own free will, so earnest is he. And we have sent along with
him the brother whose praise in the gospel is known throughout all the
19 Communities: further, he was also appointed by the Communities as our
fellow-traveller in the matter of this bounty which we are administering
20 for the honour of the Lord and with encouragement to ourselves. (We are
taking precautions to prevent anyone from impugning us in reference to
21 this munificence which we are administering; for *our concern is for what is honourable* not only *in the sight of the Lord* but *also* in the sight *of men*.)
22 Along with them we have also sent our brother, of whose earnestness we
have had proof many a time and in many a matter, but yet stronger proof
23 now in the great confidence which he has with regard to you. As for Titus,
he is my comrade and fellow-worker in your interest. As for our brothers,
24 they are messengers from the Communities, a credit to Christ. Afford [1]
them the proof of your love, then, our warrant for exulting on your

9 1 acccount before the Communities. For it is superfluous for me
2 to be writing you on the ministry to the saints. I know your readiness
and exult over it on your account to the Macedonians; "Achaia," I tell
them, "has been prepared for a year back." And your zeal has been a
3 stimulus to the most of them. But I have sent the brothers lest our exulta-

[1] Reading ἐνδείξασθε.

tion on your account be rendered void in this particular, that you may
4 be (as I have been telling them you would be) "prepared"; lest haply,
should any Macedonians accompany me and find you unprepared, we (not
5 to say, you) might be put to shame over this confidence. I have therefore
considered it needful to appeal to the brothers to go on to you and make
up beforehand your long-promised liberality, so that it might be ready as
6 a matter of liberality and not of grudging avarice. Mark this!

He who sows sparingly, sparingly shall he also reap:
And he who sows liberally, liberally shall he also reap.

7 Let each one give as he has determined in his heart, without any
8 regret or compulsion. For it is *a cheerful giver* that *God* loves. And God
has the power of making all grace abound to you, that on all sides, at all
times, in all ways, you may have sufficient, and have ample for every good
9 work: even as it is written,

He scatters abroad, he gives to the poor;
His charity lasts for ever.

10 Now he who supplies *the sower with seed and with bread for food*, shall
supply and multiply your seed, and make *the fruits of your charity* grow—
11 as on all sides you become enriched to all generosity, generosity that
12 results in thanksgiving being offered through us to God. For the minister-
ing of this service not merely supplies the wants of the saints, but also
13 abounds through many a thanksgiving to God. Through the proof
afforded by this ministry you cause God to be magnified for your sub-
mission in confessing the gospel of Christ and for the generosity of your
14 contribution to them and to all, while they too pray for you and long for
15 you on account of the surpassing grace of God that is with you. Thanks
be to God for his unspeakable gift!

13 11 Farewell, then, brothers: be at harmony, be encouraged, be of the
same mind, be at peace. So shall the God of love and peace be with you.
12 Salute one another with a saints' kiss.
All the saints salute you.
13 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the com-
munion of the holy Spirit be with you all.

The epistle to the Romans marks the exact point at which controversy resolves itself naturally into dogma. The apostle's doctrine, disentangled from external incidents, is raised to a higher level and attains a freer and fuller development. Escaping from the violent antithesis by which it was hitherto dominated, it tends towards a general and culminating synthesis. Paul at last brings Judaism and Paganism within the scope of his contemplation. He is not content to contrast them with his gospel, and to condemn them purely and simply; he endeavours to understand them in their historical function and actual value, to assign them their due place as transitional but essential stages in the Divine plan of redemption. In this manner the new circle of Pauline thought is enlarged and completed. Having taken possession of the sphere of the conscience, it conquers the domain of history. The epistle to the Romans is the first attempt at what we should call, in modern phrase, a philosophy of the religious history of mankind.—**Sabatier.**

1^{1-17}	**Introduction.**
1^{18}–5^{21}	**Dogmatic:** Uprightness, missed by Paganism and Judaism, attainable by faith in Christ. Evidence for this in
3^{31}–4^{25}	the OT and the Law—the problem of Abraham and his faith,
5^{1-11}	the Christian experience,
5^{12-21}	the history of humanity—Adam and Jesus.
6–8	Obligations of this Christian freedom: the problem of sin, the problem of the moral law. The career of life in the Christian spirit.
9–11	The problem of Israel: rejection of Israel in relation to God's purpose and justice—its cause and significance.
12–14^{11}	**Ethical:** A cycle of Christian duties and relationships—
12^{3-16}	to one another.
12^{17}–13^{10}	to the world.
	Toleration and consideration.
15^{14-33}	**Personal:** Object of epistle; coming visit to Rome.
16^{21-23}	Greetings.
[16^{25-27}]	Doxology.

ROMANS

1 1 Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the
2 gospel of God—which he formerly promised by his prophets in holy
3 scriptures—concerning his Son, who was born of David's offspring
4 according to the flesh, and installed as Son of God with power according
to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection of the dead; even Jesus Christ
5 our Lord, through whom we received the favour of being commissioned
6 to secure obedience to the faith for his name's sake among all the nations,
7 among whom you yourselves are also, called to be Jesus Christ's:
to all who are in Rome, God's beloved ones, called to be saints;
grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.

8 At the very outset, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all,
9 because your faith is proclaimed through the whole world. For God,
whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, is my witness, that
10 without ceasing I always make mention of you in my prayers, entreating
that some day at last I may be sped upon my way to you by the will of
11 God. For I am yearning to see you that I may impart to you some
12 spiritual privilege, so that you may be established; that is, so that I also
13 may be comforted among you, I by your faith as you by mine. I
would not have you ignorant, brothers, that I often purposed to come to
you (yet up till now I have been prevented) to possess some fruit among
14 you as well as among the rest of the nations. To Greeks and to bar-
15 barians, to wise and to foolish, I am debtor. Hence my eagerness to
16 preach the gospel to you in Rome as well. For I am not ashamed of the
gospel; it is God's power for salvation to every one who believes, to the
17 Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it God's uprightness is revealed
from faith to faith, as it is written: *Now by faith shall the upright live.*
18 For God's wrath is revealed from heaven against all the impiety and
19 iniquity of men who impede the truth by iniquity; inasmuch as what is
to be known of God is disclosed to them. God himself disclosed it to
20 them; for from the creation of the world his invisible things, his ever-
lasting power and divinity, are clearly seen, understood through the
21 things of his workmanship. So they are without excuse, inasmuch as
they knew God yet neither honoured him as God nor gave him thanks.
They were befooled as they reasoned, and their ignorant heart was dark-
22, 23 ened; pretending to be wise, they became fools and *exchanged the majesty*
of the imperishable *God for the likeness* of an image of perishing man, of
24 birds, of things fourfooted and creeping. Wherefore God gave
them up in the desires of their hearts to impurity, to dishonour their
25 bodies among themselves—men who had exchanged the truth of God for
what is false, worshipping and serving the created rather than the Creator,
26 who is blessed for ever: Amen. Therefore God gave them up to vile
passions: their women exchanged the sexual use that is natural for the

27 unnatural; and so too the men, abandoning the natural use of the
woman, flamed up in their lust for one another, men perpetrating un-
seemliness with men and receiving within themselves the due recom-
28 pense of their error. And as they disdained to keep God in their
knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do what is un-
29 befitting, filled with all iniquity, wickedness, covetousness, and malice,
full of envy, murder, quarrelling, deceit, and malignity, slanderers,
30 defamers, loathed by God, outrageous, haughty, braggarts, devisers of
31 evil, disobedient to their parents, ignorant, untrue to their word, without
32 natural affection, unmerciful—men aware of God's ordinance, that those
who practise such things deserve death, yet not only themselves doing
the very things, but also applauding those who practise them.

2 1 Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whoever thou art that
judgest; in judging the other man thou art condemning thyself, for thou
2 that judgest art practising the very things. We know that the doom of
God falls justly upon those who practise such things.

3 And dost thou imagine, O man, who judgest those who practise
such things and doest the same thyself,
That thou shalt escape the doom of God?

4 Or art thou despising the riches of his kindness and forbearance
and long-suffering,
Not knowing that the kindness of God points thee to repentance?

5 With thy stubbornness and impenitent heart thou art laying up
wrath for thyself
At the day of wrath, when the just doom of God is revealed:

6 Who *will render to every man according to his works*,

7 To those who patiently in good work seek praise and honour and
the imperishable,
eternal life;

8 But to those who factiously disobey the truth and moreover obey
iniquity,
anger and wrath—

9 Distress and calamity fall upon every human soul that perpetrates evil,
Upon the Jew first and also upon the Greek:

10 But praise and honour and peace are for everyone who does what
is good,
For the Jew first and also for the Greek.

11 For with God there is no respect of persons.

12 All who have sinned apart from law,
Apart from law shall they also perish:
And all who have sinned under law,
By law shall they be condemned.

13 For those who hear law are not upright before God,

14 It is those that obey law who shall be justified [For when Gentiles
who have no law obey by nature the requirement of the law, they are a
15 law to themselves, although they have no law—men who show written in
their hearts the work required by the law; while their conscience also
bears witness to it, indeed their thoughts accuse or it may be defend them,
16 one with another] in the day when God judges the secrets of men,
according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ.

17 But if thou bearest the name of "Jew," relying on the law, exulting
18 in God, knowing his will, prizing the things that transcend, getting in-
19 struction from the law, and confident that thou art thyself a guide to the
20 blind, a light to those in darkness, a corrector of the stupid, a teacher of

children, since in the law thou hast the embodiment of knowledge and
21 truth—well then, thou teacher of another person, teachest thou not
22 thyself? thou preacher against stealing, dost thou steal? thou forbidder
of adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou detester of idols, dost thou
23 rob temples? thou who art exulting in the law, art thou transgressing the
24 law and dishonouring God? Why, it is
owing to you that *God's name is maligned among the Gentiles*,
even as it is written;
25 Circumcision is indeed of use, if thou art observing the law:
But if thou art transgressing the law, thy circumcision is turned to uncircumcision.
26 If then the Uncircumcision keep the ordinance of the law,
shall not its uncircumcision be reckoned as circumcision?
27 And shall not the Uncircumcision which by nature fulfils the law
judge thee who with written law and circumcision art a transgressor of the law?
28 He is no Jew who is one outwardly,
nor is circumcision something outward in the flesh:
29 He is a Jew who is one inwardly,
and circumcision is of the heart, wrought by the spirit not by the written law,
whose praise is of God, not of men.
3 1 What is the Jew's advantage, then? or, what is the use of circum-
2 cision? Much in every way. This at the outset: that the oracles of God
3 were intrusted to them. What though some were unfaithful? is their
4 faithlessness to annul the faithfulness of God? God forbid! let God be
truthful, but *every man perfidious;* even as it is written,
That thou mightest be vindicated in what thou sayest,
And win when thou art on trial.
5 But if our iniquity establishes God's justice, what shall we say? Is
God unjust because he inflicts wrath? (I use a merely human way of
6, 7 speaking.) God forbid! otherwise how is he to judge the world? If
through my perfidy the truth of God redounded to his honour, says one,
8 why am I too still judged then to be a sinner? why not (as we are
slanderously reported—and as some people declare we say) "let us do
evil that good may come"? Such conduct is justly condemned.
9 What then? are we better off? Not at all. For against Jews as well
as Greeks we have already brought the charge that all are under sin;
10 even as it is written,
There is none upright, not one;
11 *There is none to understand, none to seek after God;*
12 *All have swerved, have turned bad together,*
There is none to show kindness, not so much as one.
13 *An open sepulchre is their throat,*
With their tongues have they deceived,
Venom of asps is under their lips—
14 *Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness,*
15 *Swift are their feet to shed blood,*
16 *Destruction and calamity are in their ways,*
17 *And the way of peace they have not known;*
18 *There is no fear of God before their eyes.*
19 Now we know in all that the law says, it speaks to those who are
under the law, that every mouth may be stopped and all the world
20 brought under the judgment of God; inasmuch as *in his sight no flesh*

shall be justified by deeds of law. For through law is the knowledge
of sin.
21 But, as it is, the divine uprightness has been disclosed apart from
22 law, though the law and the prophets witness to it; that is, the divine
uprightness which through faith in Jesus Christ is for all who believe.
23 There is no difference; all have sinned and fall short of the majesty of
24 God, being freely justified by his grace through the redemption which
25 is in Christ Jesus, whom God designed to be through faith a sacrifice of
propitiation by his blood, in proof of his uprightness, seeing that the
26 former sins had been let pass through the forbearance of God—in proof
of his uprightness at the present time, that he might be just himself and
27 might justify the man of faith in Jesus. Then where is the
exulting? Shut out. By what kind of law? a law of deeds? No, by a
28 law of faith. For we reckon that a man is justified by faith apart from
29 deeds of law. What! is God only the God of Jews? Is he not the God of
30 Gentiles also? Assuredly, of Gentiles also, seeing that it is one God who
shall justify the Circumcision in consequence of faith and the Uncircum-
31 cision through the same faith. Then "through faith" do "we annul the
law"? God forbid! we uphold the law.
4 1 What then shall we say was gained by Abraham our forefather after
2 the flesh? If "Abraham was justified by deeds," he has something to
3 exult about. But not to exult before God. For what saith the scripture?
4 *Abraham believed God and it was counted to him as uprightness.* Now a
5 worker has his wages counted as a due, not as a favour; whereas one who
is no worker but a believer on him who justifies the impious, has his faith
6 counted as uprightness. Just as David also pronounces that man to be
"happy," to whom God counts uprightness apart from deeds;
7 *Happy they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered!*
8 *Happy the man to whom the Lord will not count sin!*
9 Is this happiness then pronounced for the Circumcision, or for the
Uncircumcision as well? We say, *Abraham's faith was counted to him as*
10 *uprightness.* Then how was it counted? When he was in circumcision
11 or in uncircumcision? In uncircumcision, not circumcision. And he
received *the sign of circumcision* as a seal of the uprightness which belonged
to the faith he had when he was *in uncircumcision*, so that he might
be the father of all who believe amid uncircumcision, that uprightness
12 might be counted to them, and the father of circumcision to those who not
only belong to the Circumcision but also walk in the steps of the faith which
13 our father Abraham had when he was in uncircumcision. For
the promise made to Abraham or to his offspring, that he should be heir
of the world, came not through the law but through the uprightness of
14 faith. For if those who are of the law are heirs, then faith is void, the
15 promise vain. (For the law results in wrath; but where there is no law,
16 there is no transgression either.) Therefore heirship is of faith, so as to
be a matter of grace, in order that the promise may be confirmed to all
the offspring, not merely to the offspring which is of the law, but also to
17 the seed which is of Abraham's faith (who is father of us all; as it is
written: *father of many nations have I made thee*) by the judgment of the
God whom he believed, who makes the dead live and calls into being the
18 things which are not—Abraham, who against hope believed in hope; that
he should be *father of many nations*, according to the saying, *so shall thy*
19 *offspring be*—without becoming weak in faith, he marked his own body,
which was now as good as dead (he was already about a hundred years
20 old), also the deadness of Sara's womb, yet hesitated not in unbelief over

21 God's promise, but grew strong in faith, doing honour to God and being
22 fully convinced that he was able to do what he had promised. Therefore
23 it was[1] *counted to him as uprightness.* Now the word "*it was*
24 *counted to him*" was not written for his sake alone but also for the sake
of us, to whom it is to be counted, as we believe on him who raised from
25 the dead Jesus our Lord, who *was delivered up for our trespasses* and raised
for our justification.

5 1 Justified then by faith, we have[2] peace with God through our Lord
2 Jesus Christ, through whom also we have obtained[3] our access into this
grace in which we stand. And we exult in hope of the majesty of God.
3 Not only so, but we exult also in our distresses, knowing that distress
4 results in patient endurance, patient endurance in tried character,
5 tried character in hope; and *hope does not disappoint*, because the love
of God has been poured out in our hearts through the holy Spirit given
6 to us. For Christ, while we were still weak, died at the appointed time
7 for impious men (even for an upright man one will hardly die: though
perhaps for what is good, one might, if need be, bring himself to die);
8 God proves his own love to us in this, that Christ died for us while we
9 were still sinners. Much more then, as we are now justified by his blood,
10 we shall be saved through him from the Wrath. For if, when we were
enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son; much
11 more, after being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. Not
only so, but we exult also in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through
whom we have now received the reconciliation.

12 Therefore, as through one man sin came into the world, and through
13 sin death; and so death spread to all men, seeing that all sinned:—for
sin was in the world already before law; but in the absence of law, sin
14 is not charged. Nevertheless, from Adam to Moses death reigned, even
over those who did not sin after the likeness of Adam's transgression,
who is a type of him who is to come.

15 But very different is the free gift from the trespass.
For since the many died by the one man's trespass,
Much more did the grace of God and that free gift
Which is by the grace of the man Jesus Christ abound to the many.

16 And the free gift is not occasioned as by one who sinned.
For while the judgment passed from one into condemnation,
The free gift passed from many trespasses into justification.

17 For since by the one man's trespass death reigned through the one,
Much more shall those who receive the abundant grace and free
Reign in life through the One, Jesus Christ. [gift of uprightness

18 Well then, as through one man's trespass the issue was condemnation
for all,
So also through the upright act of One the issue for all is justifica-
tion to life.

19 For just as through the one man's disobedience the many were consti-
tuted sinners,
So also through the obedience of the One shall the many be con-
stituted upright.

20 Now the law came in between to increase the trespass:
But where sin increased, grace abounded to overflowing;

21 So that as sin reigned in death,
Grace might also reign through uprightness to life eternal, through
Jesus Christ our Lord.

[1] Omitting [[καί]]. [2] Reading ἴσχομεν. [3] Omitting [[τῇ πίστει]].

6 1 What then shall we say? Are we to "continue in sin that grace may
2 increase"? God forbid! We who died to sin, how shall we live in it
any longer? What! are you ignorant that all we who were baptized
4 into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried with
him, then, through our baptism into that death of his, in order that as
Christ was raised from the dead through the majesty of the Father, so we
might also walk in newness of life.

5 For if we have become united with the likeness of his death,
We shall be united also with that of his resurrection;
6 As we know that our old man was crucified with him,
In order to do away with the body of sin,
That we should be slaves to sin no more.
7 (For one who has died is absolved from sin.)
8 Now if we died with Christ,
We believe we shall also live with him;
9 For we know that as Christ was raised from the dead, he dies no more,
Death is lord over him no more;
10 In dying he died once for all to sin,
But in living he lives for God.
11 So also do you reckon yourselves as dead to sin,
But alive for God in Christ Jesus.
12 Let not sin then reign in your mortal body, getting its desires obeyed,
13 Nor go on presenting your members to sin as implements for vice;
But present yourselves to God as men alive from the dead,
And your members to God as implements for uprightness.
14 Sin is not to be lord over you;
For you are not under any law, but under grace.

15 What then? are we to "sin, because we are not under the law but
16 under grace"? God forbid! Do you not know that you are the slaves
of him whom you obey, to whom you present yourselves as obedient slaves,
17 be it of sin for death or of obedience for uprightness? But, thank God,
though you were slaves of sin you became cordially obedient to that type
18 of teaching to which you were handed over. Freed from sin you became
19 slaves to uprightness. (I am speaking from a human standpoint, owing
to the weakness of your flesh.)

As you presented your members to the service of impurity and
wickedness for wickedness,
So now present your members to the service of uprightness for
sanctification.
20 For when you were slaves to sin, you were free so far as uprightness
is concerned.
21 What fruit then had you at that time? simply fruit of which
you are now ashamed,
actions whose outcome is death.
22 But now, freed from sin, and enslaved to God,
You have your fruit in sanctification,
and—as the outcome—life eternal.
23 For the pay of sin is death,
But God's free gift is life eternal in Christ our Lord.

7, 1 What! are you ignorant, brothers—I am speaking to men who know
2 what law is—that the law is lord over a man during his lifetime? The
married woman is by law bound to her husband while he is alive; but
3 if the husband dies, she has done with the law of "the husband." Well
then, while the husband is alive, she shall be styled "adulteress" if she

becomes another man's; but if the husband dies, she is free from the
4 law, so that she is no adulteress when she becomes another man's. So
is it with you also, my brothers. You were made dead to the law
through the body of Christ, so as to become Another's, to belong to him
5 who was raised from the dead—that we might bear fruit to God. For,
when we were in the flesh, our sinful passions which were due to the
6 law wrought in our members to bear fruit to death. But now we have
done with the law, we died to what held us; so that we serve in newness
of spirit, and not in oldness of written law.

7 What then shall we say? That "the law is sin"? God forbid! Yet,
had it not been for the law, I would not have come to know sin. For
indeed I would not have understood what it is to covet, unless the law
8 had said, *Thou shalt not covet.* But sin seized its opportunity and through
the commandment its result in me was covetousness of every kind; for
9 apart from law, sin is lifeless. At one time I was living apart from law;
10 but when the commandment came, sin sprang to life and I died. Yea,
the commandment which is for life, proved in my experience death.
11 For sin seized its opportunity, beguiled me through the commandment,
12 and through the commandment killed me. So the law at least is holy,
13 and the commandment holy, just, and of value.—Then did what is of
value become death to me? God forbid! It was sin, sin resulting in
death for me through what is good, that it might be exhibited as sin,
that through the commandment sin might become sinful beyond measure.
14 For we know the law is spiritual; but I am a creature of flesh, sold
15 under sin; I know not what I am executing. I do not act according to
16 my will; I am doing what I hate. Now if I am acting against my will,
17 I concur in the excellence of the law. Yet as things are, it is no longer
18 I who execute, but sin which dwells within me. For in me, that is in
my flesh, I know that no good dwells. To will I find is attainable, but
19 not to execute what is good. For I am not, according to my will, doing
20 good; I am acting against my will, for evil. Now if I am doing what is
exactly against my will, it is no longer I who execute, it is sin which dwells
21 in me. As for the law then, this is my experience: when my will is to
22 do good, evil (I find) is alone attainable. For with the inner man I
23 gladly approve God's law; but in my members I discover another law,
warring against the law of my mind and bringing me captive under
24 the law of sin, which is in my members. Wretched man that I am! who
25 shall rescue me from this body of death? Thanks be to God, through Jesus
Christ our Lord! Well then, left to myself, I serve God's law with the
8 1 mind, but sin's law with the flesh. Now, therefore, there is no
2 condemnation for those in Christ Jesus; the law of the Spirit of life in
3 Christ Jesus has brought freedom [1] from the law of sin and death. For God
effected what the law found impossible, as there the flesh made it weak:—
by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as a sin-offering,
4 he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the ordinance of the law might be
fulfilled in us, as we walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.

5 For those who are after the flesh mind the affairs of the flesh,
But those who are after the spirit, the affairs of the spirit.
6 The mind of the flesh is death—
But the mind of the spirit is life and peace—
7 Inasmuch as the mind of the flesh is enmity against God;
For to God's law it does not, indeed it cannot, subject itself.
8 Those who are in the flesh cannot please God:

[1] Omitting *σε*.

9 But you are not in the flesh, you are in the spirit,
Seeing that the Spirit of God dwells in you.
If anyone has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his;
10 But if Christ is in you,
While the body is dead because of sin, the Spirit is life because of uprightness.
11 And if the Spirit of him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwells in you,
He who raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also make your mortal bodies live through his Spirit dwelling in you.
12 Well then, brothers, we are debtors—not to the flesh, to live after the flesh;
13 If you live after the flesh,
death awaits you:
But if by the Spirit you put the doings of the body to death,
life shall be yours.
14 For all who are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.
15 You did not receive a spirit of bondage, to fall back into fear:
You received a spirit of sonship, whereby we cry "Abba! Father!"
16 The Spirit itself bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God.
17 And if children, then heirs,
Heirs of God and heirs along with Christ,
Seeing that we suffer with him, that with him also we may be exalted.
18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to
19 be compared with the majesty which is to be revealed in us. For in
eager anticipation the creation waits for the sons of God to be revealed.
20 For the creation was made subject to frailty, not from its own choice but
21 by the will of him who subjected it, the hope being that the creation
itself also was to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the
22 freedom of the majesty of God's children. Indeed we know that all the
creation groans and travails in pain, together with them, up to the present
23 time. And not only so, but even we with the firstfruits of the Spirit, we
also groan within ourselves as we wait for our sonship, even for the release
24 of our body. Yea for hope were we saved. Now a seen hope is no hope.
25 Who hopes for what he sees?[1] Whereas if we are hoping for what we
do not see, we wait for it with patience.
26 Likewise the Spirit also helps our weakness;
For we know not what to pray for, according to our need,
But the Spirit itself pleads on our behalf with groans unutterable.
27 And the Searcher of hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit,
Knows that it is pleading for the saints according to God's will.
28 Now we know that God makes all things work together for good to those
who love him, to those who are called in virtue of his purpose.
29 For those whom he fore-knew, he also fore-appointed,
To be made like the image of his Son,
That he might be the first-born among many brothers.
30 And whom he fore-appointed, these he also called:
And whom he called, these he also justified:
And whom he justified, these he also exalted.
31 What then shall we say to this? If God is for us, who is against us?
32 He who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how
shall he not also bestow on us all things with him?

[1] Reading ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει.

33 Who shall bring a charge against God's chosen?
It is God *who justifies.*
34 *Who is it that condemns?*
It is Christ[1] who died—yes, and who was raised,
Who is at God's right hand,
Who also pleads for us.
35 Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?
Distress or calamity or persecution or famine or nakedness or
36 peril or sword (even as it is written:
For thy sake are we killed the whole day long,
We are reckoned as sheep for the slaughter)?
37 Nay in all this we are more than conquerors through him who loved us.
38 For I am persuaded that neither death nor life nor angels nor princi-
39 palities nor the present nor the future nor powers nor height nor depth
nor aught else created shall be able to separate us from the love of God
which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.
9 1 I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not—my conscience bears me witness
2 in the holy Spirit—that I suffer great sorrow and unceasing pain in my
3 heart. For I could wish myself accursed and banished from Christ for
4 the sake of my brothers, my kinsmen according to the flesh, men who
are Israelites, whose are the sonship and the Glory and the covenants
and the giving of the law and the services of worship and the promises,
5 whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ (so far as regards the
6 flesh). He who is over all is God, blessed for ever: Amen. Not, however,
that the word of God has failed! Far from it.
For not all those who belong to Israel are Israel;
7 Nay, and all are not children because they are Abraham's offspring:
Thy offspring shall be reckoned through Isaac.
8 That is, the children of the flesh are not children of God, it is the
9 children of the promise who are counted as offspring. For this is the
word of promise:
About this time I will come and Sara shall have a son.
10 And further, when Rebekah also conceived by one man, by our father
11 Isaac—though the children were not yet born and had done nothing,
either good or bad (that the Divine purpose which works by choice might
12 stand, independent of deeds, entirely a matter of his calling)—she was
13 told, *The elder shall serve the younger*; even as it is written,
Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.
14 What then shall we say? Is there injustice with God? God forbid!
15 He saith to Moses,
I will have mercy on whom I have mercy,
And I will have compassion on whom I have compassion.
16 So then it is not a question of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but
17 of God who has mercy. For the scripture saith to Pharaoh,
For this very end have I raised thee up,
that I might show my power in thee,
and that my name might be published abroad in all the earth.
18 So then, he has mercy on whom he wills,
And whom he wills *he renders stubborn.*
19 Thou wilt say to me then, "Why does he still find fault? who can
20 oppose his purpose?" Nay, but who art thou, O man, to answer back to
God? *Shall the thing formed say to him who formed it,* "Why didst thou
21 make me thus?" What! has not *the potter* a right over *the clay* to make

[1] Omitting [[Ἰησοῦς]].

out of the same lump one part a vessel for honour and another for dis-
22 honour? And what if God, though wishing to show his wrath and
display his power, *tolerated* with much longsuffering *vessels of wrath*
23 fashioned for *destruction*, that [1] he might display the riches of his majesty
upon vessels of mercy which he had previously prepared for majesty,
24 even upon us whom he called not only from the Jews but also from the
25 Gentiles? As he saith also in Hosea:

Those who were not my people I will call "my people,"
And her who was not beloved, "beloved";
26 *And it shall be that in the place where they were told, "You are not my people,"*
There shall they be called "Sons of the living God."

27 And Isaiah cries regarding Israel: *Though the number of the sons of*
28 *Israel be like the sand of the sea, it is the remnant that shall be saved; for the*
Lord will accomplish his word upon the earth with completeness and despatch.
29 And even as Isaiah has foretold:

Had not the Lord of Sabaôth left us a residue,
We had become like Sodom, we had been made like Gomorra.

30 What then shall we say? That Gentiles who did not press on after
uprightness overtook uprightness, aye and the uprightness which is from
31 faith; while Israel, who did press on after the law of uprightness, failed
32 to attain the law. And why? Because they pressed on, not by faith but as
33 by deeds. They stumbled over *the stone of stumbling:* even as it is written,

Lo I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of hindrance,
Yet he who believes on him shall not be disappointed.

10 1 Brothers, my heart's wish and my prayer to God is for their salva-
2 tion. I bear them witness: they have zeal for God, but not according
3 to knowledge. For, as they were ignorant of God's uprightness and
sought to set up their own, they did not submit themselves to the up-
4 rightness of God. For Christ is the end of the law, that everyone who
believes may have uprightness.

5 Moses writes of the uprightness which is from the law:

The man who does it shall live by it.

6 But the uprightness which is from faith speaks in this way:

"*Say not* in thy heart,
Who shall ascend into heaven?"
(That is, to bring Christ down)
7 or, "*Who shall descend into the abyss?*"
(That is, to bring Christ up from the dead).

8 Nay, what does it say?

The word is near thee,
In thy mouth and in thy heart
(That is, the word of faith which we preach).

9 For if thou shalt confess *with thy mouth*, "Jesus is Lord,"
And believe *in thy heart* that God raised him from the dead, thou
shalt be saved:
10 With the heart man believes and is upright,
With the mouth he makes confession and is saved.
11 For, saith the scripture,
No one who believes on him shall be disappointed.
12 There is no difference between Jew and Greek,
The same One is Lord of all, rich to all who call upon him:
13 *For everyone who calls on the Lord's name shall be saved.*

[1] Omitting [[καί]].

14 How then are they to call on One on whom they have not believed?
And how are they to believe in One of whom they have not heard?
And how are they to hear without a preacher?
15 And how are people to preach, unless they are sent?
Even as it is written,
How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good!
16 But they did not all obey the glad tidings. For Isaiah says, *Lord,*
17 *who has had faith in our message?* So then, faith comes from the message,
18 and the message through the word about Christ. But, I ask, "Have they not heard?" Yes indeed:
Their sound went out into all the earth,
And their words to the ends of the world.
19 But, I ask, "Has Israel not known?" First Moses says:
I will stir you *to jealousy by what is no nation,*
By an ignorant nation I will enrage you.
20 And Isaiah makes bold to say:
I have been found by those who were not seeking me,
I am disclosed to those who inquired not after me.
21 But of Israel he says, *The whole day long have I stretched out my hands to a*
11 1 *people disobedient and refractory.* I ask then, "*Has God thrust aside his people?*" God forbid! For I too am an Israelite myself, of
2 Abraham's offspring, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God has not thrust aside his people* whom he foreknew. What! do you not know what the scripture saith in the place "Elijah"? How he pleads with God against
3 Israel, *Lord, they have killed thy prophets, they have destroyed thy altars;*
4 *and I alone am left, and they seek my life.* But what saith the oracle to him? *I have left* myself *seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee*
5 *to Baal.* So also at the present time, then, there is a remnant due to the
6 selection of grace. But if it is by grace, it is no longer a matter of
7 deeds; otherwise grace would cease to be grace. What then is the result? that Israel has not obtained what it craves, while the chosen have
8 obtained it. And the rest have been hardened; just as it is written,
God gave them a spirit of torpor,
Eyes not to see, ears not to hear, down to this very day.
9 [And David says,
Let their feast be made a snare and a trap,
Yea a pitfall and a requital to them;
10 *Darkened be their eyes that they see not,*
And make thou their back bend continually.]
11 I ask then, "Did they stumble that they should fall?" God forbid!
Nay rather, it is by their slip that salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as
12 *to stir* themselves *up to jealousy.* Now if their slip proves the riches of the world, and their defect the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their
13 fulness! I am speaking to you, Gentiles. So far as I at least am
14 an apostle to the Gentiles I exalt my ministry, to see if I can somehow
15 stir those who are my flesh to jealousy, and so save some of them. For if their rejection proves the world's reconciliation, what shall their reception be? What but life from the dead?
16 Now if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump:
And if the root is holy, so are the branches.
17 If some of the branches were broken off, while thou, a wild olive, wast grafted in among them and didst come to share with them in the root of
18 the olive's fatness, exult not at the expense of the branches. And if thou art exulting, bethink thyself: thou bearest not the root, the root bears

19 thee. Thou wilt argue then, "Branches were broken off, that I might
20 be grafted in"? True, they were broken off by their unbelief, and thou
21 standest by thy faith. Be not highminded, but fear. For if God did not
22 spare the natural branches, neither will he spare thee. Look then at
God's kindness and severity. Severity to those who fell, but God's kind-
ness to thee—if thou continue in his kindness. Otherwise thou too shalt
23 be cut out. Yea, and if they continue not in their unbelief, they too
24 shall be grafted in. God is able to graft them in again. For if thou
wast cut out of what was by nature a wild olive and grafted, contrary to
nature, into a garden olive, how much more shall these natural branches
be grafted into their own olive?

25 For I would not have you ignorant of this secret, brothers, that you
may not be wise in your own conceits: Israel has been but hardened in
26 part until the full number of the Gentiles should come in; and thus
all Israel shall be saved. Even as it is written,

From Zion shall come the rescuer,
He shall banish impieties from Jacob:
27 *Yea this is my covenant for them,*
When I take their sins away.

28 As regards the gospel they are indeed enemies for your sake,
But as regards the selection they are beloved for the sake of the
fathers:
29 For God never takes back his free gifts and his calling.
30 As you were once disobedient to God
But have now obtained mercy through their disobedience:
31 So too these are now disobedient,
That they[1] may become objects of the same mercy which was
shown to you.
32 For God has shut up all under disobedience,
That upon all he may have mercy.

33 O the depth of God's riches and wisdom and knowledge!
How inscrutable his judgments!
How unsearchable his ways!
34 *Yea who has known the Lord's mind?*
Or who has been his counsellor?
35 *Or who has first given to him,*
And is to be repaid?
36 Since from him and by him and for him all things exist—
To him be the majesty for ever: Amen.

12 1 I appeal to you then, brothers, by the tender mercies of God, present
your bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, well-pleasing, to God: that
2 is the rational worship for you. And be not fashioned according to
this age, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind so as to
prove what is the will of God, namely, what is good and well-pleasing
and perfect.

3 For, through the grace granted to me, I tell every man who is among
you, not to think over highly of himself, beyond what he should think;
but to think soberly, in view of the measure of faith which God has
4 assigned to each. For in the same way as we have many members in one
5 body, and all the members have not the same function, so, many as we
are, we are one body in Christ and separately members of each another.
6 And as we have talents which differ with the grace granted us—be it
7 prophecy, let us employ it in proportion to our faith: be it ministry, let

[1] Omitting νῦν.

8 us employ it in ministering: the teacher in his teaching: he who exhorts,
in his exhortation: he who contributes, with generosity: the president,
9 with earnest care: he who shows pity, with cheerfulness. Let love be un-
10 feigned. Abhor what is evil: cling to what is good. Be affectionate
11 to one another, in brotherly love; outdo one another in giving honour.
Be not backward in earnestness, be fervent in spirit, serve the Lord,
12, 13 rejoice in hope, be patient in distress, give yourselves to prayer, con-
14 tribute to the needs of the saints, aim at being hospitable. Bless those
15 who persecute you, bless them and curse not. Rejoice with the joyful,
16 weep with the weeping. Be of the same mind to one another; mind not
what is high, but give yourselves up to what is lowly. *Be not wise in*
17 *your own conceits.* Render no man evil for evil. *Be concerned for what is*
18 *honourable in the sight of all men.* If possible, as far as it rests with
19 you, be at peace with all men. Beloved, avenge not yourselves, but let
the Wrath have way: for it is written, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay,*
saith the Lord.

20 *Nay, if thine enemy hungers, feed him;*
if he thirst, give him to drink:
For by doing this thou shalt heap burning coals upon his head.

21 Be not conquered by evil; but conquer evil by good.

13 1 Let every soul be subject to the higher authorities, for there is no author-
2 ity which is not from God, and the existing authorities are instituted by
3 God. So that he who resists authority opposes what God has instituted;
and those who oppose shall be sentenced themselves. For rulers are not
4 a terror to good conduct, but to evil. Wouldst thou have no terror of
authority? Then do good, and thou shalt get praise from it; for it is
God's servant to thee for good. But if thou doest evil, be in terror;
for not in vain does it wear the sword: it is God's servant, an avenger
5 for punishing him who practises evil. Wherefore subject you must be,
not of regard not merely for the punishment, but also for conscience.
6 This also is the reason why you pay tribute; for magistrates are servants
7 of God, as they give themselves to this very business. Render to all
their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, customs to whom customs,
8 respect to whom respect, honour to whom honour. Owe no man
anything, except to love one another—for he who loves another has
9 fulfilled the law. *Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder,*
Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet, these with any other command-
ment are gathered up in this word, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as*
10 *thyself.* Love does no evil to its neighbour: to love, then, is to fulfil
11 the law. And do this, as you know the time; now is the
hour for us[1] to wake from sleep, for salvation is nearer us to-day than
12 when we first believed. The night is advanced, and the day is near.
Then let us put away the deeds of the darkness, and put on the armour
13 of the light. Let us behave ourselves with propriety, as in the day: with
no bouts of revelry and drunkenness, with no lewd and sensual acts,
14 with no quarrelling and jealousy. Nay, put on the Lord Jesus Christ,
and make no provision for the flesh, to satisfy its desires.

14 1 Receive one who is weak in faith, but not to pass judgment upon
2 scruples. While one man has confidence to eat anything, he who is weak
eats nothing but vegetables.

Let not him who eats despise him who refrains;
Nor let him who refrains judge him who eats,
For God has received him.

[1] Reading ἡμᾶς.

4 Who art thou to judge Another's servant?
To his own Lord he stands or falls:
And he shall be made to stand,
For the Lord has power to make him stand.
5 This man[1] rates one day above another,
That man rates every day alike.
Let each be fully convinced in his own mind:
6 He who values the day, values it to the Lord.
Also, he who eats, eats to the Lord,
For he gives thanks to God:
And he who refrains from eating, to the Lord he refrains,
And he gives thanks to God.
7 For none of us lives to himself,
And none of us dies to himself:
8 If we live, it is for the Lord we live,
And if we die, it is for the Lord we die.
Whether we live then or die,
We are the Lord's.
9 For this was why Christ died and came to life,
That he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living.
10 But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother?
Or thou again, why dost thou despise thy brother?
Why, we are to stand, all of us, before the tribunal of God;
11 For it is written,
As I live, saith the Lord, to me shall every knee bow,
And every tongue shall offer praise to God.
12 Each one of us then is to give account of himself to God.
13 No more then let us judge one another;
Rather let this be your judgment, not to put[2] any hindrance in a brother's way.
14 I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing in itself is unclean:
Only, anything is unclean to the man who reckons it unclean.
15 If thy brother is being injured for a matter of mere food,
Thou art no longer walking by love;
Destroy not with thy food him for whom Christ died,
16 Your fair fame is not to be maligned.
17 For the reign of God is not eating and drinking,
But uprightness and peace and joy in the holy Spirit:
18 He who serves Christ therein
Is well-pleasing to God and approved of by men.
19 Well then, our aim[3] is what makes for peace and the upbuilding of one another:
20 Do not overthrow the work of God for the sake of mere food.
Anything indeed is clean:
Still, it is evil for a man by his eating to make another stumble.
21 It is an excellent plan to abstain from flesh and wine or anything at which thy brother stumbles.
22 The faith thou hast, keep it to thyself before God.
Happy the man who condemns not himself in what he approves of:
23 But he who feels any hesitation is condemned if he eats, because he does not eat from faith—
For whatever does not proceed from faith is sin.

[1] Omitting [[γὰρ]]. [2] Omitting πρόσκομμα . . . ἢ. [3] Reading διώκομεν.

15 1 Now we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak,
2 instead of pleasing ourselves. Let each of us please his neighbour, to do
3 him good, to upbuild him. For Christ also did not please himself; nay,
as it is written, *The reproaches of those who denounced thee fell upon me.*
4 For whatever things were written beforehand were written for our
instruction, that through the patience and the comfort of the scriptures
5 we may possess hope. May the God of patience and comfort grant you
6 the same mind one toward another according to Christ Jesus, so that you
may unite with one mouth in magnifying the God and Father of our
7 Lord Jesus Christ! Therefore receive one another, as Christ also
8 received us,[1] so as to honour God. For Christ, I affirm, became a minister
of the Circumcision that he might make good the promises given to
9 the fathers, and thus show the honesty of God; also that the Gentiles
might magnify God for his mercy: even as it is written,

Therefore will I offer praise to thee among the Gentiles
And sing to thy name.

10 And again it is said,

Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people.

11 And again,

Extol the Lord, all ye Gentiles,
And let all the people praise him.

12 And again Isaiah says,

There shall be the scion of Jesse,
And he who rises to rule over the Gentiles:
On him shall the Gentiles set their hope.

13 May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that
you may abound in hope, by the power of the holy Spirit!

14 Personally I also am persuaded about you, my brothers, that you are
yourselves full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to ad-
15 monish one another. Still, by way of refreshing your memory I write
you with somewhat greater boldness owing to the grace granted me from
16 God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the
sacred service of the gospel of God, so that the Gentiles may prove an
17 acceptable offering, consecrated by the holy Spirit. My exultation then
18 is in Christ Jesus, so far as God is concerned. For I will not dare to speak
of anything except what Christ has effected through me in furthering the
19 obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, by the power of signs and
wonders, by the power of the holy Spirit; so that from Jerusalem and
the surrounding country as far as to Illyricum I have fully preached the
20 gospel of Christ—making this my ambition, however, not to preach the
gospel where Christ's name was known (that I might not build on
21 another man's foundation), but even as it is written,

Those who had no news of him shall see:
And those who have not learned shall understand.

22 Therefore it is that I have been hindered (these many times) from
23 coming to you. And just now, as I have no longer any chance in these
24 regions, and as I have had for many years a longing to visit you whenever
I go to Spain—for I hope to see you on my journey and to be sped by you
25 after being somewhat satisfied with your companionship—now, I say, I go
26 to Jerusalem on a ministry to the saints. For out of their own goodwill,
Macedonia and Achaia have made a contribution for the poor among the
27 saints at Jerusalem. Certainly it is done from goodwill on their part,

[1] Reading ὑμᾶς.

yet it is also a debt. For if the Gentiles have come to share in their
28 spiritual good, they owe them a debt of service in material good. When
I have finished this, then, and have securely delivered this fruit to them,
29 I will depart for Spain by way of you. And I know that when I come to
30 you, I shall come with the fulness of the blessing of Christ. Now
by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit I appeal to you,
31 brothers, strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I
may be rescued from the disobedient in Judea, and that my ministry of
32 aid for Jerusalem may prove acceptable to the saints, so that through the
will of God I may come to you in joy and be refreshed along with you.
33 The God of peace be with you all : Amen.

16 21 Timotheus my fellow-worker salutes you ; so do Lucius and Jason
and Sosipatros, my kinsmen.
22 I Tertius, who write the letter, salute you in the Lord.
23 Gaius, my host and the host of the Community at large, salutes you.
Erastus, the treasurer of the city, salutes you ; so does brother Quartus.
25 [Now to him who is able to establish you according to my gospel and
preaching of Jesus Christ, in virtue of the revelation of the secret which
26 has been kept silent throughout times eternal but is now disclosed and,
by the prophetic scriptures in virtue of the command of the eternal God,
27 displayed to all the nations to secure obedience to the faith—to the
only wise God through Jesus Christ, to him be the honour for ever :
Amen.]

A NOTE TO EPHESUS

That a note addressed to Ephesus (Schulz) lies embedded in the 16th chapter of Romans, is a hypothesis which is practically accepted upon all sides.[1] "In almost every verse there are such overwhelming reasons . . . that I cannot quite understand how anyone can adhere to the traditional view" (Weiss). The points really in question are its exact contents and date. Most probably the letter begins with ver. 1 (not ver. 3; Ritschl, Ewald, Schürer, Laurent, Renan, Pfleiderer, and Mangold). Weizsäcker and McGiffert go on to ver. 23, but most (Renan, Reuss, Weiss, Lipsius, Jülicher, etc.) prefer to break off at ver. 20, and indeed Hausrath (like Pfleiderer) stops at ver. 16. In this case vers. 21, 22 are (in spite of Holsten) to be taken as the original ending of the Roman letter (cp. Clemen, *Einheit.* pp. 95–99).[2] In writing to an unknown church, Paul evidently sent greetings from such friends as were at his side; Colossians 4^{10-17} is another example of this practice.[3]

Although the letter is not expressly addressed to Ephesus, the internal evidence points unmistakably to that city as its destination. When all is said, it remains inconceivable that Paul could have intimately known so many individuals and been acquainted with their local circumstances and histories, in a church like Rome, to which he was personally a stranger. The whole tone of Romans forbids such a hypothesis. Hitherto Paul has been writing as a stranger to strangers without betraying—even at points where such a reference would have been telling and appropriate[4]—any trace of personal friendship with the members or knowledge of their peculiar and local circumstances. The wealth of

[1] Though it is only fair to add that several critics, including Harnack, Zahn, Denney, and Dr. Drummond, are still unconvinced.

[2] This note to Ephesus, it has been often argued (recently by J. Weiss, *ThLz* (1893), p. 395, *ThSt.* pp. 182–184), made up, along with some other fragments, a larger Ephesian letter. See below, Appendix, *ad loc.* As the greater part of chap. 15 is probably genuine, the real Roman letter appropriately ends as it began (1^{8-15}) with the apostle's hope and project of reaching the capital on his missionary travels. There is nothing decisive to show that this Ephesian note originally was a part of a larger epistle. It is self-contained and intelligible by itself.

[3] On the other hand, "comme il y avait peu de relations entre Corinth et la Macédoine, d'une part, Éphèse, de l'autre, l'apôtre ne parle pas aux Éphésiens du monde que l'entoure" (Renan, *S. Paul*, p. 481). The value of Ro 16^{1-20} as a witness to the history and character of the Ephesian church is thoroughly appreciated by Renan (*S. Paul*, pp. 421–437), and Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 379–401, a masterpiece of delicate reconstruction, which no subsequent researches have seriously disturbed).

[4] Occasionally, it is true (*e.g.* chaps. 14, 15) Paul seems to possess some acquaintance with the general course of things in the Roman community, but such knowledge is never more than what would percolate to him through the ordinary channels of report and hearsay. It is rather illogical to conclude, as Zahn insists, that Paul must therefore have had friends who gave him exact information about the church. Did Paul's acquaintance with a church's needs involve the presence of some of his friends in that church? The case of Colossê rather contradicts this idea. And Rome was far more widely known than Colossê.

individual detail and colour in 16^{1-20} presupposes, on the contrary, a sphere where Paul had for long resided and worked. As he wrote from Corinth, the only other city which answers this description is Ephesus. There Paul's experience had been prolonged and varied, and indeed several of the names here are directly linked to Asia Minor (Epænetus, ver. 5, *ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας*, especially, and Prisca and Aquila, ver. 3, who were at Ephesus immediately before "Romans" was written,—Ac $18^{18.\ 26}$, 1 Co 16^{19},—and apparently were there not long afterwards, 2 Ti 4^{19}). Also, if genuine, the keen warning against schismatics and errorists (17–20) suits Rome [1] less well than Ephesus (1 Co $16^{8.\ 9}$, *ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί*, Ac 20 $^{29\,f.}$, Apoc $2^{2\,f.}$). Most inapplicable of all to a church like Rome is the tone of Paul's remark in ver. 19 ("your obedience," "I will," etc.). The distant tone even of a passage like $15^{20\,f.}$ shows that he was not on close enough terms with the Roman Christians to speak thus pointedly, although as addressed to Ephesus the words would be perfectly legitimate; and "it cannot be" proved "that many of those with whom in the course of his twenty years ministry he had established such relations as are referred to here, had for one cause or another found their way to the great city." Paul had been a prisoner (16^{7}) long before his confinement at Caesarea or Rome (2 Co 1^{8} 11^{23}), perhaps even at Ephesus, so that this letter need not have been written necessarily from the later imprisonment (Col 4^{10}, Philem 23). It was composed in all likelihood at the same time and place as Romans. But while Paul could send only general counsels to the Western church, his connection with the Eastern enabled him to write a very different note full of concrete and affectionate detail.[2]

This is corroborated by the further fact that Ro 16^{1-20} forms a

[1] No evidence, least of all any from the epistle to the Romans itself, has been forthcoming to prove the existence of *διχοστασίαι* and *σκάνδαλα* among the Roman Christians of that age. The only defence of $^{17-20}$ as Pauline, is to refer it to some community elsewhere. Dr. Drummond prefers to think of Greek adventurers rather than of Jewish Christian antagonists. At any rate, controversy against false teachers is conspicuously lacking in Romans; and it is hard to see how such an outburst can be reconciled with the general phenomena of the preceding chapters. When the Ephesian destination is accepted, the words are luminous and apt. When the Roman destination is advocated, interpreters are reduced to the strait of conjecturing that Paul was here vaguely warning the Romans against teachers who existed in other churches and might at some future date trouble themselves! This implies a most unPauline airiness. Besides, the whole sense of vers. $^{17-20}$ is lost unless the readers know the facts and persons to whom the writer alluded. How else could they mark and turn away from them? The remark that Paul "definitely states that he is only warning them that they may be wise if occasion arise" (*ICC*, "Romans," p. xciv) is quite misleading and emasculates the apostle's language. Had he feared the advent of Judaising emissaries to Rome, he could and would have made this clear to his readers. Instances of similar warning, such as Gal 1^{9} 5^{3}, Ph $3^{1\,f.}$,—(adduced by Zahn)—are not genuine prophylactic counsels. In the former of these the mischief had already begun, which, as even Zahn admits, was not the case in Rome when the apostle wrote; while the remarkably intimate relations between Paul and Philippi differentiate Philippians entirely from an epistle like Romans.

[2] An attempt is sometimes made to evade the force of these arguments by urging, (*a*) that these people mentioned here may well have come to Rome through their migratory (Ja 4^{13}) habits, especially as there was constant communication between Rome and the provinces. But the point is that when Paul wrote Romans, such a migration had not occurred. Whatever evidence we possess tells against it. How incredible that an exodus of Paul's friends and their relatives should have taken place to the capital at that time! What turned twenty-four and more of them suddenly into nomads? Afterwards, it is quite possible that such a migration gradually followed

letter of commendation given to Phoebê (ἐπιστολὴ συστατική) : so Semler, Renan, Hausrath (iii. 260), Farrar (*St. Paul*, chap. xxxvii.), Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 242-46), Weiss, Weizsäcker, McGiffert, and Adeney (*BI*, pp. 379, 380).[1] Paul would naturally introduce a person to a circle with which he already possessed some influence. The value of the commendation would mainly consist in the writer's title to respect and obedience from those to whom he spoke, with whom he was on intimate terms.

How this note became incorporated in Romans, it is only possible to conjecture. It may have been because copies of both, as well as the originals, were written at the same time and from the same place, that the later editors of the Pauline literature added them together. Perhaps Phoebê, its bearer, ultimately arrived with it (the original or a copy) in Rome. In any case the only way of preserving a note so unimportant in itself was to put it in the wake of a larger letter, particularly as the note lacked any formal address. Romans was apparently edited—to judge from its textual condition—before ever it reached the Canon ; and in the two closing chapters especially it is possible to detect different textual strata, even although the process by which they were deposited is now largely obscure. The note may have been put in its present place at the end of Romans, since in the Muratorian Canon that epistle occupied the last place among the Pauline epistles to the churches, as afterwards in Tertullian's and Cyprian's lists (Zahn, *GK*, ii. p. 344). Probably, too, in a later age the note was appended to Romans because it contained the names of several Christians (like Ampliatus) who had become prominent figures in the Roman church subsequently to the original period of the letter. Their traditional connection with Rome and the obscurity of this note's original destination—(which was natural in an epistle of commendation)—combined to further its incorporation with the large Roman epistle.

in the footsteps of the apostle. Asiatics constantly betook themselves to the capital, and it is therefore far from remarkable that (*b*) the names mentioned here have almost all been found in the Roman *Corpus Inscriptionum*. Most of them are quite common throughout the Roman world, and half are found in the Greek *Corpus Inscriptionum* for Asia Minor. So far as any weight can be attached to the importance of names like Prisca, Amplias, Nereus, and Apelles, in the subsequent history of early Christianity in Rome, it is really irrelevant to the present question. These persons may have, and probably did, come to Rome at some later stage ; but it is far from a valid inference that because they afterwards lived in the capital, they must have been there when Paul wrote "Romans." Finally, it may be asked how these hypothetical Christians resident at Rome had disappeared when their beloved friend Paul, some years later, wrote his prison-epistles from the capital ? He mentions none of them. Had their nomadic habits again seized and scattered them ? It is scarcely necessary to do more than mention Zahn's idea that Paul did not actually know all these Christians ; some he was acquainted with, and from them he got information about the rest ! Nor is it logical to argue that because Paul was a wanderer, his fellow-workers were likely to be wanderers also.

[1] Also, O. Holtzmann (*NT Zeitgesch*, p. 132) ; von Soden (*EBi*, i. p. 812) ; Dr. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, p. 12 ff. ; Haupt (*SK*, 1900, pp. 147, 148, in his review of Zahn) ; and at an earlier date, Laurent (pp. 32–38).

This letter, written by Paul as an introduction for Phoebê, is not to be compared of course with the great epistles to the Galatian and Corinthian churches. It gives neither instructions nor exhortations, as they do. Nor does it to the same extent, therefore, reveal conditions and events in the inner life of the church; even the short address appended to it does not supply us with any information in this direction. But in the very names, and in their grouping, as well as in the short notes of a personal and historical nature, it still furnishes us with very valuable knowledge. . . . To the introductory recommendation of Phoebê is appended, in the form of greetings, the list of those persons to whom she was to be introduced, and the note is thus of the nature of an attestation, which she could lay before the individuals, because it was expressly addressed to them. For the rest, a short exhortation is added, which was probably appended to the letter. It contains, indeed, several features, both in thought and language, that are unusual with Paul. Yet this is hardly more marked here than in the short additions that elsewhere close the Pauline letters, written in the apostle's own hand, and all distinguished by concise thoughts and figures, abrupt sentences, and peculiar words.—**Weizsäcker.**

[Ro 16^{1-20}

1–2 Introduction for Phoebê.
3–16 Greetings to Asiatic Christians.
17–20] Warning and farewell.

A NOTE TO EPHESUS

1 I COMMEND to you our sister Phoebê who ministers to the Com-
2 munity at Kenchreae: receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of saints, and give her whatever help she may require at your hands; truly she has proved herself a helper to many, as well as to myself.
3 Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus,
4 they laid down their own necks for my life;
to whom not only I but also all the Communities of the Gentiles give thanks:
5 also the community at their house.
Salute Epaenetus my beloved,
he is the firstfruits of Asia for Christ.
6 Salute Mary,
she laboured actively for you.
7 Salute Andronikus and Junias my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners;
they are men of note among the apostles,
also they were in Christ before me.
8 Salute Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord.
9 Salute Urbanus, our fellow-worker in Christ, and Stachys my beloved.
10 Salute Apelles, that genuine character in Christ.
Salute those who belong to the household of Aristobûlus.
11 Salute Herôdion my kinsman.
Salute those of Narcissus' household who are in the Lord.
12 Salute Tryphaena and Tryphosa who labour in the Lord.
Salute Persis the beloved,
she laboured actively in the Lord.
13 Salute Rufus, that choice character in Christ,
also her who is his mother and mine.
14 Salute Asynkritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas,
also the brothers who are with them.
15 Salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas,
also the saints who are with them.
16 Salute one another with a saints' kiss.
All the Communities of Christ salute you.

17 Now I appeal to you, brothers, look to those who are creating the dissensions and the hindrances among you, contrary to the doctrine which you
18 have learned; turn away from them. Such people serve not our Lord Jesus Christ but their own belly, and by fair and flattering speech they
19 beguile the hearts of the unsuspecting. Your obedience has reached the ears of all. I rejoice then over you; but I would have
20 you expert in what is good, and guileless in what is evil. Soon shall the God of peace trample Satan beneath your feet.
The grace of our Lord Jesus be with you.

COLOSSIANS

The Colossian church was Pauline only ($1^{4.\ 8}$ 2^{1}) in an indirect sense, but Paul's authority to address these Christians seems to have been unquestioned, and the epistle contains evidence ($4^{2\text{-}18}$) of a warm, mutual interest. The danger which he sought to combat lay in the pretensions (2^{4}) made by several members, under Jewish influences, to a higher Christian life. These involved ritual and ascetic practices, which in turn derived their motives and justification from certain speculative and theosophic principles, *e.g.* the mediation and mission of angels, and a cosmical dualism. To reach the practical question Paul strikes at the theory, exposing the uselessness and danger of such habits by a proof that Christ is absolutely sufficient as a redeeming power. The Christology [1] is an advance in some respects upon the previous epistles (cp. Ro 11^{36} and Col 1^{16}). But the advance is conditioned by the special circumstances of the Colossian church, and is not cut off from the genuinely Pauline basis. Paul adopts and adapts certain ideas and phrases [2] to reiterate the absolute adequacy and efficacy of Christ in his organic relation to the church and the world alike. Faith in him requires no outside philosophy or esoteric cult to perfect itself. Through union with Christ and Christ alone the Christian life rises to the height and fulness of its moral destiny, and no so-called "Higher Life" is to be dreamt of. Any external or additional aid (2^{19}) is gratuitous and harmful. This thesis is urged upon lines which Paul in part had already traversed (in 1 Co and Ro), in part found opening up now freshly to his mind. The style and inner evidence of the writing, combined with a fair view of the errors attacked and the doctrine adduced, serve—in the absence of many historical traits—to indicate that the letter is a genuine product of the apostle.[3] It is intended to stamp as authentic and exhibit as final the gospel which the Colossians had learned from his pupil, Epaphras.

[1] Dr. Fairbairn (*Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 318–320) puts this with characteristic terseness: "Christ occupies not simply a historical, but a cosmical place. . . . At the touch of evil the cosmology becomes a soteriology; for when sin enters the world, the Creator, who is good, has no choice but to become the Saviour. . . . The categories of time and history have thus ceased to be here applicable; sin is no longer an affair of man or earth, but of the universe. The conflict against it is extra-temporal; its field is the whole realm of mental being, the protagonists God and the devil." Cp. Knowling, *Witness of Epistles*, pp. 256–290.

[2] He may have become acquainted with the current terminology of the Greek mysteries in Rome, even if he had not some previous knowledge of them. Cp. the essay in Lightfoot's edition, pp. 71–111, on "The Colossian heresy." The exact features of the theosophy at Colossê are difficult to make out, and have been variously interpreted. It is clear that they were not "Gnostic," in the later and technical sense of the term; possibly they were syncretistic, a local blend of polytheism, mysticism, and theosophy.

[3] For the reality and limits of the advance in Paulinism which marks off the letters after "Romans," cp. Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 75–124, and Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 347 f., particularly the latter, who harmonises the conceptions of the earlier and later Paulinism without straining exegesis unduly.

Up to a comparatively recent period, the epistle was upon the whole assigned to the second century (110–130 A.D.) by most critics, from Mayerhoff downwards, partly owing to the supposed development of the Christology, but mainly on account of its references to what were considered fairly mature forms of Gnosticism. Baur especially (*Paul*, ii. 1–44), followed by the majority of his school,[1] found the atmosphere of the writing not earlier than this period, and Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 240–245) still holds a similar view; he regards "Colossians" as a product, along with the fourth gospel, of the Ephesian school which developed Paulinism to counteract the contemporary tendencies of encratitic thought. So Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 41–56, 257–276. Yet this rigorous verdict has to be modified. It must be admitted that there are no definite traces of any great Gnostic system in this writing, nor can there be any reason for denying that Paulinism in Paul's hands could have embraced certain semi-metaphysical ideas which are called Alexandrian, or that the conceptions in Colossians were necessarily foreign to his mind simply because they had not as yet come to such full expression. The possibility of such a speculative advance in the writer's mind becomes of course considerably greater when Philippians—with its bold development of Christology—is accepted as genuinely Pauline.

The undoubted basis of Pauline ideas, however, suggested to Holtzmann his ingenious and complicated interpretation theory (*Kritik der Ephes. u. Kolesserbriefe* (1872); *Einl.* pp. 251–267), by which, after Ewald and in part Hitzig, he endeavoured to distinguish an original and genuine epistle to the Colossians directed against their legal and ascetic errors. This was first used by the *autor ad Ephesios* against a Jewish-Christian theosophy; afterwards he turned back and interpolated his earlier source into our extant "Colossians." Such filigree-criticism has not proved convincing,[2] and has only been accepted with considerable modifications. It is to be noted that most critics incline to the simpler conclusion of accepting at least "Colossians" as a genuine and substantially Pauline document, a position which is fast becoming axiomatic.[3]

This recognition of the authenticity and unity of Colossians had been already advocated by Schenkel (*Christusbild d. Apostel*, pp. 83–86), Weiss (*INT*, i. pp. 323–338, *AJT*, i. 371–377), Reuss (pp. 110–119), J. Koster (*De Echtheid van de brieven aan de Kolossers en de Ephesiërs*, 1877), Renan (*S. Paul*, pp. ix-xii), Lightfoot, Beyschlag, Godet, Salmon, and Hort[4] (*Jud. Christianity*, p. 116 f.), besides the brilliant studies

[1] Cp. especially Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 95–119; *Urc.* p. 670 f., who admits, however, the possibility of a Pauline nucleus in the letter; also, from a slightly different standpoint, Schmiedel, *EWK*, ii. 38, article "Kolosser u. Epheser" (1886), p. 138 f., who takes the heresy to be a form of Ebionitism with Gnostic tendencies; and Cone, *Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 249–260.

[2] Cp. von Soden's examination: *JpTh* (1885), pp. 320–368. The parallels are reprinted by Haupt (-Meyer), *Einl.* pp. 27, 28, 79–81.

[3] Possibly the stylistic difficulties might be eased, were it a feasible conjecture here, as in the case of 2 Thess., that Timothy's share in the epistle was something more than merely nominal. Cp. Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, chap. iv.

[4] Hort and McGiffert, however, reject the ordinary hypothesis of Essene influence. A connection with some popular Greek ethical philosophy the former regards as undeniably possible; but he considers the Colossian heresy to be essentially a Judaic development and extension to which a specious quasi-Hellenic varnish of "philosophy" was given in order to disarm Western prejudice. More simply and satisfactorily, McGiffert, like Schenkel, von Soden, and Erbes (*Offenbar. Joh.* p. 135 f.) prefers to believe that the errorists were under the influence of Alexandrian rather than Palestinian Judaism. The term φιλοσοφία was applied by Philo and Josephus to Jewish

of Sabatier (*Paul*, pp. 229–234) and Klöpper (*Der Brief an die Kolosser*, 1882). Recently the support has become even more extensive. Among others, the Pauline authorship is accepted by L. Schultze (*Handbuch der theolog. Wissenschaften*, Band. i. Abth. 2, pp. 91–95), Schäfer (*Einl.* pp. 132–136), Oltramare (*Commentaire sur les épîtres de S. Paul aux Col. Ephes.* (1891), vol. i. pp. 66–91), Clemen, Harnack, Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 89–91 ; *EBi*, i. 860f.), Blass (*Acta Apost.* prolegomena, p. 1), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 266–374), E. H. Hall (*Papias* (1899), pp. 283–286), Bartlet (*AA*, p. 186f.), T. K. Abbott (*ICC.* pp. l–lix), Adeney, *BI*, pp. 389–391, Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 347–368), and with exceptional ability by Haupt (-Meyer)[1] and von Soden (*JpTh* (1885), pp. 320 f., 497 f., 672 f.; *HC*, iii. 1, pp. 1–18).

The determining factor in this recognition of Colossians as an authentic work of Paul[2] has been the recognition of Gnosticism in its pre-Christian sources, Persian, Phrygian, and Philonic. Investigation into theosophic ideas early in the first century has revealed symptoms and developments of what is called at a later period "Gnosticism" (cp. Krüger, *RTK*, vi. pp. 728–734). The Essenes, especially, represent aptitudes which can be taken as precursors of the tendencies[3] combated in Colossians ; in fact, the widely diffused and popular forms of theosophy among Jewish (Ac 19[13]) communities give a religious climate for the seventh decade of the century, amply sufficient to explain the ideas and language[4] of this epistle. Gnosticism was the word originally for an atmosphere rather than for a theory. It stood for a syncretism, a mental temper whose incipient and elementary forms can be detected in various quarters during the earlier half of the first-century.[5] Indeed, at

theology. It would connote any transcendental theory of God and the world, especially among Jewish Christians. With the appeal to human traditions and the significance attached to questions of food (Col 2=Ro 14), Paul was already familiar.

[1] Haupt is dissatisfied with both the Essene and the Alexandrian theories of the Colossian heresy. He prefers to regard it as a phase of contemporary Judaism, which in the Phrygian atmosphere of theosophy and mystic cults attempted to erect a religious system by means of angel-worship and asceticism, with the aid of oral teaching imparted to the initiated. Jülicher again is unable to detect any specifically Jewish element at all in the Colossian heresy.

[2] Evidently Epaphras and the other teachers at Colossê were unable to cope with the ramifications of the local theosophy. The predominance of abstract teaching in Paul's letter over personal references is natural when it is remembered (i.) that the readers were not directly converts of Paul, and (ii.) that the letter was to be supplemented by Tychicus' (4[7]) oral information upon the writer's situation and prospects.

[3] Grammatical usage and the inherent probabilities of the case are, upon the whole, against the suggestion that the term μηδείς (2[18] etc.) and the use of the singular denote a person—some teacher of marked influence and authority as in the case of the Galatians (Gal 3[1] 5[7-9]). The reference seems purposely vague and general. Had Paul heard of some particular individual, his treatment would in all likelihood have been of a different character.

[4] On the novelties of style and vocabulary, cp. especially Haupt's serviceable analysis (-Meyer, pp. 27–32). As he points out, most of the peculiarities—the occurrence of strange expressions, and the absence of distinctively Pauline terms—are to be found in the first half of the epistle. Both Haupt and von Soden agree that "Colossians" is an example of the truth that the style is not always the man ; it is frequently to be explained by his mode and circumstances at the time of writing. Paul's "theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of views or new expressions" (Jülicher).

[5] Cp. besides the candid and final discussion in Klöpper, *op. cit.* pp. 58–119, Sanday, *Smith's Dict. B.* (1893), i. pp. 624–631, and Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 310–368. After making allowance for some exaggerations (with Schürer, *ThLz* (1899), 167 f.),

any time after 40 A.D., early Christianity was upon the edge of those tendencies which came afterwards to be named "Gnosticism." A discussion such as that presented in "Colossians" is unprecedented, so far as regards Paulinism, but it is a long way from being historically a prolepsis.

one must also admit that Friedländer has proved the existence of an incipient pre-Christian Gnosticism in some form or other within Judaism (*Der vorchristliche Jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898). Holtzmann is in agreement with the main points of this theory (*NTTh*, i. pp. 476-486, "Die Gnosis im NT"), but he still adheres substantially to the rather mechanical hypothesis already noted (*ibid.* ii. pp. 225-258), which has recently been favoured in a tentative way by J. Weiss (*ThLz*, 1900, pp. 553-556). The latter critic rejects Ephesians *in toto*, but accepts Colossians as an interpolated production of the apostle; *e.g.* passages like 1^{23} (οὗ ἠκούσατε . . . οὐρανόν), 2^{1} (καὶ ὅσοι . . . σαρκί), 2^{2} (αὐτῶν), etc., are insertions made by an editor who wrote at the time when the Pauline epistles were being collected and used for catholic ends. It must be admitted that such changes in the text of a letter like this were not improbable in the second century, especially as scribes had always the temptation of conforming Colossians to Ephesians. But I do not think it likely that any glosses which may be detected in Colossians were due to the author of Ephesians (when that writing is taken as sub-Pauline), or that they affect the Pauline authorship and primitive Gnosticism of the former epistle, whose coefficients of age and situation are best supplied by the seventh-decade date and the impact of Asiatic theosophy upon the apostle's mind.

Historically, the epistle to the Colossians is of great interest. It shows how during his imprisonment Paul was actually regarded as an authority in wide circles, even in circles to which he was not personally related; and how for his own part he had no hesitation in considering that the sphere of his mission embraced offshoots of those churches which he had planted himself. It shows how varied were the forms in which the ideals of Jewish Christianity embodied themselves; how in Paul's case the divergences of practical religion led to the development of dogmatic conceptions; and how, with that in view, the apostle turned the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah to account, presupposing along with it the Jewish cosmology. Finally the epistle gives us the first sketch of Christian ethics as applied to the various elementary forms of social life.—**von Soden.**

1^{1-2} **Greeting:**

1^{1-12} **Thanksgiving and Prayer**
for the progress
and advance of Colossians in God's knowledge
and service, through

1^{13}–3^{4} **Dogmatic:** Christ the redeemer.
1^{15-17} Christ the head of the creation,
1^{18-23} the Church—the experience of
the Colossians.
1^{23}–2^{5} Paul the apostle of this gospel—his anxiety
for them.
need of adherence to Christ and the faith in spite of a new
and false philosophy:
2^{11-15} a statement of the life after Christ: spiritual and supreme.
2^{16}–3^{4} ,, ,, ,, the στοιχεῖα: ritual observances
and angel-worship.
the free and risen life in communion with
Christ.

3^{5}–4^{6} **Ethical:**
individual ethics—negative: against pagan vices.
positive: call to the morality of Christ.
social ethics—wives and husbands,
children and fathers,
slaves and masters.
general.
4^{7-17} Personal: the coming of Tychicus and Onesimus.
greetings.
4^{18} Farewell.

COLOSSIANS

1 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timotheus
the brother,
2 to the saints and faithful brothers in Christ, who are at Colossae :
grace to you and peace from God our Father.
3 We always give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ
4 for you in our prayers, since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and
5 of the love that you have for all the saints, owing to the hope which is
laid up for you in the heavens—of which you have already heard in the
6 word of the truth of the gospel, which has reached you even as it covers
all the world, with fruit and growth ; so is it also among yourselves
from the day that you learned and fully knew the grace of God in truth,
7 even as you were taught it by Epaphras, our beloved fellow-slave, who
8 is a faithful minister of Christ for you,[1] who has also given us the news
9 of your love in the Spirit. For this reason, from the day that we heard of
it, we also have not ceased to pray for you and ask that you may be filled
with the full knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and intelli-
10 gence, to walk in a manner worthy of the Lord, so as to please him in every
way, by bearing fruit and growing in all good conduct through the full
11 knowledge of God ; as you are strengthened with all power, through the
12 might of his majesty, for all endurance and longsuffering, giving thanks
with joy to the Father who has qualified you to have part in the lot of
13 the saints in light, who has rescued us from the power of darkness and
14 removed us into the realm of the Son of his love—in whom we have
15 the redemption, the remission of sins ; who is the image of the invisible
God, the firstborn of all creation,
16 Since in him all things were created in the heavens and on the earth,
Things visible and things invisible,
Be it thrones or lordships or principalities or powers :
All things have been created through him and for him,
17 Before all things he is, in him all things cohere.
18 He is also the head of the body, of the Community, in that he is the
beginning, the firstborn from the dead ; that he might come to hold the
19 first place among all. For it was the good pleasure of the Fulness to
20 dwell in him, and through him to reconcile all things to himself by
making peace through the blood of his cross—[2] be it the things on the
21 earth or the things in the heavens. And as for you, aliens as once you
were and of hostile intent amid your evil deeds, yet he has reconciled
22 you now in the body of his flesh by means of his death, to present you holy
23 and faultless and irreproachable before him—that is, if you continue in
the faith, founded and firm and unmoved from the hope of the gospel
which you have heard, which has been preached in all creation under the
sky, of which I Paul was made a minister.

[1] Reading ὑμῶν. [2] Omitting [[διʼ αὐτοῦ]].

24 Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake. Yea, so far as Christian
distresses in my flesh are incomplete, I would on my part supply the
25 deficiency for the sake of his body, that is, the Community ; of which I
was made a minister according to the stewardship of God given to me for
26 you, that I should fully preach the word of God, the secret which has
been hidden from the ages and from the generations—but now it has
27 been disclosed to his saints, to whom God willed to display what are the
riches of the majesty of this secret among the Gentiles ; it is "Christ
28 among you ! the hope of majesty !" Him we proclaim, admonishing
every man and teaching every man with all wisdom, that we may
29 present every man perfect in Christ ; an end for which also I labour
and wrestle keenly in virtue of his force which is powerfully at work
in me.

2 1 For I would have you know how keen is my concern on your behalf
and on behalf of those in Laodicea and all who have not seen my face in
2 the flesh, that their hearts may be encouraged, as they themselves are
knit in love together and brought to all riches of intelligent assur-
3 ance, to the full knowledge of that secret of the God of Christ, in which
4 exist all *the treasures of wisdom* and knowledge hidden. I say this to
5 prevent anyone from deluding you by specious persuasion. For although
absent in the flesh, yet I am with you in the spirit, rejoicing to behold
your orderly array and the solid front of your faith in Christ.

6 As therefore you received the Christ, even Jesus the Lord, walk in
7 him : be fixed, be built up in him, be confirmed in the faith even
8 as you were taught it, abound[1] in thanksgiving. See that there is no
one who makes you his prey by means of his theosophy, which is
a vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world
9 and not after Christ. For it is in him that all the fulness of the Deity
10 dwells bodily, and in him you are made full, who is the head of every
11 principality and power ; in whom also you were circumcised with a
circumcision which no hands made, as you stripped off your fleshly body
12 in the circumcision of Christ, when you were buried with him in that
baptism in which you were also raised with him, through your faith in
13 the force of God who raised him from the dead. And as for you, dead as
you were with the trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, he
14 made you live together with him by forgiving us all our trespasses, can-
celling the contract consisting of statutes, which stood against us[2]—he
15 put that away, when he hung it as a trophy on the cross, when he stripped
the principalities and powers and exposed them openly, triumphing there-
16 in over them. Let no one take you to task, then, for eating
17 or drinking, or in the matter of festival or new-moon or Sabbath. These
are merely the shadow of what is to be, whereas the substance belongs to
18 Christ. Let no one disparage you with his devotion to so-called humility
and to angel-worship, speculating in airy nothings,[3] puffed up in vain by
19 the mind of his flesh, and discarding the Head from whom all the body
through its joints and ligaments is supplied and knit together and grows
with growth divine.

20 If you died with Christ from the elements of the world, why be
21 subject to statutes as though you still were living in the world, ("Handle
22 not, touch not, taste not !"—things that are all destined to perish by
23 use !) after *human precepts and doctrines?*—Such like things have indeed
a reputation for wisdom, with their self-imposed worship and so-called

[1] Omitting [[ἐν αὐτῇ]]. [2] Omitting ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν.
[3] Reading ἰώῤῥα (αἰώῤῥα) πνευματευόων.

humility and severe treatment of the body; but they are not of the slightest value in checking fleshly indulgence.

3 1 If then you were raised with Christ, seek what is above,
Where Christ is, *seated at the right hand of God:*
2 Set your mind upon what is above, not upon what is on the earth;
3 For you died, and your life lies hidden with Christ in God.
4 When Christ—who is your [1] life—is disclosed,
Then shall you also be disclosed with him in majesty.
5 Put then to death the members that are on the earth: fornication,
6 impurity, appetite, evil desire, and covetousness—which is idolatry. It
7 is for these things that the wrath of God comes. In them at one time
8 you also walked, when you lived in them. But now do you also put
them all away: anger, passion, malice, slander, foul talk from your mouth;
9 lie not to one another—seeing that you stripped off the old man with
10 his doings and put on the new man, who is ever being renewed to full
11 knowledge *after the image of* his *creator;* where there is no place for
Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian,
12 slave, freeman, but Christ is all and in all. Put on therefore, as God's
chosen, holy and beloved, a disposition of tender mercy, kindness, humil-
13 ity, gentleness, longsuffering. Bear with one another and forgive each
other, if any person has a complaint against any one else; even as the
14 Lord also forgave you, so too do you forgive. Over and above all this
15 put on love, for love is the bond that makes perfection. And let the
peace of Christ rule undisputed in your hearts; for to this you were also
16 called in one body. And show thankfulness. Let the word of Christ
dwell richly in your midst: teaching and admonishing each other with
all wisdom in spiritual psalms and hymns and songs, singing with grace
17 in your hearts to God. And whatsoever you do, in word or deed, do all
in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks through him to God the
Father.
18 Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is your duty in the Lord.
19, 20 Husbands, love your wives and be not harsh to them. Children,
obey your parents in every point, for this is well-pleasing in the Lord.
21 Fathers, avoid irritating your children, that they may not be
22 dispirited. Slaves, obey those who are your masters after the flesh
in every point; not with eyeservice, like those who court human favour, but
23 with singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord. Whatever you do, work
24 at it right heartily, as for the Lord and not for men; since you know you
shall receive from the Lord in full return the inheritance that is your due.
25 Serve Christ the master; for the wicked shall be paid back for his wicked-
4 1 ness, and there is no respect of persons. Masters, provide your
slaves with what is just and fair, since you know you also have a master in
2 heaven. Give yourselves to prayer, be diligent therein with thanks-
3 giving. At the same time pray too for us, that God may open us a door
for the word, so that we can declare the secret of the Christ (for which
4 also I am in bonds)—that I may disclose it as I should declare it.
5 Walk wisely with regard to those outside, making the very most of your
6 time. Let your speech always be profitable, seasoned with wholesome-
ness; know how you should answer each person.
7 You will be informed of all by Tychicus, the beloved brother and
8 faithful minister and fellow-slave in the Lord. I am sending him to you
for this very purpose, that you may know how we are, and that he may
9 encourage your hearts. He is accompanied by Onesimus, the faithful

[1] Reading ὑμῶν.

and beloved brother, who is one of yourselves. They shall inform you of all that goes on here.

10 Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner, salutes you: so does Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, about whom you received injunctions (if he comes to
11 you, welcome him), so does Jesus, who is called Justus — men who belonged to the Circumcision. These are my sole fellow-workers for the
12 reign of God, men who have proved a comfort to me. Epaphras, one of yourselves, salutes you; a slave of Christ Jesus, he is always wrestling keenly for you in his prayers, that you may stand perfect and fully
13 convinced in all the will of God. I bear him witness, he toils hard for
14 you and for those in Laodicea and for those in Hierapolis. Luke, the
15 beloved physician, salutes you, so does Demas. Salute the brothers in
16 Laodicea, also Nymphas[1] and the Community at her[2] house. Further, when the letter has been read among you, see that it is read in the Community of the Laodiceans as well, and that you also read the letter from
17 Laodicea. Also, tell Archippus: "Attend to the ministry thou hast received in the Lord; see and fulfil it."

18 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul. Remember my imprisonment.

Grace be with you.

[1] Reading Νύμφαν. [2] Reading αὐτῆς.

PAUL TO PHILEMON

The letter only contains a few friendly lines ; but they are so full of grace and wit, of earnest, trustful affection, that this short epistle shines among the rich treasures of the NT as a pearl of exquisite fineness. Never has there been a better fulfilment of the precept given by Paul himself at the close of his letter to the Colossians: ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι (chap. iv. 6). This epistle is not merely a revelation of the apostle's heart; it becomes further, through its moral significance, an invaluable document of the Pauline ethics.—**Sabatier.**

1-3 Greeting.
4-7 Gratitude for Philemon's character and service.
8-21 Request and appeal on behalf of the slave Onesimus.
22-25 Personal.
Farewell.

PAUL TO PHILEMON

1 PAUL, a prisoner of Christ Jesus, and Timotheus the brother,
to Philemon our beloved and our fellow-worker, and to Apphia the
2 sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the Community
at thy house:
3 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.
4 I always give thanks to my God when I make mention of thee in my
5 prayers—as I hear of thy love and of the faith that thou hast to the Lord
6 Jesus and for all the saints—praying that to participate in thy faith may
result for them in a full knowledge of all the goodness we possess, Christ-
7 ward. I had great joy and comfort over thy love, because the hearts of the
8 saints have been refreshed through thee, brother. Therefore, while
9 in Christ I would have great confidence in ordering thee to do what is thy
duty, yet I prefer to appeal to thee for love's sake. Being of this mind then,
10 I Paul, an old man, aye and a prisoner of Christ Jesus now—I appeal to thee
for my child whom I have begotten in my imprisonment, for Onesimus;
11 at one time he was of no service to thee, but he is serviceable now to thee
12, 13 and to myself. I send him back to thee (he is my very heart): I would
have liked to keep him beside me, to minister on thy behalf to me as I lie
14 imprisoned for the gospel; but I was unwilling to do anything without
thy consent, in order that thy kindness might not be given by way of
15 compulsion but from thine own free will. For perhaps it was on this
account that he was parted from thee for a time, that thou shouldest have
16 him back for ever—no longer as a slave but as something more than a
slave, as a brother, beloved by me most of all, but how much more by
17 thee, in the flesh also as well as in the Lord. If thou considerest me then
18 to be a comrade of thine, take him home as if it were myself. And if he has
wronged thee at all or owes thee anything, put that down to my account.
19 I write it, I Paul, with my own hand: "I will repay it"—not to remind
20 thee, that thou owest me thy very self besides. Yes, brother! let me
have some return from thee in the Lord! Refresh my heart in Christ.
21 I write thee in the confidence that thou wilt obey, knowing that thou
22 wilt do even more than what I say. At the same time, get ready a lodging
for me also; for I am hoping that through your prayers I shall be restored
to you.
23, 24 Epaphras my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus salutes thee; so do
Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers.
25 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

EPHESIANS

Upon the dubious hypothesis that this encyclical letter is genuine, its period is easily fixed. The undoubted connection of its thought with that of the Colossian epistle argues a contemporary origin during the latter period of Paul's imprisonment ($3^1 4^1$) at Rome (Phil 4^{22}). While the question of the relative priority is not of much moment, it is better, with a majority of critics (especially after Hönig's proof: *ZwTh*, 1872, p. 63 f.), to place the Colossian epistle at a slightly earlier date, finding in the Ephesian letter traces of development upon several lines of thought (*e.g.* the Spirit and the church). Practically—upon arguments, forcible if few—the epistle is reckoned contemporaneous with and if anything subsequent to Colossians: so Weiss (*INT*, i. pp. 339–358; *AJT*, i. pp. 377–384), Sabatier (*op. cit.* p. 225 f., a very convincing discussion), Reuss (pp. 110–119), Godet (*INT*, pp. 475–490), Salmon (*INT*, p. 388 f.), and Prof. G. G. Findlay (*Expositor's Bible*, "Ephesians," pp. 3–13). Similarly Schäfer, E. H. Hall, L. Schultze, Hort ("Romans and Ephesians," 1895), T. K. Abbott (*ICC*, pp. ix–xxii), Adeney (*BI*, pp. 395–398), McGiffert (pp. 378–385), Macpherson (*Comm. Ephesians*, 1892), and Bartlet (*AA*, 189 f.).

Up till recently the best criticism had placed the epistle in the second century, as a polemic against Montanism (Schwegler) or Gnosticism, to be dated either *c.* 140 A.D. as a remodelled and expanded version of Colossians (Hilgenfeld and Hausrath), or towards the beginning of the second century as the original work of a Pauline scholar (Holtzmann and Mangold). The latter theory suggests a comparison between the so-called "Ephesian" epistle and the seventh book of the Nikomachean Ethics; neither is original, but both are so permeated by the Master's spirit and ideas as to be practically authentic for the purposes of interpretation. This date, towards the close of the first or in the opening of the second century, is held by many excellent scholars who find the leading evidence for a non-Pauline period in the apparently maturer phase (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 162–193; Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 240–245) of the theology, which approximates in many striking respects to that of the fourth gospel, and with it may be said to form the summit of NT theology. This line of argument from the epistle's place in the development of thought and life (cp. passages like 3^5 4^{11} 2^{20}) is really crucial (Holtzmann, *Kritik.* p. 200 f.). The epistle itself gives few hints of its historical setting or even of local colouring, and alongside of what seem absolute novelties in thought and language lie specifically Pauline elements. Consequently, while the extreme period (120–150 A.D.) has been practically abandoned, save by a few critics like Hausrath, S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. pp. 261–300), Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888, pp. 65 f.: Col., Philem., Ephes. in beginning of Hadrian's reign), Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 257–276), and Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 684 f.), a date ranging from 80 to 100 is adopted by many (*e.g.* Holtzmann, Hatch, Schmiedel, and Mangold). This is confirmed by the resemblances between Ephes. and

the Apocalypse and Clem. Rom. (cp. on these, Hort, *RE*, p. 112; von Soden, *HC*, III. i. p. 80). The characteristics of the epistle on this view can be approached along one or other of two hypotheses:—

(*a*) The secretary-theory, Renan's suggestion,[1] that the letter was written by one of Paul's scholars during his lifetime, and under his supervision, is at least possible. Extend this beyond his lifetime to the case of a follower reproducing Paul's ideas in view of later interests within the church, and one secures a very reasonable ground for dating the epistle towards the end of the century, and at the same time preserving and doing justice to the distinctively Pauline elements upon which stress has been recently and rightly laid (cp. von Soden, *JpTh*, 1887, pp. 103–135, 432–498; *HC*, III. i. p. 79–104). In this case the letter would be composed of reminiscences and traits gathered by a disciple of Paul's, and fused into a more advanced exposition. Thus Klöpper (*Der Brief an die Epheser*) attributes the writing to a disciple of the Pauline school who wrote two or three decades after his master's death. Certainly it presents some very striking affinities with the literature of 75–105 A.D., *e.g.* the development of hymnody ($5^{14.\ 19}$ 3^{20}, cp. Lk 1–2), the emphasis on the "catholicity" of the church for Jew and pagan, the stress laid on detailed moral obligations, also the remarkable coincidences of thought with the fourth gospel, and of style with Lk-Acts. Such a position explains, as aptly as the earlier date, the use of Romans and the dependence upon Colossians, while it does ample justice to the Johannine features which otherwise appear *c.* 60 A.D., as—to say the least—very notable anticipations. In this event, the epistle is pseudonymous. It was composed[2] in view of current libertinism, church divisions, and theoretical errors of Alexandrian colour, in order to counteract such tendencies by a restatement of the true Pauline faith. Possibly, too, the errors were actually due (as in James and 1 John) to abuses or misconceptions of some original Pauline doctrines.

Even if one refuses the highly probable conjecture that ἁγίοις is a gloss, the crucial difficulty raised by the apparently objective and collective references to "apostles" (2^{20} 3^{5})—assuming the text to be uncorrupted—is partly eased by passages like 1 Co 9^{5} 12^{28}, and Ro 16^{7}. For all that can be said in defence of the various soteriological and cosmical "novelties," cp. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 355 f., and Haupt's satisfying commentary *ad loc.* That these form a natural development of Paulinism is undeniable. The only question is whether they are "natural" within

[1] "Que Paul ait écrit ou dicté cette lettre, il est à peu près impossible de l'admettre; mais qu'on l'ait composée de son vivant, sous ses yeux, en son nom, c'est ce qu'on ne saurait déclarer improbable" (*S. Paul*, p. xx). He follows Schleiermacher's suggestion of Tychicus.

[2] "Die Interessen des Briefs haben zwei Pole, die völlige Verschmelzung von geborenen Juden und Heiden in der Christenheit zu einer geschlossenen Gemeinschaft und die Erfassung des grossen kosmischen Ziels des Christenthums. In der mitte steht beide verbindend der Begriff der ἐκκλησία" (von Soden). The really vital problem in regard to "Ephesians" is the question whether this theology is compatible with what we know of Pauline ideas from the other epistles. An affirmative answer has been made easier but not inevitable by the admission that Colossians is authentic. Upon the other hand, the later date and the pseudonymity which it involves are brought into clearer relief than ever when attention is directed (as by von Soden) to the affinities of the writing with the Apocalypse—its use of the bridal metaphor, its stress on the apostolic foundation and ἀποκάλυψις (1^{17} $3^{3.\ 5}$), and the subsequent treatment of church-questions (Pastorals, Hermas) in epistolary form (Apoc 2–3). Besides, the Gentile is the predominant partner in the church to an extent unprecedented in the earlier literature. Cp. Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 254–267, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 254–258.

the limits of the apostle's lifetime. Hesitation upon this point does not at all imply that Paul lacked constructive and broad ideas of the Christian brotherhood, nor does it involve any theory that binds the apostle to "one limited and carefully catalogued repertory of ideas." He may well have been a fresh and advancing thinker, and yet incapable of having written this epistle, which is so strangely silent upon, *e.g.*, the cardinal Pauline ideas of Christ's death, second coming, and relation to the individual Christian, while it approximates remarkably to the Christology of "Hebrews" and the fourth gospel (Christ = the unifying principle for the universe, and for the contradictions of Jew and Gentile, the Johannine use of *ἀγάπη* in Ephesians, the antithesis of *φῶς* and *σκότος*, etc.), in the 17th chapter of which "almost every verse offers a parallel to this epistle" (Lock).

(*b*) Otherwise, and on the same line, there is the more artificial structure-hypothesis—either in Holtzmann's or in a modified present-ment—which explains the Pauline characteristics here, as in the pastoral epistles, chiefly by the theory of interpolation or compilation.[1] Originally taken in part from the Colossian epistle, these genuine fragments may have formed the nucleus of, or have been worked up into, an extant epistle (*vide* Mangold-Bleek, p. 602). But this is needless in view of (*a*), and inherently stiff (cp. especially Oltramare's ed. p. 113 f.).

The recent admission of Colossians as authentic has however helped to make a seventh decade date in the first century intrinsically more probable. That both epistles were written together has often been made a commonplace of criticism, though perhaps this is too hastily assumed. Still a similarity of situation is obvious, and the estimate of one certainly touches the estimate of the other (*vide* Sabatier, *op. cit.* pp. 229–234). "They were in all probability," says Weizsäcker, "written not in succession but together; . . . they were meant to supplement each other, and were composed with that object on one complete plan. Both therefore start from the same ideas, the same doctrine" (*AA*, ii. p. 245). The result is that if the "Gnosticism" which explains Colossians is to be discovered in the middle of the first century throughout Asia Minor, it would require more serious and detailed proof than has yet been led to bring the twin-epistle—in spite of its independent elements and characteristic standpoint—down to the second or even to the close of the first century. This theory of simultaneous origin, however, does not necessarily follow from the similarities of the epistles, as Ephesians[2] might well be a later restatement of the earlier writing. Still it seems to be widely felt as a possible hypothesis, *e.g.* by Oltramare (ii. pp. 5–104, a copious statement), Trenkle (*Einl.* 69–72), Jülicher, and Harnack; neither of the latter will dogmatise against or for the authenticity of "Ephesians," although the vast majority of modern scholars agree in making it sub-Pauline. Most recently Zahn[3] (*Einl.* i. pp. 347–362) has accepted the epistle as literally genuine, the copy of a circular letter to the Asiatic churches. Dr. A. Robertson (*Smith's Dict. B.*[2] i. pp. 947–964) has an excellent discussion

[1] Cp. besides von Soden, Schmiedel, *ÆWK*, ii. 38, pp. 138–144.

[2] One of the most difficult passages (Eph 5^{14}) has been made the subject of a special study by M. W. Jacobus (*ThS*, pp. 9–29). If his elaborate arguments are correct, the citation is perfectly Pauline in method and object: it is a free spiritualisation of Jonah 1^6, as a reproof of evil (רדם = *καθεύδειν*).

[3] Who is much more successful in exposing the weak points of the later date, than in presenting a positive statement of the earlier.

and defence of the letter: and the Pauline authorship is upheld by Lock, *DB*, i. pp. 714–718.

The crucial point lies in the evident advance of Ephesians upon the theology of Colossians, especially in the conceptions of the church and the person of Christ: it is a fair question whether this advance (which, however, is rather a matter of emphasis than a speculative reality) is more natural as the work of Paul himself than as the reproduction and application of his ideas in a somewhat expanded form by some Jewish-Christian Paulinist towards the end of the first century. In the former case, the simplest explanation would be that the one epistle—as even Coleridge detected, though he reversed the true relationship—is "the overflowing, as it were, of St. Paul's mind upon the same subject." Written after the cognate epistle to the Colossians, Ephesians contains expressions[1] and conceptions which have either percolated into the writer's mind during the interval, or remained over from the previous writing. These are now reproduced, in combination with others which have been already developed. Hence the resemblances and the differences of the two letters. The former[2] are upon the whole undesigned; the latter[3] are not much more than what might have been expected from an author who was engaged in composing a letter spontaneously for a fresh circle of readers, and felt himself free from mechanical anxiety about avoiding the repetition of anything he had just written to the church at Colossê (Hort, *Rom. Eph.*, p. 162 f.; Oltramare, i. pp. 30–37, ii. pp. 113–154).

In this event, the situation of Paul at Rome would explain the emphasis upon the unity and brotherhood of Jew and pagan within the church (note the numerous compounds with *συν-*), while his "intellectualism" or preoccupation with the more speculative and mystical aspects of Christology would be intelligible in connection with the features of the Asiatic Christianity as revealed, *e.g.* in Colossians (see a popular statement of this in Gore's *Ephesians*, pp. 20–34; after Hort, *op. cit.* p. 126 f.). "Les idées du fondateur de la théologie chrétienne y sont arrivées au plus haut degré d'épuration. On sent ce dernier travail de spiritualisation que les grands âmes près de s' éteindre font subir à leur pensée et au delà duquel il n'y a plus que la mort" (Renan).

[1] The exceptional difficulties raised by the style and language of the epistle cannot be ignored. But even after full allowance has been made for them, the verdict must be that they neither prove nor disprove the Pauline authorship—that is to say, when Colossians is accepted as authentic. Zahn's analysis of the linguistic phenomena (*Einl.* i. pp. 363–368) is beyond all praise, but its result is merely to leave the problem upon this point open. Especially in the earlier chapters the style is oracular to the verge of unwieldiness, and massive to the point of cumbrousness, in a manner hitherto unexampled in the Pauline letters. Yet glimpses of the characteristic Pauline style break through every now and then.

[2] These appear in an exaggerated form when the epistles are printed, as in a modern collection they must be, in juxtaposition, and are apt to produce the impression of a tasteless and slavish repetition, rather lacking in originality. But it has to be remembered (*a*) that the readers of the one letter were never intended to see the other, and (*b*) that Paul did not write in view of literary criticism and its standards. His predominant interest in the practical work to be achieved by his letters, together with the psychological situation above-noted, are conceivably sufficient to explain Col-Eph.

[3] Such as the preoccupation in Ephesians with the fresh ideas of the Spirit, baptism, the relation of Christ to the church rather than to the universe, the continuity and unity of the church—implying a retrospect of considerable width,—the absence of personal and controversial details. Yet see one or two points in Méritan's exposition, *Revue Biblique* (1898), pp. 343–369, of "l'ecclésiologie de l'épître aux Éphésiens"; Oltramare throughout is fair and thorough, as usual.

Upon the whole, however, the question may be not unfairly said to remain open in the present state of criticism. Conclusions meanwhile, in favour of its authenticity, can hardly fail to be tentative on the score either of the literary connections, or of the style, or of the speculative developments[1] in the theology of the writing. No argument, I confess, seems totally decisive, and it is with less confidence and less agreement of scholars than in the case of almost any other NT document, that Ephesians has been reluctantly left in this edition between 60 and 65 A.D. All that can be safely said is that this date is rendered somewhat more credible when the letter can be placed between Colossians and Philippians in a group of fairly cognate writings; more credible still, if 1 Peter can be subsequently dated in the seventh decade as well. Unfortunately the last-named argument is circular, for 1 Peter in its turn has a certain dependence in conception and diction upon Ephesians. Indeed, to determine the relationship and priority of writings such as these, forms the differential calculus of NT criticism.[2]

The meagreness (4^{21} 3^{2}) of the personal references—apart altogether from the bad attestation, both in tradition and MSS (*WH*, ii. pp. 123, 124) of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (1^{1})—forbids the theory that the writing was destined exclusively[3] for Ephesus. No letter written with that church in view could have lacked intimate and affectionate allusions to some of the Ephesian Christians.[4] Unless the writing, therefore, is post-Pauline, the most plausible alternative is to suppose that it was composed for the Christian communities of the Lycus valley, with whom Paul was in communication through Tychicus and Epaphras. Ephesus, as the chief city of the province, and subsequently a leading seat of Christianity, either received the letter first of all (like 1 Cor, 1 Co 1^{2}), or else became its final depository. Either supposition would explain the fact of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ occurring in one or two MSS. Probably in the original draft a blank was left,[5] in order

[1] The culmination of Paul's previous teaching (Chrysostom, ἃ γὰρ μηδαμοῦ σχεδὸν ἐφθέγξατο, ταῦτα ἐνταῦθα φήσιν) might possibly be explained by the fact that Paul here unfolds the σοφία (1 Co 2^{6}), either as the result of his own growth and experience, or because he considered the readers of the letter were sufficiently mature (τελεία) to be made depositaries of this higher wisdom (so most recently Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 138, 139).

[2] A similar problem, involving equally delicate questions of literary criticism, is the relation between 4th Esdras and Apoc. Baruch.

[3] Haupt recently disbelieves it was meant for Ephesus at all, as Paul would never have let an epistle go to that city without some warmer greeting. He conjectures that the epistle was written for some churches unknown to Paul, but that, as Tychicus its bearer belonged to Asia (Ac 20^{4}), he naturally passed through Ephesus on his way, and left there a copy of the letter. This copy became the source of most of the MSS., owing to the central position and influence of Ephesus, in whose archives it was preserved. Zahn regards Ephesians as addressed to the collective churches of Asia Minor, who were personally unknown to Paul (excluding Ephesus and Troas), identifying it, like Lightfoot and Adeney, with the Laodicean epistle (Col 4^{16}).

[4] The absence of greetings corroborates this, for though they are also lacking in Thessalonians and Galatians, these epistles contain—as Ephesians does not—personal allusions in the body of their contents. The old theory of Marcion, that our Ephesians was the Laodicean epistle (Col 4^{16}), was probably a guess thrown out to solve a riddle which had already, like several other literary questions, become mysterious to the post-apostolic age. It is just another indication of how early tradition lost hold of the facts, and how unreliable even the best second-century information about the early Christian literature may often be.

[5] After τοῖς οὖσιν (1^{1}) the name of a place must be understood. All other interpretations are forced and exaggerated (Oltramare, ii. p. 57 f.).

that the name of the church might be filled in. Had the name of any of the churches originally addressed been inserted by Paul, it is impossible to see how some trace of it would not have been preserved in one or other of the MSS. Further, the likelihood that Paul would have adopted this general method of instruction is increased by the traces (Ro 1^{14}, 2 Co 11^{28}) of what may be called, in an honest sense of the word, his "catholic" interest in the churches, particularly when these happened to belong to his favourite sphere in Asia Minor.

At the same time this theory cannot be described as perfectly convincing. At best it is to be taken as a provisional hypothesis, which, in the absence of a better gives a coherent explanation of the critical and literary phenomena in question, when these have to be related to Paul and to his age.

EPHESIANS

Time and place are indeed by no means unimportant in determining what is to be written, but they are more in the distance than before. Now for the first time St. Paul is free, as it were, to pour forth his own thoughts in a positive form, instead of carrying on an argument, and therefore being hampered by its necessary limitations: and this great change could not but greatly affect his style. . . . The lofty calm which undeniably does pervade it may in part be due to the mellowing effect of years, but doubtless much more to the sense of dangers surmounted, aspirations satisfied, and a vantage-ground gained for the world-wide harmonious action of the Christian community under the government of God. But, though the vehement words of the earlier contests have subsided, many parts of the epistle glow with a steady white heat. . . . This idea of the unity of Christians as forming a single society with Christ for its invisible Head, which in its different forms dominates the whole epistle, was the natural outflow of the apostle's mind at this time, as determined by the course of outward and inward history on the basis of his primary faith. It needed to be set forth for the completion of his gospel. On the other hand, it was equally needed for the instruction of the no longer infant churches of Western Asia Minor, in whom the Greek spirit of separateness and independence was doubtless working with dangerous vigour.—**Hort.**

$1^{1.\ 2}$ Greeting.

1^{3-14} Thanksgiving for the blessing of God's choice (6^{a}, *εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ*) and purpose in Jesus Christ (12^{a}, *εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ*), already experienced through the Spirit (14^{c}, *εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*).

1^{15}–3^{21} **Dogmatic:** prayer for knowledge of God's power as exhibited in

1^{18-23} Christ—his exaltation and authority:

2^{1-10} the individual experience—of forgiveness and renewal:

2^{11-22} humanity—the common Peace produced through Christ Jesus for Gentile and Jew.

3^{1-13} Paul, the apostle of this gospel—

3^{14-21} his prayer for his readers—the fulness of God's life.

4^{1}–6^{20} **Ethical:** a call to Christian unity in the common life of Christ:

4^{17-24} a call to the new life as contrasted with the old:

4^{25}–5^{21} maxims and motives:

5^{22}–6^{9} a code of household ethics: husband and wife, child and parent, slave and master.

6^{10-20} obstacles and aids to Christian virtue.

$6^{21.\ 22}$ Personal.

$6^{23.\ 24}$ Farewell.

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1 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus, through the will of God,
to the saints who are[1] . . . to the faithful in Christ Jesus:
2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has
blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly regions in Christ,
4 since he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world that we
5 should be holy and faultless before him, by fore-appointing us in love to
6 his sonship through Jesus Christ, in virtue of the pleasure of his will, to
the praise of the majesty of his grace, with which he has highly favoured
7 us in the beloved: in whom we have the redemption through his blood
8 —the remission of trespasses—thanks to the riches of his grace which he
9 has bestowed amply on us in all wisdom and thoughtfulness, by displaying to us the secret of his will, in virtue of his design, with which he
10 was pleased to carry out in him a dispensation in the fulness of the times
for the gathering up of all things under one head in the Christ, the
11 things in the heavens and the things on the earth: in him, in whom
also we have had an inheritance allotted us as those who have been fore-
appointed according to the purpose of him who works everything accord-
12 ing to the counsel of his will, that we should be to the praise of his
13 majesty, we who had hoped beforehand in the Christ; in whom you also,
upon learning the word of the truth, the gospel of your salvation—in
whom you also believed and were sealed with the promised spirit of holi-
14 ness, which is the pledge and instalment of our inheritance, for the
redemption that gives actual possession, to the praise of his majesty.
15 For this reason, on hearing of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your
16 love for all the saints, I also have not ceased to give thanks for you,
17 as I make mention of you in my prayers, praying that the God of our Lord
Jesus Christ—the Father of majesty—may give you a spirit of wisdom
18 and revelation in the full knowledge of him: with light for the eyes of
your heart, that you may know what is the hope of his calling, what
19 is the riches of the majesty of his *inheritance in the saints*, and what is the
surpassing greatness of his power for us who believe, in virtue of the
20 force of the might of his strength which he has wrought in the Christ by
raising him from the dead and *seating* him *at his right hand* in the
21 heavenly regions, high above all rule and authority and power and lord-
ship and every name named not only in this age but also in that which is
22 to come—and *he has made all things subject under his feet*, and given him
23 to the Community as head over all, to the Community which is his
2 1 body, the fulness of him who is filling all in all. And as for you, you
2 were dead with your trespasses and sins, in which at one time you walked
according to the course of the present age, according to the ruler of the

[1] Omitting [[ἐν Ἐφέσῳ]].

power of the air, of the spirit that is now active among the sons of dis-
3 obedience (among whom also at one time we all conducted ourselves in
the lusts of our flesh, following the inclinations of flesh and thoughts,
4 and were by nature children of wrath like the rest also)—but God,
who is rich in mercy, for his great love with which he loved us, dead
5 even as we were with our trespasses, made us live together with the
6 Christ (it is by grace that you are saved), and raised us with him and
7 seated us with him in the heavenly regions in Christ Jesus, that in the
future ages he might show the surpassing riches of his grace in kindness
8 towards us in Christ Jesus. For it is by grace that you are saved
9 through faith—and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not a
10 matter of deeds, lest any one should exult. For we are his workman-
ship, created in Christ Jesus for good deeds, which God has made ready
beforehand for us to walk therein.

11 Wherefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh—
called "Uncircumcision" by the so-called "Circumcision," which is a mere
thing in the flesh—

12 remember that you were at that time apart from Christ,
aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the cove-
nants of promise,
with no hope and with no God in the world.

13 But now in Christ Jesus you who were at one time *far away* have been
brought *near* by the blood of the Christ.

14 For he is our *peace*,
He who made both parties one by breaking down the barrier of the
wall between,

15 Who abolished in his flesh the enmity (that is, the law of command-
ments which consisted of statutes),
That he might make peace by creating in himself out of the two
one new man,

16 And that he might reconcile them both in one body to God through
the cross,
By slaying the enmity in himself[1];

17 And he came and *preached the gospel of peace* to you *who were far off, and*
peace to those who were near,

18 For through him we both have our access in one Spirit to the
Father.

19 Well then, you are no longer strangers and sojourners;
You are fellow-citizens with the saints, you are members of God's
household,

20 Built up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets with Christ
Jesus himself as *the chief corner stone*,

21 In whom all the building is closely framed together and grows to be a
holy sanctuary in the Lord,

22 In whom you also are being built together for a dwelling of God in
the Spirit.

3 1 On this account I Paul, the prisoner of the Christ[2] for you Gentiles—
2 seeing that you have indeed heard of the stewardship of the grace of God
3 granted me for you, namely, that the secret has been made known to me
4 by revelation; even as I have written already in a few words, on reading
5 which you can understand my intelligence in the secret of Christ (which
in other generations was not displayed to the sons of men as it has now
6 been revealed to his [holy] apostles and prophets in the Spirit), namely,

[1] Reading αὐτῷ. [2] Omitting Ἰησοῦ.

that the Gentiles are heirs together and in the same body together and
partakers together of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel,
7 of which I was made a minister by the free gift of God's grace which he
8 granted me in virtue of the force of his power. To me, the least of all
saints, was this favour granted, that I should preach to the Gentiles the
9 gospel of the unsearchable riches of the Christ, and enlighten them on
what is the dispensation of the secret which has been hidden from the
10 ages in God who created all, in order that the most manifold wisdom of
God might now be displayed through the Community to the principalities
11 and powers in the heavenly regions, according to the purpose of the ages
12 which he executed in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have our con-
13 fidence and access with perfect trust through faith in him. Therefore I
ask you not to lose heart over the distresses that I suffer on your behalf
14 —for these redound to your credit. On this account I bow my
15 knees to the Father from whom every family in heaven and on earth is
16 named, that through the riches of his majesty he may grant you to be
17 made strong with power through his Spirit in the inner man, that the
Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, so that fixed and founded
18 in love you may be well able to comprehend with all the saints what is
19 the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of
Christ which surpasses knowledge, so that you may be filled up to all the
20 fulness of God. Now to him who is able to do far beyond all
that we ask or understand, in virtue of the power which is at work in
21 us, to him be the honour in the Community and in Christ Jesus to all
generations for evermore: Amen.

4 1 I appeal to you then, I the prisoner in the Lord, walk worthily of
2 the calling with which you were called, with all humility and gentleness,
3 with longsuffering, bearing with one another in love, endeavouring
eagerly to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.
4 One body and one Spirit
(as also you were called in one hope of your calling);
5 one Lord, one faith, one baptism;
6 one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all.
7 Now to each one of us grace was granted according to the measure of the
8 free gift of the Christ. Therefore it is said,

After going up on high, he led captives captive:
He[1] *gave gifts to men.*

9 Now what does the word *he went up* mean, except this: that he also
10 descended into the lower regions of the earth? He who descended is the
same as he who *went up* high above all the heavens, that he might fill all
11 things. And he gave some as apostles, others as prophets, others as evan-
12 gelists, others as shepherds and teachers, with the object of fitting the
13 saints for the work of ministering, that is, for building the body of the
Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the full know-
ledge of the Son of God, to full-grown manhood, to the ripe maturity of
14 the fulness of the Christ: that we may no longer be children, tossed and
swept about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men, by crafti-
15 ness which works by error's artifice—but that, holding to the truth, we
may by love grow up in all points into him who is the head, even Christ,
16 from whom all the body, closely bound and knit together through every
joint with which it is supplied, according to the proportion and exercise of
each separate part, carries on its growth as a body to upbuild itself by love.
17 I say this then and charge you in the Lord, no longer walk even

[1] Omitting [[καὶ]].

18 as the Gentiles also walk with their mind befooled, darkened in their
understanding, aliens to the life of God, owing to the ignorance that is in
19 them on account of the hardening of their heart—men who in callous
indifference have given themselves up to sensuality, to traffic covetously in
20, 21 all impurity. But you, you have not thus studied the Christ—since you
have indeed been taught him and have been instructed in him (even as
22 he truly [1] is in Jesus) to put away, as regards your former conduct, the
23 old man whom the lusts of deceit destroy: to revive yourselves in the
24 spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man created after God's like-
25 ness in uprightness and holiness of truth. Wherefore put
away falsehood and *speak the truth each of you with his neighbour;* for we
26 are members one of another. *Be angry, yet sin not:* let not the sun set
27, 28 upon your rage, and give the devil no chance. Let the thief no longer
steal; rather let him labour with his [2] hands at honest work, that he may
29 have something to give to the needy. Let no foul speech issue from your
mouth, but only such as is good for improving the occasion, that it may
30 bring profit to the hearers. And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, with
31 whom you were sealed for the day of redemption. Let all bitterness and
passion and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with
32 all malice. And show yourselves kind to one another, compassionate,
5 1 forgiving each other even as God also in Christ forgave you. Be, then,
2 imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love, even as Christ
also loved us and gave himself up for us as an *offering and sacrifice* to God
3 *for an odour of fragrance.* But as for fornication and all impurity
or covetousness, never let them be so much as named among you (even
4 as is becoming for saints), no, nor indecency and silly talk or ribaldry
5 (which are discreditable), but rather thanksgiving. For know and under-
stand that no one who is a fornicator or impure or covetous—that is, an
idolater—has any inheritance in the reign of the Christ and God.
6 Let no man deceive you with vain words: it is for these things that the
wrath of God comes upon the sons of disobedience. Be not therefore of
7, 8 their company; for while once you were darkness, now you are light in
9 the Lord. Walk as children of light—for the fruit of the light consists in
10 all goodness and uprightness and integrity—testing what is well-pleasing
11 to the Lord; and have no part in the unfruitful deeds of the darkness,
on the contrary expose them. For it is disgraceful even to mention the
12, 13 things they do in secret, but when all these are exposed by the light they
14 are disclosed, for everything that discloses is light. Therefore it is said,

"Sleeper, awake
And rise from the dead,
And the Christ shall shine upon thee!"

15 Be careful then how you walk, not like unwise people but like wise:
16, 17 making the very most of your time, because the days are evil. So do not
18 be senseless, but understand what is the will of the Lord. And do not
get drunk with wine—that means profligacy—but be filled with the
19 Spirit, speaking to each other in spiritual psalms and hymns and songs,
20 singing and praising the Lord in your heart, giving thanks at all times
for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the God and Father.
21, 22 Be subject to one another in the fear of Christ. Wives, be sub-
23 ject to your own husbands as to the Lord; because the husband is head
of the wife, even as the Christ also is head of the Community—he is the
24 saviour of the Body. Yes, as the Community is subject to the Christ, so
25 also let wives be to their husbands in everything. Husbands,

[1] Reading ἀληθείᾳ. [2] Omitting [[ἰδίαις]].

love your wives, even as the Christ also loved the Community and gave
26 himself up for her, to sanctify her by the word—cleansing her with the
27 bath of water—to present the Community in splendour to himself with
never a spot or wrinkle or any such flaw, but that she might be holy and
28 faultless. So ought husbands [1] to love their own wives as being their own
29 bodies. He who loves his own wife loves himself. For no one ever hated
his own flesh: nay, it is nourished and cherished by him, even as is the Com-
30, 31 munity also by the Christ—for we are members of his body. *Instead, a man shall leave his father and his mother and join himself fast to his wife,*
32 *and the two shall become one flesh.* This symbol is great: but I interpret it
33 of Christ and the Community. At any rate with you, let each individual
love his own wife as being himself; and as for the wife—let her see
6 1 that she reverence her husband. Children, obey your parents in
2 the Lord, for this is right. *Honour thy father and mother* (it is the chief
3 commandment with a promise) *that it may be well with thee; and thou*
4 *shalt live long on the earth.* And, fathers, do not enrage your
children, but nurture them in *the discipline* and *admonition of the Lord.*
5 Slaves, be obedient to those who are your masters after the
flesh with fear and trembling, with singleness in your heart, as to the
6 Christ: not by way of eyeservice like those who court human favour, but
7 as slaves of Christ obeying the will of God right heartily, rendering
8 service with goodwill as to the Lord and not to men; since you know
that each shall be paid back from the Lord for whatever good he does,
9 whether he be slave or free man. And you masters, act in the same
way to them and refrain from threats; since you know that their Master
and yours is in heaven, and with him there is no respect of persons.
10 In future, be strong in the Lord and in the might of his strength.
11 Put on the full armour of God so that you may be able to stand against
12 the artifices of the devil. For ours is no wrestling against blood and
flesh! It is against the principalities, against the powers, against the
world-princes of this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil
13 in the heavenly regions. Therefore take to yourselves the full armour of
God, that on the evil day you may be able to withstand, and, after all
14 has been accomplished, to stand. Stand then, *girt with truth upon your*
15 *loins*, and *clad with uprightness as your coat of mail*, and your *feet* shod *with*
16 *the firm footing of the gospel of peace*, in all things taking to yourselves the
shield of faith, wherewith you shall be able to quench the fiery darts of
17 the evil one; take also *the helmet of salvation*, and *the sword of the Spirit*
18 (that is, *God's word*), praying at every season with all prayer and entreaty
in the Spirit, and attending to that with all constancy and entreaty for all
19 the saints—and on my behalf, that I may have speech given me as often
as I open my mouth to make known with confidence the secret of the
20 gospel for which I am an envoy in chains, that therein I may have con-
fidence to declare it as I should.
21 Now, that you also may know my affairs and how I am, Tychicus the
beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord shall give you all
22 information; I am sending him to you for this very purpose, that you
may know how we are and that he may encourage your hearts.
23 Peace be to the brothers, and love with faith, from God the Father
24 and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all whose love to our Lord Jesus
Christ is love imperishable.

[1] Omitting [[*καί*]].

PHILIPPIANS

The epistle to the Philippians has been aptly called "the love-letter" of the Pauline epistles. The love of the Philippians for their apostle shows itself practically in the gift for which Paul sends his thanks in this epistle, and the epistle itself breathes from first to last the warmest love for this congregation, which of all the congregations he had founded lay nearest to his heart. Written from the heart, the letter bears no didactic character. Even the few theological excursuses, which are introduced here and there, upon the person of Christ and justification, serve practical ends. At the same time we get painted for us the outward situation of the apostle during his last days, imprisoned, forsaken, distressed; and we are enabled to learn the moods and feelings which moved him as he came close to death. The soft, charitable tone of the apostle's judgment even upon his Judaistic opponents is to be easily explained by his mood at the moment; and at such a crisis in his life the invitation to rejoice, which again and again he issues to his Philippians, comes with a specially affecting power. As an expression of the apostle's final counsels and warnings, his final wishes and prayers, his final hopes and fears, the letter may be described as the testament which he left to his best-loved congregation.—**Lipsius.**

$1^{1,2}$ **Greeting.**

1^{3-11} **Thanksgiving and prayer:**
for present attainments and
future advance in the Christian faith
and life.

1^{12-26} **Personal:** The situation of Paul in Rome: prospects of the gospel there.
His confidence and desire.

1^{27}-2^{18} **Appeal and counsel:** For unity through humility:
The example and imitation of Christ—
Paul's aid and anxiety.

2^{19}-3^{1} **Personal:** His own movements.
The mission of Timotheus in the future.
The mission of Epaphroditus in the past.

3^{2}-4^{1} **A Warning:** against errorists of Judaism:
his own experience and example:
a résumé.

4^{2-9} **Appeal and counsel:** to unity,
joy,
moral effort.

4^{10-20} **Thanksgiving:** for gift from Philippi.

4^{21-23} **Farewell.**

PHILIPPIANS

1 1 Paul and Timotheus, slaves of Christ Jesus,
to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are in Philippi, with the overseers and ministers:
2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
3, 4 I thank my God whenever I remember you—as in every prayer of
5 mine I always offer prayer for you all with joy—for your fellowship as
6 regards the gospel from the first day up to the present, confident as I am of this very thing, that he who began a good work in you will finish
7 it, up to the day of Jesus Christ. It is right for me to have these thoughts on behalf of you all, because I carry you in my heart—you who are all partakers of my grace, both in my imprisonment and in the
8 defence and confirmation of the gospel. For God is my witness, how I
9 long for you all with the affection of Christ Jesus. And my prayer is this, that your love may excel more and more in full knowledge and all
10 moral perception, that you may prize the things that transcend, so as to
11 be sincere and void of offence in view of the day of Christ, filled with the fruit of uprightness which is through Jesus Christ to the honour and praise of God.
12 Now, brothers, I would have you understand, that my affairs have
13 really tended to the progress of the gospel; the result being that throughout the whole Court of Appeal and everywhere else, my imprisonment
14 has been recognised to be the imprisonment of a Christian; and further, my imprisonment has given confidence to the greater number of the brothers in the Lord, who wax more and more bold in speaking the word
15 of God fearlessly. Some indeed are preaching Christ even out of envy
16 and quarrelsomeness, and some also out of good will. The latter proclaim Christ from love, as they know that I am destined to defend the
17 gospel; the former from factiousness, from no pure motive, thinking to
18 cause me distress as well as imprisonment. What does it matter? at all events, in every way, be it in pretext or in honesty, Christ is being
19 proclaimed; and in this I rejoice. Yes, and I shall rejoice; for I know that all *this will result in my deliverance* through your prayer and the
20 supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, as I eagerly anticipate and hope that I shall be put to shame in nothing, but that with all confidence now as ever Christ will be magnified in my body, either by life or
21, 22 by death. For to me life is Christ and death is gain. Yet if life in the flesh—if that means fruitful work for me, then I cannot tell which to
23 prefer. I am in a dilemma between two courses: I have the desire
24 to depart and be with Christ, for that is far far better; however, to stay
25 on in the flesh is more needful on your account. So, persuaded of this, I know that I shall remain and live on with you all for your progress and
26 joy in the faith; that through me you may have abundant reason for
27 exulting in Christ Jesus, over my return to you. Only, conduct

yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ, so that whether I
come and see you or am absent, I may hear of your affairs, that you are
standing firm in one spirit, striving together with one soul for the faith of
28 the gospel, and not scared in anything by your adversaries: such fearlessness
is a proof to them of perdition, but to you of salvation, and salvation too
29 from God; because you have had this grace given you on behalf of Christ,
30 not only to believe on him but also to suffer on his behalf—while you
wage the very contest that, as once you saw and now you hear, I wage.
2 1 I pray you then, by every exhortation in Christ, by every incentive of
love, by any participation in the Spirit, by all affection and tender mercies,
2 complete my joy and be of the same mind, with the same love, with one
3 soul and one mind: do nothing by way of faction or empty pride, but
4 in humility let each consider the other better than himself, consulting
not your own interests, but also those of each other.
5 Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus—
6 Who though existing in the form of God, considered not equality with
God a prize to be seized,
7 But emptied himself by taking the form of a slave:
8 Born in the likeness of men, and found in fashion like a man
He humbled himself in obedience as far as death, even the death of
the cross.
9 Therefore God also lifted him on high
And bestowed on him a name above every name,
10 That at the name of Jesus *every knee should bow*
In heaven and on earth and under the earth,
11 *And every tongue confess* that "Jesus is Lord"—to the honour of *God* the
Father.
12 So then, my beloved, even as you have always been obedient, not as when
I am present merely, but much more now when I am absent, work out
13 with fear and trembling your own salvation; for it is God who renders
14 both will and deed effective in you, for his own good pleasure. Do
15 all without murmurs and disputes; that you may be blameless and
guileless, *the children of God, faultless* in the midst of *a generation crooked
and perverse*, among whom you appear like luminaries in the world:
16 holding fast the word of life, that I may have reason to exult in the day
17 of Christ that I did not run in vain or *labour in vain*. Yes, although I
have my blood poured out on the sacrifice and sacred service of your
18 faith, I rejoice for myself and rejoice with you all; even so do you
rejoice and rejoice with me.
19 But I hope in the Lord Jesus soon to send you Timotheus, that I also
20 may be of good courage when I learn of your affairs. For I have no man
with a soul like his, who will have a genuine concern for your affairs;
21 one and all are seeking their own interests, not the interests of Jesus
22 Christ. But you know his tried character, how he served with me in the
23 gospel, like a child with his father. I hope then to send him directly, so
24 soon as I see how my own affairs turn out; but I am confident in the
25 Lord that before long I shall also come myself. And I consider it needful
to send you Epaphroditus, who is my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-
26 soldier, as well as your messenger and minister to my need; for he was
longing for you all and sorely troubled because you had heard that he
27 was ill—and ill he was indeed, nearly to death; but God had pity on
him, and not merely on him, but also on me, lest I should have sorrow
28 upon sorrow. I send him then all the more eagerly, that you may rejoice
29 once more at seeing him, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Receive

30 him in the Lord then with all joy, and value men like him; because for
the work of Christ he came near to death, hazarding his life to make up
for the lack of your ministry towards me.
3 1 Well then, my brothers, rejoice in the Lord. To write you the same
2 things is not irksome to me, and it is prudent for you.—Beware of
3 the dogs! Beware of the wicked workers! Beware of the Incision. For
we are the Circumcision, we who worship with the Spirit of God and exult
4 in Christ Jesus, and put no reliance in the flesh. Though I myself also
possess ground for relying on the flesh. If any one else presumes to put
5 reliance on the flesh, far more can I!—circumcised on the eighth day,
belonging to the race of Israel, to the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born
6 of Hebrews, as regards the law a Pharisee, as regards zeal a persecutor of
the Community, as regards the uprightness of the law proved blameless.
7, 8 But what was gain to me, this I have for Christ considered loss. Yes
indeed, and I consider everything to be loss for the sake of the surpassing
knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. For him I forfeited everything, and
9 consider it as mere refuse, that I may gain Christ and be found in him
(possessing not the uprightness which is from the law as my uprightness,
but that which comes through faith in Christ, the uprightness which
10 faith has from God), so as to know him—know the power of his resurrec-
tion and what it is to participate in his sufferings, being conformed to
11 his death, if so be that I may attain to the resurrection from the dead.
12 Not that I have obtained it already, or that already I am perfected; nay
I press on to try and overtake it, seeing that I myself have been over-
13 taken by Christ Jesus. Brothers, I do not[1] reckon myself to have over-
taken it. But one thing I do: forgetting what lies behind and stretching
14 forward to what lies before, I press on to the goal for the prize of the
15 high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Let all of us therefore who are
perfect be of this mind; and if you differ in mind upon any matter, God
16 shall reveal that also to you. At any rate, so far as we have attained, let
17 us walk in the same steps. Brothers, unite in imitating me, and
18 mark those who walk even as you have us for a pattern. For many are
walking—of whom I often used to tell you and tell you now with tears,
19 that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: perdition is their fate, the
belly their god, in their shame they glory, men whose mind is set on earthly
20 things. It is in heaven our commonwealth exists; and from heaven we
21 wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion the body that
belongs to our humiliation till it is like the body that belongs to his
majesty, in virtue of the force with which he is also able to subject every-
thing to himself.
4 1 So then, my brothers, beloved and longed for, my joy and wreath,
2 stand thus firm in the Lord, beloved. I appeal to Euôdia and I
3 appeal to Syntychê to be of the same mind in the Lord. Also I pray
thee, true Syzygus, assist these women; for they strove by my side
in the service of the gospel, together with Clement and the rest of my
4 fellow-workers, whose names are in *the book of life*. Rejoice in the Lord
5 always. Again I will say it, rejoice. Let your forbearance be known to
6 all men. The Lord is near. Be anxious about nothing, but in everything
by prayer and entreaty together with thanksgiving let your requests be
7 made known before God; so shall the peace of God which surpasses all con-
ception guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.
8 Well then, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is serious, whatever is
just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is courteous, all

[1] Reading οὐ.

9 excellence, all merit, keep these in mind! Practise what you have also
learned and received and heard and seen in me; so shall the God of peace
be with you.
10 It was a great joy to me in the Lord that you at last blossomed out in
thoughtfulness on my behalf; though what you did lack indeed was not
11 thoughtfulness but opportunity. Not that I speak on the score of want;
For I have learnt to be content with my position.
12 I know how to live in straits,
I know also how to live in wealth:
In each and every case I hold the secret
of fulness and of hunger,
of wealth and of want.
13 I am able for anything, in him who strengthens me.
14 Nevertheless, you have done well to make common cause with me in my
15 hardship. You yourselves are aware, Philippians, that in the beginning of
the gospel when I left Macedonia no Community had dealings with me in
16 the matter of debit and credit, none except yourselves; for even when I
17 was in Thessalonika you sent once and again to relieve my need. Not that
18 I crave the gift; I crave the accumulation of interest to your account. I
have got everything, and I abound; I am fully supplied, after receiving from
Epaphroditus what you sent, *an odour of fragrance*, an acceptable sacrifice
19 well-pleasing to God. And my God shall fully supply every need of
yours through his riches in majesty in Christ Jesus.
20 Now to our God and Father be the honour for ever and ever: Amen.

21 Salute every saint in Christ Jesus.
The brothers who are with me salute you.
22 All the saints salute you, especially those who belong to Caesar's
household.

23 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

Two tides of fire swept through the Christian world of the first century: the outburst of Nero's malevolence and the persecution under Domitian. Up to the time of the former, the capital enemy of Christianity had been the Jew, not Caesar. But the punishment of the Christians (64 A.D.) as scapegoats for the Emperor first introduced persecution to the Christian horizon, which had hitherto (Phil $1^{12\,f.}$ = Ac 28^{31}) been comparatively unclouded. The agitation and shock produced by this forms the background of 1 Peter. Evidently sporadic and spasmodic persecution (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, 5^{9}) was going on in the provinces upon the charge of the Name.[1] The Christians *quâ* Christian were liable to be sought out and punished. Ripples had passed out from the capital,[2] where Peter wrote, to the Asiatic provinces, and recently affected the position of Christians in those localities. Consequently the purport of this message to Northern Asia is practically the same as the instruction and encouragement given nearly twenty years earlier, perhaps, by Paul and Barnabas to Southern Asia: ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ (Ac 14^{22}). Only, the situation is graver. Possibly it was aggravated by the local restlessness and turbulence, *e.g.* in the province of Bithynia during its senatorial administration between 27 B.C. and the despatch of Pliny in 112 A.D. to execute necessary reforms. In these years disorganisation and riot were a common feature of the province, so that references such as those made in 1 Peter to social interference are historically credible by the seventh decade of the first century. There is not, indeed, any reason "why Asia Minor should not have had persecutions of its own, independent of any known persecution bearing an Emperor's name, and perhaps even a little earlier than Nero's persecution" (Hort). At the

[1] This is a weighty and disputed point. On the view taken above, persecution and punishment for the "name" of Christian commenced as early as the seventh decade of the first century. Even under Nero it became criminal to be a Christian. This is practically Mommsen's position, supported by Mr. E. G. Hardy (*Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 1894, pp. 70 f., 80 f., 125 f.), Prof. Sanday (*Exp.*[4] vii. p. 405 f.), and those editors who accept the seventh-decade date and authenticity of the writing. A casual remark like that in Phil 1^{13} shows that the distinctiveness of Christianity was not unrecognised in Rome even as early as the opening of the seventh decade. This is put with much force by Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 784 f.), whose article on the epistle is the finest piece of work upon it in any language. He adopts the pre-64 date.

[2] The figurative sense of "Babylon" suits excellently the situation and the semi-apocalyptic tinge of the writing ($3^{14\text{-}22}$ $4^{7\,f.}$ $^{12\text{-}19}$ $5^{8\,f.}$). It is widely accepted in modern criticism: cp. Renan, *l'Antéchrist*, chap. v.; Seufert, *ZwTh* (1885), pp. 146–156; Salmon, *INT*, p. 440 f.; Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 491 f.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* (1885), p. 97; Hort, *Jud. Christ.* p. 155; von Soden, *HC*, *ad loc.*; Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 132; Ramsay, *CRE*, pp. 286, 287; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," *ICC*, p. xxix.; McGiffert, *AA*, p. 598; Chase, *DB*, i. pp. 213, 214; and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 19–21), with many others.

On the *flagitia* of Christians, cp. the English summaries and discussions in *Church Quart. Review* (Oct. 1895), pp. 26–47; F. C. Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*[2] (1896), pp. 282–288; and Lecky, *Hist. Europ. Morals*, chap. iii.

same time it is from Nero's persecution that the writer at any rate drew the intensity of his counsels. The writing certainly looks back to a period of keen terror and distress (1^6 3^{16} 4^{19} 5^9), which had not long begun (cp. the almost contemporary evidence of Mk 13^{9-11}, and the allusions to the past in Heb $10^{32.\ 33}$).

After the crisis and controversy at Antioch, Peter's career is only to be traced with dim and approximate accuracy. Like John, he had left Jerusalem by the time of Paul's last visit (Ac 21^{18}). General activity (1 Co 9^5) is visible in Syria and possibly in those parts of Asia Minor where, as he travelled and preached, he would not traverse the Pauline mission-field (1 P 1^1). But several items in the later tradition (*e.g.* Clem. Rom. and Ignatius) point with comparative certainty to a final residence in Rome; which is only possible after Paul had either left the city or died. That both apostles were there together is simply unprovable. External circumstances, then, imply, or at least favour, a connection and familiarity on Peter's part with Paul's teaching, and an acquaintance with Paul's surviving followers. Whether this involves an approximation in doctrine is another question. In the dispute at Antioch, Peter's fault was not a difference of principle (Harman, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* xvi. pp. 31–39). He and Paul shared[1] the same general conception of the gospel and its obligations. But he failed in practical consistency, and in loyalty to the principles upon which he had already agreed. His error was a false opportunism. If in subsequent years, after this temporary aberration had passed, Peter came under the impressiveness of the Pauline teaching, especially during his residence in Rome, that influence would half unconsciously and vaguely colour his thoughts[2] and words when he set himself to write a letter of encouragement to the tried Christians of Northern Asia Minor (figuratively addressed as God's people and chosen ones 1^1),[3] with whom, however, there is no trace either inside

[1] Cp. Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 77–79. The evidence of 1 Corinthians (*e.g.* 15^{11}) corroborates the supposition that there was no vital antagonism of principle between Paul and Peter. A *rapprochement* was not out of the question, when Peter's "gospel" and Paul's were not contradictory views, but in the main complementary delimitations (Gal 2^{7-9}; cp. Sabatier, pp. 28–31, and Lipsius *ad loc.*). Of the two men, Peter—so far as we can judge from our sources—was distinctly the more receptive and less original. Renan, in his discussion of the epistle (*L'Antéchrist*, chap. v.), demurs to the conception of Peter as an exponent of modified Paulinism. He prefers to explain the relation of the two men by Peter's scanty gift for literature and even for speculation: "happily for himself, Peter appears to have remained all through his life a theologian of very moderate ability." The epistle, however, is no compilation or echo, for all its dependence upon other and earlier writings; and Renan is on safer lines when, in an earlier chapter of the same volume, he calls attention to two considerations which are essential for a grasp of the apostolic age. One is that "deep differences of opinion (deeper indeed than any that, in the subsequent history of the church, gave rise to schism) divided the founders of Christianity," leading to a bitterness of polemic which was partly due to the fire and susceptibility of the Jewish character. The other is, that "a higher conception united these brother-opponents, even during their lifetime"—anticipating the later and official reconciliation made by the sub-apostolic church. Wernle (*Die Synoptische Frage*, p. 199 f.) very similarly lays stress on Peter's untheological temperament as the key to his character.

[2] The soteriology, no less than the Christology, "is in the spontaneous rather than the articulated stage" (Fairbairn, *Christ. Mod. Theol.* p. 330). The author "has no philosophy as to the vocation or institutions of Israel; he has only the most vivid intuition, born of personal experience, into the significance of Christ."

[3] On 1^1 2^{11} see the beautiful saying in *Ep. Diognetus*: πᾶσα ξένη πατρὶς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη. For the colloquial use of πληθυσθείη and διάσπορα, compare the three letters of R. Gamaliel of Jerusalem (Derenbourg, *Histoire et géogr. de la Palestine*, pp. 241–244), where the greeting εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυσθείη is taken from the

or outside the epistle that he had any direct acquaintance. Paul had died, not Paulinism. *Eripitur persona, manet res.* Yet it was a modified Paulinism, combined with other ideas, and reproduced on more general lines, that spoke through this circular epistle addressed by the Jewish Christian leader to the North Asiatic communities.

The problem of the sources from which the epistle draws its references to Jesus is still unsolved. Either they are due to the evangelic tradition from which the synoptic gospels presently sprang, or simply to the Messianic interpretation of OT passages (like Is 53), which in the early church afforded colours for the picture of Christ's patience, suffering, and redemption. Even if a later date is chosen for the epistle, it is unlikely that it, any more than even Hebrews, draws upon the synoptic gospels in their present form. It is more valid to trace resemblances between the general conception of the epistle and some of the Petrine speeches in Acts, which (as even Holsten, Overbeck, and Schmiedel allow) reflect a nucleus of primitive Christian theology; and there is a convincing statement of the epistle's priority to the Apocalypse, with which it has several features in common, by Usteri, *Wissenschaftlicher u. praktischer Commentar ü. den ersten Petrusbrief* (1887), pp. 309–312.

In addition to the dogmatic question (on which cp. besides Reuss, *Hist. Christ. Theol.* ii. p. 262 f., and Paul Ewald, *Hauptproblem*, pp. 68–75, Ritschl's *Entstehung*,[2] pp. 116, 285), three points are material in a discussion upon the period of this writing's composition: the authorship, the literary connections, and the relations which are implied between the Roman government and Christianity. All these points, it must be confessed at the outset, are unhesitatingly used by the best editors and critics to determine a position for the document which brings it down later than the lifetime of its reputed author. But if the Petrine authorship be provisionally admitted, the date is plainly within the seventh decade of the first century; the letter falls either before 64 A.D., the possible date of Peter's martyrdom upon the newer chronology, or before 67, the commonly adopted year. Two periods then are tenable. That before 64 has been held by Hofmann, Bleek (± 62 A.D.), Bartlet (*AA*, p. 297 f., *c.* 63 A.D.), and Renan (63–64 A.D.), while Zahn puts it in the spring of 64 (*Einl.* ii. pp. 17–27). Salmon dates it not earlier than 64 A.D. Usually, however, a somewhat later period in the apostle's life is assigned as the date of the epistle's composition, with the consequences of the Neronic persecution in the background (Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appelabat = 4[14. 15]). The years 64–67 in this case form the general *locus* of the letter. So the older critics after Ewald and Neander, Mayerhoff, de Wette, Meyer, Sieffert (*Real-Encycl.* xi. (1883), p. 534 f.), and Huther; in this country and more recently, Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, pp. 67–85; Plumptre, *Bible Studies*, p. 450, "Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude," Cambridge, 1887; Schäfer, *Einl.* pp. 319–329; also Bovon, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 440–444; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," *ICC*, pp. lxxiv–lxxvi; Stevens, *NTTh*, pp. 293–311; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 154, 155, also in his posthumous *First Epistle of Peter* (1898); and, with his usual candour, Adeney, *BI*, pp. 440–447. Weiss is practically alone, except for Kühl (Meyer), in putting the epistle prior to Rom.-Ephes. (*Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1858, and in *INT*, ii. pp. 143, 144); the admitted coincidences of language (especially with Ro xii–xiii) and sentiment certainly imply

LXX (Dan 3[98] 6[25] [Theod.]. The Gentile origin of the readers must, particularly since the arguments of von Soden and Zahn, be accepted as an axiom.

its subsequent position (cp. especially at this point, Usteri, *op. cit.* pp. 250–256, 280 f., and Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 36–38) and its literary dependence. The latter point is valid, though it has been frequently over-estimated, cp. Dr. Patrick's article, *Theological Review*, ii. pp. 177–193; and Scharfe, *SK* (1889), iv. pp. 633–670, "Die schriftstellerische Originalität des ersten Petrusbriefs"). The *terminus a quo*, then, for the date is the period in which Romans, if not Ephesians, was composed and circulated. The *terminus ad quem* is the more doubtful date of Peter's death, on the assumption that the writing is authentic.

Professor Ramsay, on the other hand, finds himself compelled by not very obvious historical considerations to regard the imperial procedure found in the second century as initiated not by Nero, nor—as Neumann holds—by Domitian, but by Vespasian; in consequence of this, he dates [1] 1 Peter in the second part of Vespasian's reign (between 75 and 80 A.D.), *CRE*, chaps. xi–xiii; *SPT*, p. 22; *Exp.*[4] viii. pp. 8 f., 110 f., 282 f. This period, he holds, is the only one which adequately corresponds to the policy of the Empire and the consequent attitude of Christianity, as these are reflected in this epistle. For the necessary abandonment of 67 as the traditional *terminus ad quem* of Peter's life, he quotes an *obiter dictum* of Dr. Hort. But there is no need, and hardly any evidence, for the hypothesis that a change took place in the imperial policy under the Flavians. As a rule, the features of that recently started persecution (4^{12}) and hostile pressure upon the Christians, which forms part of the historical situation for this writing, can be interpreted as characteristically Neronic [2] (Beyschlag, *NTTh*, i. pp. 377–382; Allard, *Histoire des Persée.* i. p. 61 f.). "The words of Tacitus [Annal. xv. 44] in regard to the Christians under Nero exactly suit the circumstances to which this epistle refers" (Hatch, *EB*, article "Peter"). While Christianity is evidently within an anxious and agitated situation, besieged by suspicion and prejudice, the compulsory worship of the Emperor, which distinguished the later persecution of Domitian, is conspicuously absent. The unpopularity of Christians might be due partly to their connection with Judaism, partly to the secrecy of their rites and beliefs, partly to social disturbances. The organisation and general shape of the communities, too, are primitive, and there is an absence of definiteness in the official traits, even where it might have been expected. All this points to a date between the Pauline letters and the Apocalypse (or Hebrews). The difficulties of such a position must be admitted. But they are not insuperable. They rise from our limited knowledge of the period in question, rather than from any inherent discrepancies which can be

[1] Similarly Swete (*Mark*, p. xvii. f.) and F. J. Briggs (*CR*, 1897, pp. 449–454). The latter also gives up the traditional martyrdom of Peter under Nero, and thinks that not until 70–75 A.D. could the Roman attitude of hostilities to Christians have spread from the capital to the provinces. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 39–42) endeavours to explain the features of the writing from the pre-Neronic period, *i.e.* apart from the existence of any authoritative persecution, and agrees that the term ἀποδημία (3^{15}) should be taken in a non-technical sense (Col 4^{5} f.). Jacoby (*NT Ethik*, pp. 220–222) fully accepts the traditional date and authorship.

[2] L. Schultze, *Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften*, Band 1, Abth. 2, pp. 106–109. In the Domitianic Apocalypse (6^{10}) and Lk 18^{2-8}, exactly as in 4 Esdras 4^{35}, the cry is, "How long?" The apparent delay of retribution is the question, not (as in 1 P 4^{12}) the approach of trial. The reference in Clem. Rom. to Jewish "jealousy" as the cause of Peter's death might also lead us to infer that the apostle had become an object of suspicion to the Jews during his later life. Would this implied "apostasy" tally with that approximation to the liberal views of Pauline Christianity, which must be assumed upon the traditional view of 1 Peter?

reasonably found between the writing and its contemporary background (Haupt, *SK*, 1895, pp. 390–393).[1] The main points which would make such a position tenable, could they be established, are, (*a*) that Peter survived Paul, and wrote this letter after 64[2]; (*b*) that his Roman residence is historical; (*c*) that as the survivor of the company (Gal 2), he wrote out of his Christian authority to the Gentile Christians[3] of Northern Asia, just as Paul had previously written to the collective churches in the Ephesus district; (*d*) that Peter not only had read and absorbed Romans,—which under the circumstances was highly probable,—but had also access to one of the copies which had been made of Ephesians. That the latter writing (*i.e.* a copy of it) came back to Rome some years after its circulation in Asia, is far from improbable, in view of the close communication between Rome and the Asiatic provinces. At the same time it must be admitted that no case for the authenticity of the writing amounts to much more than a combination of slender probabilities, and in face of the evidence and adherents of the pseudonymous theory, no one can hold even provisionally to the seventh decade date without reluctance and uneasiness.

Giving up the Petrine authorship, the older school (Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Mangold, etc.) fixed the date (cp. Schmiedel, *EWK*, ii. p. 34, 1883, article "Catholic Epistle") in Trajan's reign, *c.* 112 A.D., or slightly later, 113–115, when persecution for the Name was prominent. This favourite position is still held by Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 310–320), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. p. 160), S. Davidson (*INT*, i. pp. 529–563), and W. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 67–80). Similarly Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 654–660), whose arguments, as well as those of Holtzmann, are put aside with

[1] The really difficult points of the seventh decade date are (*a*) the relation of the writing to Rom.-Ephes., and (*b*) the existence of so developed a Christianity north of the Taurus by that time, as Pliny's evidence only carries us back to *c.* 90 A.D. The latter point is not decisive, for the evangelisation of Asia Minor, even during the period of Paul's activity, lies partly in shadow, except for the possible activity of Aquila and Priscilla. The literary connection of 1 Peter with the later Pauline epistle is indubitable, and can hardly be explained apart from the hypothesis of an amanuensis who was familiar with these writings. Peter must in that case have been himself acquainted with the leading Pauline ideas—impregnated in fact with certain phrases and thoughts of his fellow-apostle. (Even Klöpper, though unable to admit that either is genuine, recognises the use of Ephesians in 1 Peter.) He reproduces these freely and in a modified form (cp. his treatment of Christ's sufferings and of man's faith), writing as he does with a practical object in view. Still the epistle requires a historical situation sufficient to admit of "the marriage of true minds" involved in such an attitude to Paulinism, and this is furnished if we suppose that Peter reached Rome early in the seventh decade, a fact which it is becoming more and more difficult to ignore, even under the mass of subsequent traditions. One of the advantages of the "newer chronology" is that it leaves room for this residence of Peter in Rome after the death of Paul.

[2] It is not a crucial objection to this date that the epistle contains none of the definite and poignant allusions which we should expect to the recent Neronic persecution. The references to contemporary hostility are explicit enough for practical purpose—and for safety.

[3] To them the OT predicates of worship and privilege are consistently transferred. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 7, 8) ingeniously turns the difficulty of Peter writing to Gentiles, by the remark that they would feel inspirited and confirmed in the faith by receiving such care and advice from the prominent leader of the circumcision (Gal 2^7). Like several others of Zahn's acute explanations, this smacks of Hofmann. Nor is there any basis for Chase's ingenious hypothesis that Peter was summoned by Paul to Rome to show their unity, and that Silvanus started from Rome to Asia as the messenger of Paul, but also carrying a supplementary letter from Peter.

considerable force by Usteri (*op. cit.* pp. 240–247) and Ramsay (*CRE*, p. 187 ff.). Jülicher, like Cone (*Gospel and its Interpret.* p. 260 f.), considers we cannot go far wrong with the general date 100 c.,[1] and Bousset places 1 Peter with Apoc. 2–3 at the beginning of the second century (in Meyer's *Comm.* "Apoc." p. 284); while von Soden—arguing mainly (after Neumann) from the references to persecution—prefers to come back definitely to Domitian's reign (*JpTh*, 1883, pp. 461–508; *HC*, III. ii. p. 109 f.), like J. Réville (*Les orig. de l'Épiscopat*, i. p. 358 f.), Scholten, and Harnack (in its original form, 83–93 A.D., or possibly even earlier, "Die möglichkeit ist nicht ausgeschlossen, das es schon geraume Zeit vorher verfasst ist"), with Wrede (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 75–85) and McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 482 f., 593 f.). The last-named supposes that the writing was composed by a Paulinist during Domitian's reign, anonymously; it is hardly possible to take seriously his further suggestion that Peter's name was added, not to give it apostolic authority (as Harnack suggests), but simply as "the chance act of an individual scribe," though it is a really ingenious conjecture that Barnabas was the author. More plausible, though with as little basis in actual evidence, is Harnack's subtle hypothesis that the writing, an anonymous and earlier homily, received between 150 and 175 -*i.e.* before the age of Clement Alex., Tertullian, and Irenaeus, who evidently knew the letter as Petrine—the addition of its present address and conclusion; these were the work of the author of 2 Peter, modelling his style on Ac 15 and Heb 13.[2]

The question of the date is thus dependent upon the question of authorship to a large degree (Reuss, pp. 262–275). Certainly a prolific literature grew up in the second century under the name of Peter; but so far from discrediting, this fact seems rather to increase the probable genuineness of at least the present writing, which

[1] Besides the fact that the readers are not addressed as members of a second generation, but as people who had been brought to Christianity not long ago, although they had no personal intercourse with Christ, another cardinal objection to the second-century date ought probably to be admitted in the literary relation (Usteri, pp. 320–324) between Clem. Rom. and this epistle, cp. Pet. 1^1 1^{19} 2^1 2^9 2^{17} 2^{21} CR. 1^1 7^4 36^2 5^9 2^4 5^{17} 16^{17} 33^8; apart from the use of words like ἀγαθοποΐα and ἀπροσωπολήπτως. Some of these may be due to Clem. Rom.'s acquaintance with Ephes.-Heb.; but even so, that analogy tells for the previous date of 1 Peter. A similar conclusion is to be drawn from the resemblances between it and the Apocalypse.

[2] This theory, which would add 1^{1-2} 5^{12-14} to the writing, as a title and conclusion composed after the middle of the second century, has really not much more support here than the similar hypothesis in the case of James. The fact that the MSS. supply no evidence, makes it difficult for us to suppose that all extant MSS. are descended from an ancestor which was thus altered before the end of the second century. Also it is hard to see why a similar process was not applied to 1 John (*TU*, ii. 2, pp. 106–109; *Chron.* pp. 455–465). The allusion in 1 P 5^1 does not, of course, necessarily imply an eyewitness, for μάρτυς can quite well be taken in the sense of passages like 1 Co 15^{15}, and "the sufferings of the Christ" mean probably (as in 1 P 4^{13}) Christian trials. Indeed, had Peter written the epistle, it is hard to see why he would not have used a word like αὐτόπτης, or some definite and clear expression. On the other hand, it is a good point to notice that, so far as we can judge, only three men could have stood in the relations indicated by 1 P 5^{11-14} to Mark and Silvanus. These three were Paul, Barnabas, and Peter. Between them the authorship (real or intended) probably lies. F. W. Lewis (*Exp.*[5] x. pp. 319, 320) argues that the epistle was written after Paul's death, since the absence of any mention of Paul (1 P 5^{12-13}) indicates that Mark and Silvanus had been deprived by death of their former master.

stands quite by itself among the Petrine literature ("Er steht für sich ohne inrere Verbindung mit den anderen petrinischen Schriften, und auch seine Geschichte ist mit der der anderen unvermengt," Harnack), and supports 2 Peter (3^1, *ταύτην ἤδη δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν*). Such later productions must have had some previous literary basis to build upon, besides the mere tradition of the apostle's authority. In this case the existence of one authentic writing (Euseb. *HE.* iii. 3) is almost a necessary postulate for the composition of allied pseudonymous documents.

Recent criticism has eased—it is too much to say, solved—some of the main obstacles in the way of the seventh decade date. (*a*) Historically, the Trajanic date has been found unnecessary and even indefensible. (*b*) Theologically, all idea of a direct dogmatic tendency or of a mediating and conciliatory unionism, has been abandoned (*e.g.* Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 331, 332). These two points really include a large amount of the evidence which would incline one to favour a later period of composition. To them also must be added (*c*) the possibility of an amanuensis. The seventh-decade date, with its implicate of authenticity, is not seriously affected by the further question, which has been recently discussed, whether the style of the epistle does not require its actual authorship to be assigned to some interpreter of Peter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) who had been in touch with Paul at some previous time. This may well have been Silvanus, who wrote ($1\,P\ 5^{10.\ 12} = Ac\ 15^{32}$) the letter under his master's supervision (as by tradition Mark wrote his gospel), or after his death. Usteri[1] adopts the latter view; while von Soden, following Ewald, Grimm (*SK*, 1872, p. 688 f.), and Spitta (*Der 2 Pet. und Jud.*, 1885, p. 531), similarly gives the authorship to Silvanus, who, in his opinion, wrote some twenty-five years after Peter's death.[2] But if it cannot be admitted that Peter wrote the Greek of this epistle, or indeed any of the speeches attributed to him in Acts,—and, despite all that has been urged in defence of Galilean culture and education, this is a most reasonable conclusion,—then the secretary-hypothesis is valid and accessible. In this case Peter dictated the letter, and the phrase *διὰ Σιλουανοῦ* (5^{12}) *ἔγραψα* would be equivalent[3] to expressions like

[1] "Bald nach des Petrus Tod war allerdings für [Silvanus] ein rein gemüthlicher, aber psychologisch sehr begreiflicher und völlig zureichender Beweggrund vorhanden, pietätsvoll im Namen desjenigen Apostels, mit welchem er zuletzt, noch verbunden gewesen, sein Sendschreiben abzufassen" (*op. cit.* pp. 345, 346). The authorship of Silvanus (himself an *ἀπόστολος* ($1\ Th\ 2^6$) and prophet ($Ac\ 15^{32}$)) turns the scale in favour of a date somewhat earlier than Domitian's reign, as there is no evidence that he lived so long, and as the use of Peter's name would be more effective in the years immediately succeeding his death. Zahn agrees (*Einl.* ii. pp. 9–11) in laying stress upon Silvanus' share in the epistle, which, however, he takes as Petrine through and through. Reuss (pp. 144–148) evidently was undecided, though some of Chase's objections seem conclusive (*DB.* iii. pp. 789, 790). The latter, *à propos* of the style, speaks of the writer's "delicacy and accuracy of perception in regard to the rhythmical arrangement of words," the range of his vocabulary, and his use of synonyms, tenses, and the like. But he seems to find little difficulty in attributing these to Simon Peter.

[2] Cp. Seufert's articles (*ZwTh*, 1881, pp. 178–197, 332–379) on the relation of Ephes. to 1 Peter. Both of these he regards as written in Trajan's reign by the same irenical author, Silvanus (also *ZwTh*, 1885, pp. 350–371). The main resemblances between the two writings are in

Eph.	1^3	1^{18-20}	$3^{5.\ 10}$	2^{18-22}	2^{18}	$4^{8f.}$ 1^{20-22}
Pet.	$1^{3,}$	1^{3-5}	1^{10-12}	2^{4-6}	$3^{18f.}$	3^{22}

[3] Cp. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 16). Dionysius (apud Eus. *HE*, iv. 23. 11) refers to the epistle of Clem. Rom. as *τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.*

Ac $15^{22\ 23}$, Ro 16^{22}; Ignat. *ad Rom.* x^{1} etc. (cp. Link, *SK*, 1896, pp. 405–436, "Die Dolmetscher des Petrus, zur Beantwortung der Frage nach den griechischen Sprachkenntnissen des Apostels").[1] The absence of motive and evidence have led many critics to bluntly reject the idea of pseudonymity; and if his own theory should turn out to be incorrect, Harnack, *e.g.*, would "consider the improbable to be possible," and attribute the letter to Peter rather than believe in the authorship of a pseudo-Peter. If these are the alternatives, there can be small doubt ultimately which will be adopted. The scales then turn in favour of the seventh-decade date. And it seems as though the hypothesis of a secretary, who in this case translated Peter's thoughts into a Greek style[2] which the apostle could hardly have managed himself, would help to solve the undoubted difficulties besetting a position which is otherwise inherently probable. In face of Col 4^{15-17} and 2 Co 1^{1}, the spread and organisation of Christianity in Asia Minor are perfectly credible. The readers are comparatively new converts ($2^{2.\ 25}$ 4^{3}); their Christian life has no long retrospect, and no fixed consolidation. They have been overtaken by trials, which are a novelty to them (4^{12}). These are to be borne with patience, and the hope is held out that by this blameless endurance on their part and a better understanding on the part of their opponents, some fresh advance may be secured for the gospel. Heresy is unknown. The situation is marked (as Resch and Beyschlag argue correctly) by none of the traces of decline and controversy that appear, *e.g.*, in Hebrews or James. Here the charismatic gifts are in exercise (4^{10}), and the end of the age (4^{7b}) is awaited as the prelude to the Messianic realm. The favourite words of the letter are *ἀποκάλυψις* and *ἀναστροφή*. Rudimentary and vexed and guileless, these Christians in the provinces of the Empire (2^{14}) merely needed—as they received—a letter of kindly, wise counsel to steady hope and consistent conduct, which is as suitable to the situation as it is wholly worthy of its reputed author[3] ("vielleicht das liebenswürdigste Buch des neuen Testamentes," A. Meyer). In *Ascensio Isaiae*, 3^{13}–5^{1}, for example,—a fragment to be dated[4] not later

[1] One can go heartily with Usteri and Harnack in their dissatisfaction with the pseudonym hypothesis, as that is sometimes applied to this writing. It is certainly difficult to see how, twenty or thirty years after the death of Peter (as *e.g.* von Soden argues), a writing could have been composed in his name, which contains such a minimum of personal references; a writing, too, which is neither apocalyptic nor ecclesiastical nor evangelic. The lack of individual allusions is remarkable, whether the writing be taken as authentic or pseudonymous. But it is certainly not better explained upon the latter theory. Besides, we have really no data for supplying us with a standard of how a personal disciple of Jesus ought to have written: and perhaps it is rather a modern and unfair demand to insist that Peter would and should have filled his letter with references to the great Master who had been his companion and leader. Are we sure the personal impression was so vital and deep? And if so, must it have taken this form of expression? This assumption—in all schools of criticism—is not borne out by 1 John, if that be apostolic; and otherwise it is destitute of evidence and probability alike.

[2] The use of the book of Wisdom and of the LXX are most noticeable.

[3] "Der unter den katholischen Briefen noch am ehesten den Eindruck des naiv und primitiv Christlichen machen könnte" (Julicher). On the value of the tradition which connects Peter and Rome, cp. Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 703–707.

[4] The passage (1 Pt 4^{14}) on reproach for the name of Christ ought to be no longer seriously advanced as an argument for some later date, when the name of Christian had become a familiar term in the Empire. In Mark (9^{38-41}), a document almost contemporary with 1 Peter, the same phrase(?) is employed as a familiar description, unless that passage be a later insertion.

than 80 A.D.,—the tone is at once more definite and inferior.[1] Strife on the second advent, quarrelling and love of money, corruption of elders and shepherds, the reign and defeat of Berial, the Neronic persecution, these are all well marked, and stand out in great contrast to the less developed situation reflected in this epistle.

The strong case afforded by tradition in favour of the epistle as a Petrine fragment deserves to be mentioned as a subsidiary argument, when the question of the authorship is involved. "The only natural interpretation of the facts—the early and wide influence of the epistle on the one hand; on the other, the consistent and unwavering attribution of it to St. Peter on the part of all writers, from Irenaeus' time onward—is that from the first it was regarded as the work of the apostle" (Chase). Also, one of the most serious drawbacks to the ordinary "pseudonymous" theory, which otherwise is so attractive, is the absence of definiteness and authority assigned to Peter. This feature is not in keeping with the reputation and growing prestige of the apostle in the later church, as evinced even in Matthew, Acts, and Clem. Rom., and one cannot help feeling that a later Christian, composing in Peter's name, would have laid more stress on the apostle's position than is contained in the meagre and modest reference (1^1 5^1). Neither in connection with the author nor *à propos* of the community (5^5 ?) is there a trace of the incipient hierarchical tendencies prevailing at the close of the century (*e.g.* Clem. Rom. xl–xli). Surely any writer, producing a work under Peter's name towards the end of the ninth or tenth decades, would have naturally coloured the personality of the apostle to suit not merely the tradition but the contemporary status of his office. It may also be noted that there is no hint of Gnosticism, and that the "Paulinism" of this epistle is corroborated by the "Paulinism" of the tradition preserved in Acts (cp. $15^{9\text{-}11}$). Unless the latter is simply due to the editor, it is rooted in the sources of the Petrine history.

In another aspect the letter possesses some significance. Taken thus, with its title and date, it forms practically the nearest written evidence we have for the activities of the primitive apostles. In regard to their careers and fortunes the utmost that can be safely gathered from tradition is an impression of extensive movement,[2] scattered preaching, and occasional settlements in various localities. No literary expression survives. Any records which may have existed were soon lost: probably, at the best, they were scanty. If tradition is to be credited, any such attention to literature was out of the

[1] It is doing an injustice to 1 Peter to group it with the rest of the so-called "catholic" epistles. The category of "catholic" is merely a late ecclesiastical device, and is significant mainly for the history of the canon. NT criticism has to take each writing ultimately upon its individual merits; and whatever be the affinities of the other "catholic" epistles, 1 Peter at least demands to be recognised and judged by itself.

The unique passage in chap. 3 on Christ's descent to the under-world is simply, like Mt $27^{52.\,53}$, a naïve attempt of the early Christian consciousness to express, in terms of apocalyptic imagery, the significance of Christ's death, and its influence even on the dead. It does not necessarily throw suspicion on the writing, nor is there any obvious reason for regarding it (with A. Meyer: *Die moderne Forschung über d. NT*, pp. 41–43) as an insertion.

[2] On the dissemination of early Christianity, cp. Hausrath, ii. 195–216. From the tone of a passage like 1 P 1^{12}, it does not seem likely that the readers owed their nitial faith to the direct mission of the author, nor ($4^{3\text{-}5}$) can they have been Jewish Christians.

question, precluded not only by natural inaptitude, but by the more pressing concerns (ἐξυπηρετούμενοι ἅτε μείζονι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διακονίᾳ, Eus. *HE*, iii. 24) of practical organisation and propaganda.[1] The αὐτόπται became, in virtue of their position, ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου (Lk 1^{1-4}); authorship was reserved for a subsequent generation. No motives existed among the first disciples for preserving a chronicle of their own lives or a register of their reminiscences.

[1] For an interesting parallel compare some sentences written by John Knox upon himself, in view of the absorbing necessities of the church in his day: "Considering myselfe rather cald of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirme the weake, and rebuke the proud, by tong and livelye voyce in these most corrupt dayes, than to compose bokes for the age to come . . . I decreed to containe myselfe within the bondes of that vocation, whereunto I founde myselfe especially cald. I dare not denie but that God hath revealed unto me secretes unknowne to the worlde; and also that he hath made my tong a trumpet, to forwarne realmes and nations, yea, certaine great personages. . . . These revelations and assurances notwithstanding, I did ever absteyne to commit anye thing to writ, contented onely to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry" (*Works*, vi. 229, 230). An interesting study of Peter's character from the critical standpoint is given by Rapp (*PM*, 1898, pp. 323-337); more elaborately by Chase (*DB*, iii. pp. 756-779). But it is unsafe to argue directly from the tone of a purely practical and occasional letter (or homily) like 1 Peter, either to the character of its author or to the theological standpoint of the writing in question. Because these pages are dominated by the superlative temper of hope (1^{13}), it does not necessarily follow that Peter (or the author of the prosopopoeia) was particularly characterised by that virtue, or that in the development of this idea the writing represents a divergence from orthodox Paulinism (Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 308–311). The epistle has a practical bent. It was composed for a special emergency. The author discoursed of hope, simply because hope was what his readers needed. The line of argument must have been congenial to him, of course, for it is applied with great insight and sagacity; but because it is thus used at this epoch, it must not be inferred to have been normal to the writer. Its emphasis is due to the urgent situation of the moment rather than to any general idiosyncrasy upon his part, or to some dogmatic movement of his consciousness. Many other Christians might have written in much the same fashion under the circumstances; and, as Wrede (*Ueber Aufgabe*, etc., pp. 18, 19) correctly argues, the author of 1 Peter might easily have written another letter in another situation, which would have lacked any such preoccupation with hope.

Epistles were in fashion ; from simple correspondence the epistle had become a literary form, an imaginary framework, which served as a setting for little religious treatises. . . . The epistle of Peter, in spite of its bad style, which resembles that of Paul rather than that of James or of Judas, is a touching fragment, in which the condition of the Christian consciousness towards the end of Nero's reign is admirably reflected. A sweet melancholy, a resigned confidence, fills it. The last times are approaching. . . . If, as we readily believe, this epistle really belongs to Peter, it does great credit to his good sense, to his uprightness, to his simplicity. It is probable that, little versed in composition, and not hiding from himself his literary sterility, he did not hesitate to appropriate the pious phrases constantly repeated around him, which, although derived from different systems, did not contradict one another. It is useless to seek in his work for the rigour of a logical system.—**Renan.**

1^{1-12} **Introduction :** thanksgiving for the readers' Christian hope.

1^{13}–2^{10} **Moral Obligations of this hope :** duties of
holiness towards God,
love towards one another,
as God's people.

2^{11}–3^{7} **A table of duties :** for Christians, in the outside world — towards authorities,
in the household—as
2^{18-25} slaves : patience under suffering, the suffering of Christ.
3^{1-6} wives,
3^{7} husbands.

3^{8}–4^{19} **Common duties and their motives :** patience and meekness under suffering,
4^{1-6} moral purity,
4^{7-11} mutual service.

4^{12-19} **Persecution :** need of a good conscience under trial.

5^{1-11} **Duties in the church :** the elders,
need of humility,
watchfulness.

5^{12-14} **Conclusion.**

I. PETER

1 1 PETER, an apostle of Jesus Christ,
to the exiles of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Kappadocia, Asia,
2 and Bithynia, who are chosen according to the foreknowledge of God the
Father, through sanctification by the Spirit, to obey and to be sprinkled
by the blood of Jesus Christ :
grace to you and peace be multiplied.
3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who out of
his great mercy has begotten us anew to a living hope through the resur-
4 rection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance imperishable and
5 undefiled and unfading, kept in heaven for you who by God's power are
being guarded through faith for the salvation which is ready to be revealed
6 in the last time. Whereat you rejoice; although for a little while at
7 present (if need be) you are grieved by manifold trials, that your tested
faith (a thing far more precious than gold which perishes and yet is tested
in fire) may turn out to your praise and honour and glory at the revela-
8 tion of Jesus Christ--whom you love without having seen him, on whom
you believe, though at present you see him not, rejoicing with ineffable
9 and glorious joy, as you obtain the outcome of your faith, that is, the
10 salvation of your souls. A salvation in regard to which the prophets who
prophesied of the grace which was meant for you, sought and searched out
11 eagerly, searching for the time or the nature of the time to which the
Spirit of Christ within them pointed, when it predicted beforehand the
sufferings destined for Christ and the majestic glories that were to follow
12 --to them it was revealed that not for themselves but for you were they
ministering the things which are now disclosed to you through those who
preached the gospel to you, by the holy Spirit sent from heaven ; things
into which angels desire to gaze.
13 Therefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, have perfect hope
in the grace which is to be brought you at the revelation of Jesus Christ.
14 As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves after the former desires
15 of your ignorance, but like the holy One who called you, be you also holy
16 in every way of conduct ; since it is written, *Holy shall you be, for I am*
17 *holy*. And if *you call on* him as *Father* who without respect of persons
judges according to each man's work, conduct yourselves with fear during
18 the time of your sojourn. For you know it was *not* with perishable things,
with silver or gold, that *you were redeemed* from the futile way of conduct
19 which your fathers handed down to you. Nay, it was with precious
20 blood as of a faultless and unstained lamb—even of Christ, who was
indeed fore-known before the foundation of the world, but was disclosed
21 at the end of the times for the sake of you who through him believe upon
God, who raised him from the dead and gave him majesty ; so that your
22 faith and hope are directed to God. As you have purified your souls, in
obedience to the truth, for unfeigned brotherly love, love one another
23 cordially, with the intensity of those who are born anew, not from perish-

able seed but from imperishable, through *the living and lasting* word of
24 *God.* Since
All flesh is like *grass,*
And all its *glory like the flower of grass:*
Withered is the grass,
And fallen the flower,
25 *But the Lord's word lasts for ever.*
2 1 And this is *the word which was preached as gospel* to you. Put away then
all malice and all guile and hypocrisy [1] and envies and all defamations;
2 as infants newly born, long for the rational unadulterated milk, that by
3 it you may grow to salvation, since *you have tasted that the Lord is kind.*
4 Drawing near to him as to a living *stone, rejected* by men but *choice, valued*
5 with God, you also as living stones are built up into a spiritual house, to be
a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through
6 Jesus Christ. Since it is contained in scripture—
Lo, I lay in Zion a chief cornerstone, choice, valued;
And he who believes on him shall never be disappointed.
7 The value is for you then, who believe;
But for the unbelieving
The stone which the builders rejected,
This is made head of the corner
8 And *a stone of stumbling and a rock of hindrance.*
Disobedient to the word *they stumble:*
And to this they were also appointed.
9 But you are *a chosen race, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people*
for possession,
That you may show forth the virtues of him who called you out of
darkness into his marvellous light,
10 Once *no people* but now *God's people,*
Who once *had not obtained mercy,* but *have obtained mercy* now.
11 Beloved, I appeal to you as *sojourners and exiles* to abstain from the
12 fleshly desires which wage war against the soul. Maintain your good
conduct among the Gentiles; so that while they defame you as wrongdoers,
they may, by viewing your good deeds, magnify God *on the day of*
visitation.
13 Be subject to every institution of man for the Lord's sake, either to
14 the king as pre-eminent, or to governors as those who are sent by him for
the punishment of wrongdoers and for praise to those who do what is
15 right (because the will of God is this: that you silence the ignorance of
16 those who are senseless, by doing good); as free men, yet not employing
17 freedom to veil wickedness, but as God's slaves. Do honour to all, love
the brotherhood, *fear God, honour the king.*
18 Servants, be subject to your masters with all respectfulness, not only
to the kindly and equitable but also to the surly.
19 For it is a merit,
If thanks to the thought of God a man bears distresses though he
suffer unjustly.
20 What sort of credit is it,
If you endure when you are buffeted for having sinned?
Nay, if you endure when you suffer for doing what is right,
That is a merit with God.
21 You were called to this: for Christ also suffered for you,
Leaving an example for you to follow in his footsteps.

[1] Reading ὑπόκρισιν.

22 *He committed no sin nor was guile found in his mouth :*
23 When reviled, he reviled not in retort ;
Suffering, he did not threaten,
But delivered up his cause to him who judges uprightly.
24 Our *sins he bore himself* in his body on the gibbet,
That we might break with sin and live for uprightness ;
And *by* his *bleeding wound you were cured.*
25 For you were *like sheep astray,*
But now you are turned back to the shepherd and overseer of your souls.

3 1 In like manner, you wives, be subject to your own husbands ; so
that even if any of them obey not the word, they may be won over
2 without a word through the conduct of their wives, by viewing your
3 chaste and respectful conduct. Let your ornament be no outward orna-
4 ment—braiding hair and wearing gold or putting on dresses ; let it be the
hidden man of the heart, with the imperishable nature of that gentle and
5 quiet spirit which is in God's sight most precious. For thus it was once
that the holy women who hoped in God also adorned themselves, being
6 submissive to their own husbands (as Sarah obeyed Abraham, *calling him "lord" ;* and you are her children), doing what is right and *not frightened*
7 *by* any *terror.* Husbands, in like manner, dwell considerately with the
female, as with the weaker vessel ; show honour to them as to those who
along with you are heirs of the grace of life, so that your prayers be
not hindered.
8 Now finally be all harmonious,
With sympathy, brotherly love, compassion, humility,
9 Not rendering evil for evil or reviling for reviling,
But on the contrary blessing ;
Since you were called to this,
That you might inherit a blessing.
10 For *he who would love life*
And see fair days,
Let him refrain his tongue from evil,
And his lips from speaking guile :
11 *Let him turn aside from wrong and do right,*
Let him seek peace and aim thereat.
12 *For the Lord's eyes are upon the upright*
And his ears open to their prayer,
But the Lord's face is against the doers of wrong.
13 And who is it that will ill-use you, if you are bent upon what is
14 right? But even though you should suffer for the sake of uprightness,
15 happy are you. *Have no fear of them nor be troubled,* but *hallow* Christ in
your hearts as *Lord.* Always be ready with a defence for everyone who
demands of you a reason for the hope within you ; but let it be with
16 gentleness and respectfulness. Keep a good conscience, in order that,
defamed as you are, those who libel your good conduct in Christ may
17 be put to shame. For it is better to suffer for doing what is right,
18 should the will of God so be, than for doing what is wrong. Since
Christ also died once for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring
us near to God : put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit—
19, 20 in which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison, who had
been disobedient at one time, while the long-suffering of God lingered on
in the days of Noah during the construction of the ark, into which a few,
21 that is, eight souls were safely brought through water. You also are

now saved by the counterpart of that, by baptism (not because you put
away the filth of the flesh, but because you seek earnestly a good con-
22 science toward God), through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is
at God's right hand; for he went into heaven, with angels and authorities
4 1 and powers made subject to him. As Christ then suffered in
the flesh, equip yourselves also with the same conviction (namely, that
2 he who has suffered in the flesh is quit of sin), so as to live for the rest of
your time in the flesh no longer for the lusts of men but for the will of
3 God. For it is quite sufficient in the time gone by to have executed
what the Gentiles aim at, when you walked in ways of sensuality, lust,
4 carousing, revelry, dissipation, and illicit idolatry; so that they are
surprised you do not rush with them into the same flood of profligacy,
5 and they abuse you—they shall render account to him who stands ready
6 to judge living and dead (for this was why the gospel was preached to the
dead as well, that while judged as men are judged in the flesh, they
might live as God lives, in the spirit).

7 Now the end of all things is near.
Be of sound mind then, be sober and pray.
8 Above all, be intense in your love for one another:
For *love hides* a multitude of *sins.*
9 Be hospitable to one another without murmuring.
10 As each has received a talent, serve one another with it,
As able stewards of God's manifold grace.
11 If anyone speaks,
let it be as the oracles of God:
If anyone serves,
let it be out of the strength which God supplies;
That in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ,
Whose is the majesty and dominion for ever and ever: Amen.

12 Beloved, be not surprised at the burning trial which occurs among
13 you to test you, as though something strange were happening to you; nay
be glad as you share in the sufferings of Christ, that you may also be glad
14 and rejoice at the revelation of his majesty. Happy are you if *you are*
denounced because of *Christ;* for *the spirit* of majesty and *of God rests on*
15 *you.* Let none of you suffer as a murderer or thief or wrongdoer, or as a
16 pryer into other people's business. But if a man suffers as a Christian,
let him not be ashamed; nay, let him magnify God because of this.
17 For it is time[1] for the judgment *to begin with the household* of
God.
Now if it begin with us,
What shall be the fate of those who disobey God's gospel?
18 And if *the upright is scarcely saved,*
Where shall the impious and sinner appear?
19 So then let those who suffer in accordance with the will of God con-
tinue to do right, and trust their souls to the faithful Creator.

5 1 I appeal to the elders among you—I, who am a fellow-elder of yours,
a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and a sharer also in the majesty to be
2 revealed—be shepherds to the flock of God among you,
not from compulsion but voluntarily,[2]
nor for base gain but with hearty will,
3 nor in the way of lording it over your charges, but showing your-
selves patterns to the flock.

[1] Omitting [[ἐ]]. [2] Omitting [[κατὰ θεόν]].

4 Then when the chief shepherd is disclosed, you shall obtain the
unfading wreath of honour.
5 In like manner, you younger men, be subject to the elders ; and put
on, all of you, the apron of humility : for
The haughty God resists,
But to the humble he grants grace.
6 Humble yourselves then under God's mighty hand,
That he may raise you in due season,
7 *Casting your anxiety* all upon him,
Because he cares for you.
8 Be sober, be watchful. Your opponent the devil, like a roaring lion,
9 walks about seeking some one to swallow up. Resist him, firm in faith,
knowing that the very same sufferings are being dispensed to your
10 brotherhood throughout the world. And after you have suffered a
little, the God of all grace, who called you to his eternal majesty in Christ,
11 shall himself equip, establish, strengthen you. To him be the dominion
for ever and ever : Amen.

12 Through Silvanus the faithful brother (as I consider him), I have
written a few words to you, exhorting and testifying that this is the true
grace of God. Stand in it.
13 She who is in Babylon, the Community chosen along with you,
14 salutes you ; and so does my son Mark. Salute one another with a kiss
of love.
Peace to you all who are in Christ.

THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS[1]

THREE periods can be roughly distinguished (Jülicher) in the process of gospel-composition: (*a*) the oral (30–60 A.D.), during which the necessity for written narratives had not yet emerged fully or widely, (*b*) the evangelic (60–100 A.D.), in which our synoptic gospels substantially came to their present shape, and (*c*) the apocryphal (after 100 A.D.), when a crop of fabricated narratives sprang up, which lie round the evangelic histories in the early church, cold and vanquished, like the snakes about the cradle of Herakles. The presuppositions of the synoptic gospels are to be found in the requirements and tendencies which prevailed in the period, (*a*) especially among the circles of Christianity in Jerusalem-Judaea. It is not over-praise to speak of the splendid service[2] rendered to Christianity by their maintenance of the historic tradition, and by the tenacity with which they cherished and reproduced, in the more or less stereotyped forms of oral reminiscence, words and acts of Jesus. During the years 30–60 this stream carried in solution memories and historic traits which were afterwards consolidated into the inestimable deposit of the gospels. In form the tradition was fluid and free. Its pirmary shape and scope, the stages of its passage from a previously condensed and oral form into the comparative fixity of written memoirs—these are unresolved problems. The point is that up to the seventh decade the propaganda of Jesus must have been mainly oral. Parallel with Paul's preaching and writing lay this work of the primitive church, as it clung to the historical base of the faith in the human life of Jesus. Yet apparently it was not till after 60 that written records of this work began to show themselves. Composition of this kind was much slower to waken than epistolary writing. Historical records[3] possibly would have had a certain flavour of mechanical authority and fixity. Book-religion, even historically considered, is legal

[1] Although in chronological order Hebrews intervenes between Matthew and Luke, I have incorporated here the note upon the latter gospel, for the sake of practical convenience.

[2] Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. p. 34 f., Pfleid. *Urc.* p. 758 f.; cp. Holsten, *Die Synopt. Evglien.* (1886) p. 160 f., and the interesting but somewhat arbitrary statement in Blass' *PG*, pp. 21–28, on the occasion and need for written evangelic narratives. The fall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D. brought consequences which seriously affected early Christian literature, as well as the external circumstances of the church. But we must not argue from it too rigidly for the production of gospels either prior or subsequent to the crisis. To deduce the development of early Christianity in doctrine and organisation from the period 66–70 in Judaea would be as legitimate as to explain the English Reformation solely from the matrimonial crisis of Henry the Eighth.

[3] Unless the speeches in Acts are an exception. If they are not free compositions by the author (or authors of the sources), they must have been partly based on tradition or reminiscence, partly compiled from notes or journals made by contemporaries during the years 40–60 A.D. Clemen has a full note with references (*Chron.* pp. 88–90).

religion; its associations are with technicality.[1] Until the fixing of the tradition in literature became a religious necessity to the church, belief came from hearing,[2] and hearing from a spoken message about Christ.[3] Indeed, the fact that Christ's life was narrated at all was due ultimately to the need felt by the early Christians for some knowledge of his laws. They looked forward to appearing before his tribunal, where he was to be their judge; their fate depended on their obedience to his precepts. Hence it was essential to know these, in order that life might be regulated by them exactly and conscientiously. The words of the Lord thus assumed a place of authority side by side with the OT scriptures, under whose moral code the majority of the first generation of Christians had been trained. But for these laws and words the only available source lay in the Master's life. What he practised, what he commanded, was the supreme concern of all; and to meet this, among other needs, the gospels were compiled. For he who was to judge his followers had been once among them in human person, and the future judgment would be determined by the precision with which his example had been followed and his commands obeyed.

Whatever narratives accompanied or preceded the extant gospels have passed out of existence, like the Ionian chroniclers (λογόγραφοι, συγγραφεῖς) superseded by Herodotus. This fact lends an appearance of some abruptness to their genesis. Their origin seems to resemble that of the great Hebrew prophecies in the eighth century B.C., which start up on the horizon with an appearance of great suddenness, probably because the antecedent conditions are obscure, partly because the preceding literature is no longer extant. Still, in the case of the synoptic gospels, the conditions of their origin are neither quite indistinct nor lacking in significance.

[1] Deissmann, *Bibel-studien* (1895), s.v. γράφω, pp. 108–111; καθὼς γέγραπται is used in the inscriptions and Egyptian papyri as a juristic phrase. Dryden rather happily remarks of Jesus (*The Hind and the Panther*, part ii.),

> "He could have writ himself, but well foresaw
> The event would be like that of Moses' law;
> No written laws can be so plain, so pure,
> But wit may gloss, and malice may obscure."

[2] But it is exegetically needless to accept the ingenious conjecture (*God and the Bible*, ch. vi.) that a survival of the oral Johannine tradition is awkwardly but consistently preserved by the editor of the fourth gospel in the recurring οὕτως (4[6] 13[29] 21[1]), which might be rendered, says M. Arnold, by the phrases, "as I have been saying," or "as I am telling," or "as I am going to tell" you.

[3] There is a familiar parallel in the cold reception given by the early Greeks to the art of writing, and traces of the way in which they disparaged treatises and literature appear even in Plato (*Phaedrus*, 275D, 276A, λογαν ζῶντα καὶ ἐμψυχον οὗ ὁ γεγραμμένος εἴδωλον ἄν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως). This shy suspicion was due to the Hellenic instinct for flexibility: through politics, morality, religion, they felt a certain horror of whatever tended to petrify and fix ideas. As Prof. Butcher has pointed out (*Aspects of Greek Genius*, "on the written and spoken word," pp. 166–199), it was the very "sense that the laws represented a personal intelligence" that "probably caused a disinclination to reduce them to written and stereotyped commands." Consequently "long after writing was well known in Greece, the laws remained unwritten." For all its semi-artistic shape, this feeling is in some respects akin to that of the early Christians with regard to the authority of Jesus. When one adds to it the contemporary distaste of the Jews to commit anything to writing, and the displacement of authorship by rhetoric in Asia Minor (Mommsen, *Provinces R.E.* i. 363), the comparatively late rise of the gospels becomes less surprising. An example of retentiveness on the part of a pupil is given incidentally by Irenaeus in his description of Polykarp's lessons (Eus. *HE*, v. 20). Ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμοῦ καρδίᾳ. καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρυκῶμαι.

For one thing, the extension of Christianity across the confines of Palestine, which had already proved an incentive towards oral tradition, now became a capital stimulus towards the shaping of more permanent records. The development of the faith required a method of instruction fuller and less occasional than apostolic letters (1 Th 5^{27}, Col 4^{16}), or peripatetic teaching; and as this lack came to be felt very widely (Lk 1^{1}), it was natural that efforts should be made to supply it. Sketches of Christ's acts and words were put into circulation. The supreme aim[1] was to preserve a uniform, sufficient standard for faith and morals, which rested on a continuous tradition; for only in this way could the most distant churches be made independent of any weakness or irregularity in instruction, and at the same time furnished with some clue to the meaning of Jesus and his reign. Thus the written gospels were at once a result of the church's progress and a necessity for that progress. The local severance brought about by the fall of Jerusalem only rendered this exigency more imperative than ever. So far as the NT is concerned, the activity of the next period is devoted to conserving a historical past, the outward association with which had been snapped, the connection with which had become increasingly vital, and the abuse of which was no longer to be seriously feared. Not only the fourth gospel but also the three earlier narratives represent the intense and manifold interest roused by the historical Jesus in the "theological" consciousness of the church, as well as the practical needs which turned the whole church, in a special sense, into a "Christ-party" during the latter half of the first century. To know Jesus was their requirement. But that knowledge meant no dry historical light upon the Master's life. It could be satisfied by no mere annalist. To love him, to hope in him, to rule one's life by his precepts and for his sake—this was the craving of the church,[2] and it was instruction upon these lines that the gospels were intended to contain and to convey. Among even the Greeks, as Dr. Gardner points out, much more among the early Christians, history was nearly always strongly *motivé* or didactic.

When the circumstances of the age are taken into account, then, the composition of gospels after the seventh decade becomes a timely and natural phenomenon. A first-class criterion for their position amid the varying phases of early Christianity is the expectation by which it was dominated, that Christ would speedily return and reign. Such a hope formed its primitive and distinctive tenet, together with the idea of

[1] Holtzmann (*NTTh*, i. p. 404 f.) distinguishes three dominant motives which he considers to have operated during the composition of our extant gospels: (*a*) the dogmatic, which strove to portray Jesus in relation to the Messianic ideal and the work of redemption, (*b*) the aesthetic, drawn from the OT speeches and songs, and devoted to the presentation of Jesus in his wisdom and activities, (*c*) the Oriental, arising from the current speculations and prepossessions of Oriental mysticism, such as, *e.g.*, the idea of pre-existence. The moral basis of the mythopoeic spirit, with its bearing upon the historical expression of early Christianity, is discussed by Dr. Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, pp. 94–117, 144 f., 300 f., 312 f., and incidentally in M. Paschoud's article in *Revue de Théol. et de Philosophie* (1900), pp. 59–82, "Le Mythe et la Légende."

[2] On this dominant sense of Christ's personality and spirit in early Christianity, see the fine statement in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § xlv. But, as the epistles and gospels prove, this common ground of interest was able to support varied and distinctive theories upon the significance of Jesus. The tradition itself was not rigid, much less the ensuing interpretation. "Kann von einer in der ganzen apostolischen Christenheit verbreiteten stereotypen Überlieferung auch nur in bezug auf die wichtigsten Tatsachen der ev. Geschichte nicht die Rede sein" (Zahn).

the resurrection, and must have had strong support in the teaching of Jesus himself, as the congenial Messianic beliefs of contemporary Judaism would hardly have been sufficient to start the opinion unless it had had some base in the authority of Christ. The history of early Christianity, as that is mirrored in the gospels, is in large measure the emancipation and transformation of this cardinal belief. Three forces were at work: (*a*) the natural process of disappointment, fostered by the lapse of time; (*b*) the logic of events, including the fall of Jerusalem and the gradual dethronement of Jewish particularism and materialism from the evangelic consciousness; (*c*) the influences of Hellenistic Judaism and the broader thoughts of the age, which in Paul and the fourth evangelist were able to spiritualise the primitive conception. These forces and factors are not independent of one another, and all go back to an element in the consciousness of Jesus which was only appreciated and developed several decades after his death. However, they are historical entities which orientate most effectively the period of the gospels' composition, and explain their birth. For "events," as Vinet has somewhere remarked, "are the real judges of events, and—purely moral questions excepted—history only gets itself written under their dictation."

In this connection it may be also observed that, while the phrase "Jesus above the head of his reporters" indicates a real truth of history, affording a correct standpoint from which to valuate the extant sources, it is apt, nevertheless, to convey a wrong impression. Jesus had no reporters. So far as his words have reached us, their existence is due to the keen and loving memory of his adherents. It is to attach a modern and quite a misleading idea to his life when we allow ourselves to think of him as surrounded like a philosophic lecturer by those who treasured up his words in view of future developments, to be authoritative for a community, or to furnish by anticipation some guidance for a strange prospect ahead. Nothing was further from the thoughts of the primitive disciples, and it may be questioned how far even Jesus occupied such a standpoint of prevision. At any rate, anything like an immediate and tangible preservation of his sayings or deeds is historically incredible. Simple and informal, they rose from the wayside of his experience. Simply and informally they were remembered and repeated by his adherents. Their passage to us has all the charm and impressiveness of this natural process, and there is no need to crush it into mechanical supernatural methods which rob it of reality, in the vain attempt to increase its reliability. "Do not degrade the life and dialogues of Christ out of this charm, by insulation and peculiarity. Let them lie as they befell, alive and warm, part of human life, and of the landscape, and of the cheerful day." That is a true protest, truer than Emerson meant; for it applies to the subsequent transmission no less than to the original setting of the life of Jesus in the gospels.

Broadly speaking, we may say that two streams coloured the evangelic narratives. One contained the volume of practical interests and requirements germane to the growing church.[1] The variety of the gospels proves

[1] So far as regards Jesus, the historical interest of the early Christians was determined by the demands of faith, which centred upon three subjects: (*a*) the sufferings and death, (*b*) the notable actions and events of his life, (*c*) his teaching. The human birth and childhood forms only a secondary stage of interest (Matt-Lk), which is again transcended by the later growth of reflection (Jn 1^{1-18}) upon the pre-existence of the Christ. Of the three former topics, the passion probably formed the leading object of attention—to judge from the space assigned it in the synoptists, and the references in 1 Pet. and Hebrews.

that these were not altogether homogeneous; but they must have possessed common features which went far towards determining the conception of Christ preserved in the records. To the fact of these general practical requirements, of which our gospels are partly the precipitate, must be added the primary fact of the early Christian consciousness, namely, the sense that in the historical Jesus Messianic hopes and promises were fulfilled. To some degree this significance of Jesus is recognised in Paul, though it is not prominent. His knowledge of, and interest in, the career and human character of Jesus represent quite an appreciable quantity, although they have been depreciated and exaggerated by various schools of criticism. Still there can be no doubt that other interests were unsatisfied. There was always the lingering tradition of the historical Jesus, and the parallel movement of Judaism back to OT prophecy probably intensified the passion—partly intuitive, partly born of the exigencies of controversy—for finding in him, from the evidence of his own words and deeds (Ac 2^{22}), an actual and detailed fulfilment of the Messiah sketched in the OT. Among such vigorous convictions and creative tendencies the synoptic gospels were shaped (cp. Prof. Rendel Harris in *Contemp. Review*, August, 1895). The most objective writings [1] in the NT literature, they were not born in vacant space. Their antecedents are as obvious as their definite origin in the needs and ideas of the time with which they are in correspondence, and it is hardly possible to miss in each its birth-marks or heredity.

It is like trying to drink out a sea, said Goethe once, to enter into an historical and critical examination of the gospels. Eighty years of research have not sensibly abated this impression of complexity and intricacy in dealing with the synoptic problem. While enquiry has exhausted one or two lines of treatment, it has at the same time thrown open others which are still unsurveyed. Still it is possible out of the chaos of synoptic criticism to secure the following postulates, which not only are sufficient for the purposes of the present edition, but also command very wide recognition among competent and independent scholars. Taking the gospels in their present form, we note their

(A) *Succession.* (i.) The priority of Mark to the others is generally accepted: cp. Ritschl (*Gesammelte Aussätze*, pp. 1–57, *Entstehung*, pp. 28, 34), Reuss, Renan, B. Weiss in his long series of critical monographs, Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 340–390, *HC*, i. *Einleitung*), Wendt ("Die Lehre Jesu" (1886), pp. 1–44), Havet (*Origines*, iv. pp. 225–296), Jacobsen (*Untersuch. über die syn. Evv.* 1883), E. A. Abbott (*E.B.*, art. "Gospels," and in *The Common Tradition*, p. vi), Volkmar (*Jesus Nazar.* pp. 18–19, his date is exactly 73 A.D.), Carpenter (*The First Three Gospels*), Westcott (*Introduction to Study of Gospels*), Sanday (*Smith's Dict. B*^{2}. (1893), pp. 1222–1242), Massebieau (*Examen des citations de l'ancien Testament dans l'évangile selon S. Matthieu*), and Harnack (*Chron.*). There is a pretty fair agreement among scholars working along different lines, that "the common tradition upon which all the three synoptics were based is substantially our St. Mark, so far as matter, general form, and order are concerned" (F. H. Woods, *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. p. 94). Compare Salmon, *INT* (lect. ix.); Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 215; Pfleiderer's *Urc.* p. 360; Resch, *TU*, x. 1, ch. 5; Bruce, *ExGT*, i. (1897); E. Roehrich, *la Composition des Évangiles*

[1] The objectivity varies: its maximum lies in Mark, the presentation of Matt. and Luke has been more influenced by other interests, while in the fourth gospel we have the minimum. Compare Westcott's remarks (Gospel of John, *Introd.* pp. liv-lv), on subjectivity in relation to the truthfulness of a narrator.

(1898), pp. 1–28; Briggs, *Messiah of Gospels*, pp. 70–256; Du Buisson ("The origin and characteristics of Mark," 1896); Brandt, "die Evangelische Geschichte und der Ursprung des Christenthums" (1893), pp. 536 f.; A. J. Jolley, *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers;* Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins, Bart., in "Horae Synopticae" (1899); Dr. Cone, "Gospel Criticism" (1891), pp. 150–160; V. H. Stanton, *DB*, ii. article "Gospels"; Wernle, *die Synoptische Frage* (1899); Soltau, *Eine Lücke d. Synopt. Forschung* (1899); Adeney, *BI*, p. 324 f.; Salmond, *DB*, iii. 258–260; and apparently Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. pp. xix–xxxiii.

This judgment upon the priority of Mark is based chiefly upon the impression afforded by its contents. Editorial solicitude is less conspicuous here than in Matthew or Luke (cp. Mk 3^2, omitted in Mt-Lk; 3^5 μετ' ὀργῆς, etc. etc.), as though the narrative of Christ's life still lay near to the life itself, and had not yet passed very deeply into the sphere of subsequent reflection, where religious interests and reverence itself naturally exercised an increasing control over editors and their materials. Less connected and complete, Mark's naïve, fresh, and (compared with Mt and Lk) unconventional portrait of Jesus in all likelihood preceded the more conscious and polished attempts of the others to present Christianity as well as Christ. This is corroborated by his treatment of the chronology and his general disposition of the life, which is silently presupposed in the later synoptists. Mark's order, if placed between Matthew and Luke, shows at once that they had it before them, and freely amplified or rearranged its scheme to suit their own ideas. Their variations and divergences become intelligible when once its tradition is accepted as a common, prior outline of the biography. Apart from other indications,—*e.g.*, the simpler, abrupt, unpremeditated form[1] of several sayings (3^{29} 8^{38} $9^{22b\text{-}24}$), and the treatment of the disciples ($6^{51b\text{-}52}$ $8^{17\text{-}18}$ 10^{35}),—the priority of Mark is most decisively urged by the amount of material common to itself and to Mt-Lk. The distinctive contents of Mark are comparatively insignificant beside the matter shared by it with the later gospels, and of this feature only one explanation is feasible. That the realistic, graphic narrative of Mark was a later compilation, an abridgment or extracted essence of the others, formed in a slavish and piecemeal fashion, is so pointless and improbable a view, that it has been almost unanimously dropped from serious criticism. The alternative is that it was from Mark the others borrowed, and that round the nucleus which each took from this primitive gospel, they gathered the larger and wider materials which have lent distinctiveness and weight to their own records. One interesting result of this is that the central current of evangelic tradition flows from a Petrine source; for there is a growing tendency upon all sides of criticism to credit and even emphasise the Papias-tradition which links Mark to Peter.[2]

Besides, the closest scrutiny of Mark fails to discover much cogent

[1] On the realism of Mark, the prophetic picture of Matthew, and Luke's idealised sketch, cf. Bruce, *With Open Face*, chs. i.-iii.; on the fontal position of Mark, Blass, *PG*, 206–210; on its relation to the later scheme of Matthew, W. C. Allen, *ExpTi*, xi. pp. 279–284, Wernle, *Synopt. Frag.* p. 127 f., and Roehricht, *la Composition des Évangiles*, pp. 58 f., 208 f. Halévy's article in the *Revue Sémitique* (April, 1900, pp. 115–149), "Notes sur l'évang. de S. Marc," I have not been able to see.

[2] J. F. Blair (*The Apostolic Gospel*, 1896) prefers to regard Mark as a primitive harmony. The apostolic source already existed in various versions, he conjectures, which have been combined in our second gospel. Similarly, the fourth gospel is an elaborated commentary upon this source. He rejects the Papias-tradition of Mark's Petrine origin, but on insufficient grounds.

evidence to prove the use of written sources, with the exception of the "small apocalyse" which has been incorporated in ch. xiii. The existence of an Ur-Marcus is unreasonably disputed; but that document, after all the ingenuity and hypothetical reconstructions which have gathered round it, remains a shadowy *x* in the synoptic problem. Despite argument from textual critics and literary analysts, our extant Mark is substantially a unity, in a sense that Matthew and Luke are not. They are composite works, dependent not merely upon Mark itself and the Logia, but also upon other sources which no longer exist. Mark is written from the best reminiscences of an eye-witness, probably with little or nothing except oral tradition between it and the original facts. Whatever written sources have been used in our second gospel are of quite a subordinate character compared to the original mass of narrative; and any alterations made in it as a final recension of Mark's Petrine notes, do not form a substantial feature in the book.

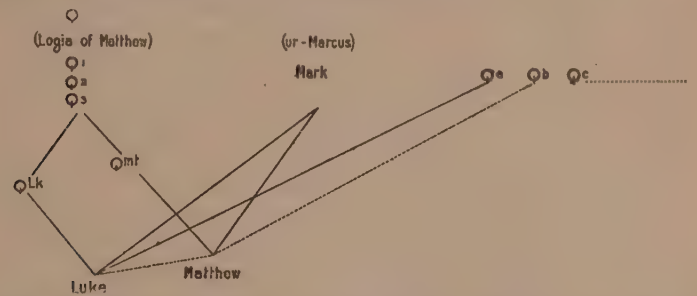
The conclusion, then, is that this gospel precedes the others, standing most nearly to the original tradition; and this estimate throws a clear light across almost all the phenomena of the writing. Its value and validity can be tested and justified only by a detailed comparison of the three documents with one another. Taken as a whole, Mark does not present traces of adaptation to church interests and feelings to nearly the same extent as these appear throughout Matthew and Luke. It is less of a compilation. It shares with Matthew and Luke the atmosphere of the second generation, charged with reflections and requirements, but one can feel the presence of a circle for which, perhaps also of an author for whom, these did not yet possess a very dominating importance in relation to the memoirs and conception of Jesus. At the same time it is to be freely admitted by the upholders of Mark's priority, that in several passages Matthew and Luke stand actually closer than Mark to the original tradition. The fact of Mark's priority in order of composition does not imply that the gospel contained an absolutely exact reproduction of the primitive narrative and sayings. On the contrary, it is possible, and indeed almost certain, that some earlier portions of the tradition did not pass into writing (or at least into the extant writings) until subsequently to the publication of Mark. But this existence of secondary elements does not affect the priority of Mark,[1] as a literary unity, to Matthew and Luke (J. Weiss, *ThLz*, 1897, 511–513).

The relative priority of Mark depends especially upon the adoption of the 'Two-Sources' theory. At present this hypothesis has the wind in its sails, and may be said almost to have passed out of the rank and number

[1] Two recent theories stand sadly apart from the main body of criticism. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 199–233), following Grotius, arranges the gospels thus: Matthew (Aramaic), Mark, Luke, Matthew (Greek). Mark has used Mt (Aram.), and has in turn been used by Mt (Gk.). The repeated difficulties in which so retrograde a theory involves its author will not yield even to the application of his dexterity and learning. Its three weakest points are, (*a*) that Matthew is a translation, (*b*) that Matthew could have been practically written by 62, and (*c*) that Mark is nothing but a mosaic-work of older traditions, an abbreviation and summary of the first gospel. Godet, again (*INT*, ii. p. 208 f.), puts the composition of Matthew actually in the years 60–66. Both of these attempts betray reactionary movements to the old position (Matt., Mark, Luke), of which Hilgenfeld remains the chief upholder (see his "Marcosia Novissima," *ZwTh*, 1899, pp. 481–507). Prof. Gilbert (*Student's Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 1–47), like Réville, holds that all three synoptists are independent of each other, though they used written sources; and Belser, writing from the Roman Catholic standpoint, gives two exhaustive essays (*TQ*, 1893, pp. 355–407; 1898, pp. 177–238), leaning of course to the conservative and traditional position.

of mere hypotheses. Upon this very convincing view, the basis of the synoptic gospels consists of two documents[1] in the main, for both of which we have witness in the traditions of Papias. One (*a*) is a narrative of the life of Jesus, compiled by Mark from the reminiscences of Peter. The exact relation between this collection of anecdotes and sayings (as reported by Papias)[2] and our extant gospel of Mark is not yet clear. The two are identified by some critics. Others believe themselves able to discern in Mark the outline of an Ur-Marcus, in which case the canonical gospel is a later expanded edition of the earlier materials. If this be rejected, it must be allowed that the gospel has been slightly altered since its use by the other synoptists. However, the main point is that for our knowledge of the events in the life of Jesus we are almost absolutely dependent upon a Petrine tradition. Along with this, but probably composed before it, lay (*b*) a collection of λόγια[3] (chiefly, though not entirely, sayings of the Lord), originally edited in Aramaic by Matthew (see Appendix, below). This, in the form of a Greek translation, was known to Matthew and Luke, but there seems to be some reason for conjecturing that these evangelists did not have it before them in the same shape. Probably it had already passed through several recensions. It does not seem to be a necessary or even a probable conclusion—in spite of Jülicher's (*Einl.* pp. 225–226) and Titius' arguments (*ThSt*, pp. 284–331), following in the wake of Weiss and Resch—that Mark made any extensive use of the Logia, although he may possibly have known them.

The genealogical relations between the various sources and the extant gospels, upon this theory, may be exhibited thus:



Amid all the minor diversities and niceties of opinion in regard to the number, character, and use of the various sources,—questions which lie outside our present purpose,—the priority of Mark to the other two

[1] Compare the Jewish distinction between the Halacha (tradition of law and custom) and the Haggada (tradition of history). Also, an obvious but inadequate parallel exists in the case of Thucydides, who employed two sorts of material for his history, facts of speech (λόγοι), and facts of action (ἔργα). The Double-Source theory is substantially based on the ideas of Schleiermacher, and a clear account of the criticism up to 1886 is given by Mangold (-Bleek, pp. 236–259).

[2] It has been seriously questioned, however, whether this reference of Papias is trustworthy, whether it refers merely to the absence of a historical framework such as is supplied in Luke and John, or whether it really applies to the present gospel of Mark. The latter is not the outcome of discourses, although its general tenor resembles a passage like Ac 10^{38} (Peter's description of Jesus); nor can much fault be found with its arrangement.

[3] Exhaustively discussed by Wendt (*op. cit.* pp. 44–191), Weiss (*Das Matthäus-Evglm.* 1876), and Weizsäcker (*Untersuchungen*,[2] Erster Theil; Zweiter Abschnitt), more briefly by Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 362–367, and Wernle (*op. cit.* pp. 80–91, 178–

synoptic gospels is advocated with practical unanimity. It is still hotly disputed, however, whether Luke knew Matthew or made independent use of the narrative-source (*a*) = Mark, whether Matthew had access to any sources[1] besides Q and Mark, and finally, whether Mark was acquainted with the Logia. These controversies hardly affect the respective dates or order of the gospels. The cardinal point for their criticism is the fact that Matthew and Luke go back to the two written (Gk.) sources, that both have used for their own purposes the order and content of Mark's narrative, combining with it selections from Q and additions of their own, that Matthew especially has preserved particularistic sayings of Jesus from the Jewish-Christian Logia Q^{mt} (5^{17-20} 10^{5-6} 10^{23} 23^{3}), though his own standpoint is universalistic ("Son ouvrage est un de forme et divers de fond": Réville), that Luke has exercised greater freedom in dealing with the narrative than with the sayings of his sources, and that —especially in the polemic of Jesus against the Pharisees—there are traces that Matthew lies closer than Luke to the original tradition.

Upon this last point, however, there is great division of opinion. While the priority of Mark to the other gospels is put beyond dispute by the Two-Sources theory, (ii.), it is another matter when the relative priority of Matthew and Luke is in debate. Here the majority of the above-named critics are in favour of Matthew's priority, but the arguments are no longer of the same weight and decisiveness. The priority of Matthew is defended (*a*) by those who who find traces of its use in Luke. This dependence is ably maintained by E. Simons (*Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Matthäus benutzt?* 1880), whose main results are tabulated in *ZSchz* (1884), 144–145, Scholten (*das paulinische Evangelium*, 1881), Jacobsen (*Untersuchungen über die synoptischen Evglien*, 1883, and—especially against Pfleiderer—*ZwTh*, 1890, pp. 180–185), Mangold (-Bleek), Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 356–357), besides Wendt (*LJ*, i. pp. 206 f.), Weizsäcker, P. Ewald, and Wittichen (*JpTh*, 1881, pp. 366 f., 713 f., 1891, pp. 481 f.). Cp., however, Schläger (*SK*, 1896, pp. 83–93) and von Soden (*ThA*, 114 -115). The divergences of Luke from Matthew are on this hypothesis explained by the supposition that his use of Matthew was not systematic or extensive. In fact the latter was merely a subsidiary source : Luke neglected or forgot it frequently. The strength of the theory, on the other hand, lies in the series of places where Matthew and Luke agree as against Mark. Unless these represent the use of an Ur-Marcus—*i.e.* unless they preserve fragments of a primitive source which is not altogether preserved in our second gospel—it is difficult to account for them except on the hypothesis of a literary connection between Matthew and Luke.

This theory, however, is not without its difficulties (cp. W. Brückner, *PM*, 1899, pp. 109–110) and has met with serious opposition. It is therefore to be noted that the priority of Matthew to Luke is not absolutely dependent upon the hypothesis that the latter used the former. Both (*b*) may be held to be independent gospels (*e.g.* Roehricht, *op. cit.* pp. 179–188, 221–233). Wilkinson (*Four Lectures on the Early History of the Gospels*, 1898) defines it as a "naïve, simple narrative thrown together in a curiously unliterary way, and recounting, now in the person of one apostle, now in that of another, the history and, more particularly, the inspired utterances of our Lord Jesus Christ."

[1] Whatever historical element may lie in the narratives of the infancy and resurrection—to say nothing of Luke's Peraean section, and several other passages in Matthew and Luke of a divergent or isolated nature—can be defended only on the hypothesis of separate sources. For evidently these could not have existed in Mark or in the *Logia*, which these later gospels used. For a recent English application of the historical method to these narratives, cp. Dr. G. L. Cary's notes in *IH*, i. pp. 1–44.

184), resting upon Mark and the Logia as their common sources, and yet using these in different ways. In this case, the priority of Matthew has to be proved from a comparison of its contents with those of Luke, and of the relation in which both stand to the *Grundschrift*. Along this line of reasoning (cp. especially Abbott, *loc. cit.*) the arguments are purely internal, but—as it seems to the present editor—they are upon the whole in favour of the theory that Matthew's temper and spirit reflect a slightly earlier stage of the evangelic tradition[1] and church-development than is portrayed in the ampler pages of Luke. In favour of this conclusion—though upon very different critical bases—may be adduced scholars like Holsten, Keim (i. pp. 67–115), and Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1897, pp. 411–432), who date Matthew prior not merely to Luke but to Mark.

At the same time it must be allowed that Matthew contains elements which may reasonably be held to imply a more mature stage for the whole writing than that indicated in Luke; and these elements are regarded as decisive by many good critics, including Westcott (*Introd. Gospels*, pp. 209–210), Volkmar (*Jesus Nazarenus*, 1882), Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 416 f.), Carpenter (*op. cit.* pp. 332–335, 377–379), J. Weiss (-Meyer's *Luke*, 1892, pp. 275–277), McGiffert (*AA*, p. 577), Soltau (*op. cit.*), von Soden and Wernle (*op. cit.* p. 40 f. and *passim*). This tendency, in ancient as well as in modern times, has been partly due to the fact that scholars wished to save the one gospel from the derogatory position of being criticised and superseded by the other, particularly when the former was regarded as the composition of an apostle. But Matthew was certainly not written by the disciple of that name; and even if it had been, no special sanctity was attached to the early evangelic narrative at first. Nor does the prior date of Matthew necessarily imply even Luke's use of it. Upon the whole, it seems truer to the complete impression of Matthew to regard those elements which are secondary (as compared to Luke) pretty much as we regard the secondary features in Mark. Instead of being reckoned adverse to the earlier origin of the gospel in question, they should be taken as indications that the problem is more complex and combines more numerous and delicate threads than might be supposed at a superficial glance. At most they leave the question of priority open.

As for the divergences and distinctive characteristics of the gospels, it may be pointed out that estimates of a character vary with the observer's power and opportunities of appreciation; all the more so, as nothing in the world is so complex and many-sided as a great human soul. But this is not the main reason for the variations of the synoptic gospels. They are not independent or direct biographies of Jesus. They depend, if not on one another, at least upon a common basis of tradition, and their varieties of interpretation are chiefly due to those manifold interests in the Christian consciousness which had to be justified and satisfied in the historical Jesus.[2] It was not the original function of the gospels to

[1] Especially in eschatology. "The precautions are unmistakable which he [Luke] takes to remove the Parousia of Christ further than Matthew, to separate it from the judicial punishment of Jerusalem, and to make it commence only a considerable time after that event," Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 271–272.

[2] The fact that all three presuppose an audience and a certain familiarity with the evangelic tradition is incidentally proved by passages, *e.g.*, like Mark 15^{21}, where Alexander and Rufus (as in 1^{16}, Simon) are evidently mentioned without comment as well known to the circle for which the gospel was written. Compare the first mention also of Judas (Mk 3^{19}, Mt 10^{4}) and Mary (Jn 11^{2}), who are referred to in connection with incidents which are only narrated at a later stage. Such anticipations point to acquaintance with an oral or written tradition.

tacitly supersede or to implicitly supplement one another. They were written each to portray in a definite and self-consistent fashion the Lord Jesus Christ as a religious authority and a devotional source.

The tradition preserved by Irenaeus (Eus. *HE*, v. 8. 3), and entitled to some historical credit, places the composition of Mark's gospel after the death of Peter, from whose reminiscences (*τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα*) it was largely composed. This gives 64–67 A.D. as a *terminus a quo*. At any time after this the book may have been written. The references in Mark's form and setting of the "small apocalypse" do not absolutely involve, although they strongly point to (*e.g.* 13^{20}), a retrospect of the horrors attending the fall of Jerusalem.[1] Otherwise there is no distinct clue, and the sole *terminus ad quem* is to be found in the dates of Matthew and Luke. Not earlier than 65, and not much, if at all, later than 75, one may conjecture that the gospel was composed.[2] It is remarkable that the very feeling which had in earlier days rendered Christian literature superfluous—*i.e.* the expectation of Christ's immediate advent—should have actually come to be a chief motive in the composition of the primitive gospels. Yet such is the fact. Mark presupposes doubts in regard to Christ's return, which were to be implicitly answered by a proof that death formed a necessary stage in the process of his living Spirit. What argument (Hebrews) and vision (Apocalypse) afterwards undertook, Mark strove to accomplish by means of the evangelic history. He laboured to quicken the hope of the advent, which under the lapse of time and through the seeming contrariety of events had partially wavered. "Enthusiastic hope was" rekindled rather than "replaced by historic reverence" (Martineau, *Essays and Addresses*, iii. 39). At least, in the synoptic tradition from the first, an attempt was made in this direction. For it was an object of these early historians to state the reasonableness of the anticipation and to indicate its truth, against the stubborn facts of Jesus' death and the increasing lapse of time.

In other circles where the long delay of the *parousia* had been felt with equal severity (Mt 24^{48} 25^{5}), the prophetic mission of the Messiah required to be exhibited as culminating in the relation of Jesus to the Christian community (cp. Burton, *Biblical World*, 1898, pp. 37–44, 91–101). Now that the external state of Judaism had gone (Mt 22^{7}), its legitimate successor was the reign of heaven, which in Matthew's gospel is heir to the prerogatives of the older revelation (*e.g.* 1^{22}). To Matthew the OT is the anticipation, not of contemporary Judaism, but of the Christianity which that Judaism banned and scorned. The author of

[1] Note the omission of Mark's characteristic *εὐθέως* in 13^{24} (retained in Mt 24^{29}).

[2] It goes without saying that a large mass of Christ's teaching has been preserved in a form whose origin is evidently earlier than that of the synoptic gospels themselves, or even of their sources. Certain phrases and conceptions of Jesus laid too strong a hold of the primitive disciples to permit of their being affected (to any serious degree) by later modes of thought and feeling; and all literary criticism of the gospels as products of the apostolic church must allow for the creative originality of Jesus as a teacher, and his dominating personality. At the same time this does not exhaust the evidence of the gospels. For if these preserve features of a much earlier age which either lost their vogue or resisted alteration between 30 and 70 A.D., they as certainly reproduce some feelings and ideas which mainly sprang into life during the course of that interval. A distinctly retrospective element exists, even in Mark. The picture is partly a review. It looks back not merely to the actual life of Christ within the limit of his birth and death, but also to the effect and course of his Spirit in subsequent years among the Christian communities. The record is now and then permeated by interpretations, modifications, and applications which would have been anachronistic at the moment when the words were originally spoken.

this gospel is in fact the theologian[1] of the evangelists. He is familiar with OT prophecies, arranges his history so as to bring out with great aptness for his age the dogmatic principle of Christ's Messianic state, as that was foretold by the Scriptures, rejected by the Jews, and accepted by the Christians. Slight but significant in this connection are the frequent phrases occurring like a refrain, ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν (ὑπὸ Κυρίου) διὰ τοῦ προφητοῦ, "the Son of David," ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, and the like.[2] Besides this interest, there lie upon the surface the pressing interests of the age in questions[3] of church-order and discipline (Mt 18^{15-18} $16^{17.\ 18}$); it is not illegitimate to discover some significance in the quotation of parables ($13^{24f.\ 38f.}$) which imply the heterogenous nature of the visible church, and it is more than singular that ἐκκλήσια occurs in this gospel alone. The so-called "sermon on the mount" is plainly intended to be the Magna Charta of the new reign of God, visible and authoritative. Its place and contents point to its function as a statement of the new law for the new communities. Here and elsewhere throughout Matthew, the idea of the church, as Prof. Carpenter observes, "is in some sense present in the background much oftener than the term itself appears." Traces of it probably appear in the regulations for discipline (*c.* 18) and baptism (*c.* 28), for which the sanction and authority of Jesus are duly claimed, and in which he is represented as the head of a settled organisation. To suppose that Jesus contemplated a visible church as the embodiment of his gospel is almost to be guilty of a historical atrocity; but both Matthew and Ac 1–5 concur in representing the early Christians as rapidly organising themselves into a community. This is a most significant fact, alike in its bearing on the temper and attitude of the people, and in its import as a presupposition for the growth of subsequent records of the Master; and the evidence of Paul corroborates the indirect allusions of Matthew to the organised body or bodies of primitive Christianity, as well as to the place which these occupied in the development of the evangelic tradition (1 Co 15^{1-9}). The salient features of this life are finely sketched by Harnack in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), pp. 96–109.

[1] Not in the sense that he is dominated by pro-Jewish tendencies. As Dr. Cone correctly points out, the kind of record preserved in Matthew is "a natural and necessary result of the historical connection of Christianity with Judaism."

[2] *Vide* the use of Ἰουδαῖοι (28^{15}) in the antagonistic sense of the term which is so frequent in the fourth gospel. Otherwise, the aim of the gospel represents simply a more developed form of that which dominates the gospel κατὰ Ἑβραίους, "to exhibit Jesus as the Messiah sent from God, not as the Son of God conceived of the Holy Ghost in a special sense, but as the long-expected Messiah of David's race, in whom prophecy finds its fulfilment" (Handmann, *TU*, v. 3, p. 125). This is the primitive stage which Matthew and Luke transcend, but which lingered in some circles of belief.

[3] Compare in the later literature, also, the "liturgical" element in Lk 1, 2, Apoc, Pastorals (Eph. ?), and the basis found for Christian worship (Jn 4^{23}), institutions, and ministry ($20^{19f.}$, Ac 1, 2), with the first prayer for the Roman Emperor (Clem. Rom. 61), etc. Wernle (*Z.N.W.*, 1900, p. 63), following a hint of Sohm's, argues that even in the fourth gospel the absence of the word ἐκκλήσια is purely a superficial feature. "The Christocentric apology of the gospel is the apology of the church. Whenever the author speaks of Christ, faith, Spirit, truth, the word is spoken by the church. More churchly passages than 3^5 or 14^6 do not exist in any NT writing; Ac 4^{12} alone has similar traits." Upon the impulse towards organisation afforded by the crisis of 70 A.D., see Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 539 f. As morality depends largely on institutions, and as the new religion found these lying to hand in Judaism and Hellenism alike, the question really is,—how soon did Christianity discover its independent need of such aids, and how far did it transform them for its own ends? For Paul's share and interest in this matter, see a fair statement in Weinel's *Paulus als Kirchliche Organizator*, 1899.

The *terminus a quo* for dating Matthew is given partly by tradition, partly by the internal evidence of its dependence upon Mark. The notice of Papias (Euseb. *HE*, iii. 39. 16) that Matthew composed the Logia in Hebrew, leaves the date of this apostolic collection an open question; but if Irenaeus (*ibid.* v. 8. 2)[1] is to be trusted, it was written in the first half of the seventh decade. Weiss, incorrectly interpreting the Eusebian story that an oracle was granted to the primitive Jerusalem church, as an allusion to this Logia collection, instead of to the "small apocalypse," dates it 67 A.D. This is rather late, however; and besides, the Logia were probably in existence some time before Mark wrote his gospel. A general *terminus a quo* for Matthew, therefore, is the seventh decade, when this collection which formed one of its bases was composed (*c.* 62 A.D. is the date suggested by Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. p. xxiii). The internal evidence carries us past the year 70; passages like $27^{44f.}$ 22^{7} 16^{28} are decisive upon this, besides the use of Mark's gospel as one of its sources.[2] The *terminus ad quem* is not to be fixed more definitely than the date of the fourth gospel, which rests upon the three synoptists. Unfortunately it is uncertain whether Matthew is used by Luke, but in any case it must have been written before the end of the first century.[3] Upon the whole, it may be regarded as nearer than Luke to Mark and the Logia, although occasionally greater exactness in reproducing the early tradition does not absolutely prove priority in order of composition. A fair range for its composition would be the period 75–90 A.D. That the gospel has come down to us with the traditional name of Matthew is due to the fact that in the early tradition Matthew appeared as the author of those Logia which were afterwards incorporated in the present gospel, gave it an important and distinctive feature, and were finally superseded by it. When the two came to be confused, the gospel being taken as a translation of the Logia, it was natural that Matthew's name should be retained for the larger work by an age which had already lost all direct knowledge of the gospel's literary history.

The indisputable fact that Luke presupposes the fall of Jerusalem ($19^{43.\ 44}$ 21^{21-24}) is confirmed by the use made of Mark in his pages. From the prologue it is evident that the book followed a rich growth of evangelic narratives, which apparently did not satisfy Luke's standard of research and investigation. This points to a pretty advanced date,

[1] Ματθαῖος . . . γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. For wholly inconclusive reasons Resch dates the composition of Matthew's Logia shortly after the crucifixion (*Die Logia Jesu*, Nach dem griechischen und hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt, 1898). It is of course impossible to attach any weight to the statements found in some minuscule manuscripts that Mark was composed 10, Luke 15, and John 30 or 32 years after the ascension.

[2] Cp. Wernle's remarks on the treatment of the miracles in Matthew and Mark respectively (*op. cit.* p. 158). To Matthew, as he points out, they are materials for proving the Messiahship of Jesus. To Mark they are also that, but very much more. He sees in them "not the embodiment of a principle, but a personality with the warmth of life, who bends to men as one of themselves in mercy and love, sorrow and anger. For Matthew the miracles are mere cyphers, which added together make up a great number. For Mark they have individual worth." The conclusion is, "Das Individuelle ist stets früher da, als die Verallgemeinerung; die Freude am Geschehris ist älter als der theologische Beweis. Gerade die zwei [7^{31-37} 8^{22-26}] von Mt übergangenen Wunder sind die jenigen, mit denen theologische Reflexion am wenigsten anfangen kann."

[3] If any weight could be attached to an interesting Syrian tradition quoted by Nestle (*ZWTh*, 1894, pp. 435–438), the question of the Star in the Greek text of Matthew (ch. 2) was being discussed widely by 120 A.D. Cp., however, Hilgenfeld (*ibid.* 1895, pp. 447 f.).

whether Matthew is included in these narratives or not. Also there are the use of ὁ κύριος for Christ, the incipient hymnology and legalism, the development of the resurrection-tradition, etc. Here, too (6^{22} 12^{11} 21^{12}), as in Matthew, traces exist of civil persecution, which would be quite apt in Domitian's reign (*i.e.* any time after 90). But beyond such general limits, it is impossible to fix any period for the book's composition. The relations between it and Mark (possibly Matthew as well), apart from the advanced character of its theology (cp. the characteristic feeling of delay in Christ's advent, $18^{7.8}$ 20^{9}) and conceptions, forbid us placing it before 80. On the other side, it was certainly composed before Acts and the fourth gospel, some time during the last quarter of the first century,[1] when Gentile Christianity (καιροὶ ἐθνῶν, 21^{24}) was being steadily diffused throughout the Roman Empire. Between the author and the life of Jesus lie not only the first witnesses (αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται), but also a numerous circle of writers who preceded him in the attempt to compose a narrative of the Christian facts. The author of the third gospel, then, belongs to the *epigoni*. He is of the second or third generation, living in an age when the chief materials for a life of Jesus consisted of written sources.[2] Apart from these, he was dependent upon oral reminiscence and hearsay; it scarcely required second-century tradition to point out his distance from the historical origin of the faith (Murat. Can. "Dominum nec ipse vidit in carne").

In the third gospel (as in the book of Acts) there is an exceptional care to trace the development[3] of the new religion in its disentanglement from Judaism (Lk 21^{24}, καιροὶ ἐθνῶν)[4] and expansion into the Roman Empire. This gospel is even more distinctively featured than the others. The

[1] The literary relationship between Luke, Acts, and Josephus (especially in the *Antiquities*, composed 93–94 A.D.) is a vexed question (see below, on Acts). If the resemblances involve the dependence of one writer on the other, it is more probable that Luke used Josephus than *vice versâ*, though it is quite reasonable to conjecture that both may have used the same sources, or even to deny that the resemblances are anything more than coincidences. The bearing of the question is greater upon Acts than upon the third gospel; while the dependence of the latter on Josephus' *Antiquities* cannot be securely proved, the former might be with more reason conjectured to have a fairly direct relationship (Wendt admits it especially in $5^{36f.}$) with the *Jewish History*. Yet the discrepancy *e.g.*, between their accounts of Herod Agrippa's death, seems an insuperable difficulty, and the use of common ideas and idioms goes far to explain most of the coincidences (see particularly the careful proof by Belser, *TQ*, 1895, pp. 634–662, 1896, pp. 1–78). Apart from the older criticism of Overbeck, Hausrath, Keim, and Renan, the dependence of Luke on Josephus has been urged especially by Holtzmann (*ZwTh* (1877), p. 535 f., *ibid.* (1880), p. 121 f., and Krenkel (*Jos. u. Lucas*, 1894); cp. also an article in *Fortnightly Review* (1877), pp. 485–509; Jüngst (*quellen d. Apgeschichte*, p. 201 f.)); Schmiedel (*ZSchz*, 1898, p. 46, *EBi*, i. 49), and Clemen. Against the theory, Schürer (*ZwTh*, 1876, pp. 574 f.), Nösgen (*SK*, 1879, p. 221), Bousset (*ThLz*, 1895, p. 391), Headlam (*DB*, i. art. "Acts"), Bebb (*DB*, iii. 168), besides Schanz (*Comm. Luc.* p. 16), Gloël (*die jüngste Kritik d. Galat.* p. 64 f.), Adeney, (*BI*, pp. 343, 344), Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 394–418), and of course—by implication—writers like Harnack, McGiffert, and Ramsay (cp. Zeller, Overbeck-Zeller, ii. 310).

[2] For a note on these, cp. Appendix: on Lk 1–2.

[3] Cp. Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 291–296. The development is somewhat protracted. It must embrace an interval during which the erroneous identification of Christ's coming with the fall of Jerusalem had to be reluctantly abandoned.

[4] The Luke of the NT (Col 4^{14}) is a Gentile Christian. The genealogy of the third gospel reaching back to Adam, not to Abraham (as Matt.), witnesses to the "Catholic" tendency, which in this case is identified with the aim at a "complete" (1^{2}) account of Jesus. Adam is the human, as opposed to Abraham the national, ancestor; but he is also the actual root of the subsequent pedigree. On Luke and the Roman world, cp. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898) pp. 49–72.

characteristics, *e.g.* commonly known as its "Paulinism" and "Ebionitism," represent quite definite traits, but how far these rather eclectic elements are to be referred to the conscious individuality of the author, and how far to the circle of feelings and ideas in which he moved and for which he wrote, is another problem.[1] One motive, however, is fairly plain. The work of his contemporary, Josephus, was devoted to removing as far as possible the anti-Semite prejudice which had been accentuated in many Roman circles by the outbreak of 66–70 A.D. The two volumes from a Christian pen which we now know as the third gospel and Acts had a similar object. They strove to allay the unfavourable impression produced in the same circles, not merely by the unpopularity and troublesomeness of Christians throughout the empire, but also by the malice of their co-religionists, the Jews. That some such idea was in the mind of the author cannot reasonably be doubted.

As the remarkable coincidences between Lk 1^{1-4} and the medical writings of Dioskorides (of Anazarbus), cp. Lagarde (*Psalt. juxta Hebr. Hieronymi*, p. 165 f., *Mittheilungen*, 3, p. 55 f.), J. Weiss (-Meyer's *Luke*, *ad loc.*), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 384), of whom the last named lays greater stress upon Luke's use of Hippokrates.

(B) *Date of composition.*—The wide differences of opinion which still exist in regard to this point of the synoptic problem can be most easily exhibited in a table. The *terminus a quo* for the composition of the three gospels may be taken as *c.* 70 A.D. The opposite limit falls *c.* 100 A.D., or even later. It is brave rather than accurate to declare that the prevalent view upon the whole is that "our gospels as we have them were written within the decade 71–80 A.D." (Sanday, *Exp.*[4] iii. 345, following Wright). For Matthew, *e.g.*, Hausrath, W. Brückner, and Renan will not come down earlier than the Flavian régime;[2] Volkmar and Pfleiderer[3] put it

[1] Another slightly different aspect of the question is offered by the theory which is disposed to discover these variations chiefly in the Jewish-Christian sources which already lay before Luke, modelled as they were by previous tradition (so Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Weberlieferung d. Lukas*, 1891; and similarly J. Weiss in Meyer[8]). This would reduce Luke's initiative and make his variations due less to contemporary reflections or personal bias than to the reproduction of primitive tendencies. Jüngst, again (*SK*, 1896, pp. 215–244), is quite unable to find distinctively Pauline or theological prepossessions in the third gospel. Its author is "ein ziemlich farblöser Bearbeiter seiner (wesentlich judenchristlichen) Quellen," and Resch is even more extravagant (*Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, *TU*, x. 3, p. 847): "Lukas ist der tendenzlose, lediglich und treulich auf seine Quellen sich stützende Historiograph der NT." Ramsay's parallel estimate (*SPT*, pp. 14 f.) does not seem to be justified even by his own interpretation of those portions of Acts (and they are the strongest) which he selects for discussion; apart altogether from the fact that any such estimate ought in all fairness to start from a work like the third gospel, where we have the opportunity of comparing Luke with other writers of the same class who used to some extent the same materials. At any rate, Luke's historical rank is nearer that of Livy than of Thucydides, and nothing operates so mischievously in literary research as an exaggerated estimate of some individual author. It simply provokes a depreciation which falls into the same pit of injustice. Norden, *Das Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 480–492, rightly pronounces quite an encomium upon Luke's style, in comparison with that of the other synoptists. Cp. also above, p. 32.

[2] Réville, i. pp. 282–360, dates the gospels between 98 and 117 A.D., the editing of the Logia before 70, the Proto-Mark 70–75, and the fourth gospel 130–140. Similarly Paul (*die Abfassungszeit d. Synopt. Evglien*, 1887), arguing from the evidence of Justin Martyr, dates the final redaction of all four gospels between 130 and 150 A.D.

[3] Pfleiderer's latest results are: Mark, possibly before the fall of Jerusalem, and at any rate not long after the death of Paul (*Urc.* 414–416); Luke, written in Trajan's reign, about the opening of the second century (*ibid.* 542–543); Matthew, about the second or third decade of the second century.

much later, while Usener (*Religionsgeschichte Untersuchungen*, i. pp. 97, 173) dates its final form 130 A.D., its oldest, 69 A.D.[1] Jülicher's period for the gospel is 81–96 A.D., with which Wernle practically agrees. As for Luke, quite a weighty league of scholars cannot find evidence for it earlier than the end of the first century or the beginning of the second; so Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Holtzmann, Krenkel, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Wernle, etc. Extravagant as some of the arguments for these positions may be, the total proof is sufficient to show the lack of any definite agreement upon the date of either Matthew or Luke, and also the generally late period to which upon any fair statement of the case they must be assigned. Equally extravagant in the opposite direction are the

	Keim.	Holsten.[1]	Carpenter.	A. Wright.	Jülicher.	Harnack.[3]	Zahn.
Mark	A.D. 100 or later. [S. Davidson, 120; Usener, 120–130.]	A.D. 80 f. So Hilgenfeld. [Renan, 76.]	A.D. 70[2] [Before the summer of 70; Swete, Salmond.]	A.D. 70. [69, Weiss, Schanz; 67–66, Schäfer.]	A.D. 70 after. So Beyschlag, McGiffert, and Wernle. [73, Volkmar.]	A.D. 65–70. So W. Brückner, Stanton, Abbott, Adeney, Wendt.	A.D. (64) 67 *c.* So Bartlet
Matt	68 ± [So Abbott, Adeney, and Bartlet.]	70 f. So Holtzmann (–110) and Hilgenfeld. [After 75, Reuss.]	100 f. [S. Davidson, *c.* 105; (Volkmar and Soltau, 110); Pfleiderer, before 140.]	70-80. So Weiss.	81–96. [End of century, Wernle.] So McGiffert.	70–75. [Except some later additions.] So Bruce.	85 *c.* [In Greek.]
Luke	98 *c.* [Renan, Soltau, and Wernle, 90–100.]	100 *c.* So Scholten and Pfleiderer.	80[2] or later. [So Abbott.]	80 before. [So Weiss, Adeney, and Bartlet.]	80–120. [After 100, Holtzmann, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Zeller, S. Davidson, Weizsäcker.]	78–93. McGiffert, [Bruce?] and J. Weiss.	75 *c.* So Plummer.

[1] Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888) also dates Mk ± 90, Matt ± 80, and Luke at the beginning of the second century.

[2] "Both very probable dates" (Sanday, *Exp*[4], iii. 20, vii. 412: *Bampton Lect.* p. 277 f. Luke=75–80); so V. H. Stanton (*ut supra*), and Bebb (*DB*, iii. 162–164).

[3] *Chron.* pp. 650–656. So substantially Dr. O. Cone, *Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity*, 1891.

reactionary attempts to put Luke previous to the destruction of Jerusalem: so, after Godet, Prof. Marshall (*Exp.*[4] ii. 72, 58–60 A.D.), Schanz (between 65-70), Schäfer (67–70), Hahn, and most recently Blass (*PG*, pp. 33–52, *Evglm. secundum Luc.* 1897, pp. ix, x), who dates it fifteen years previous to that event. This period had been occasionally assigned to

[1] Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 158-333), like Schäfer (*Einl.* p. 195 f.), dates Matthew's Aramaic work (composed in Palestine) *c.* 62, and its final Greek form more than twenty years later; just as Hilgenfeld had already put the former 50-60, and the latter 70–80 A.D. Holsten put the Matthean Logia as far back as *c.* 55. Stanton (*DB*, ii. pp. 247, 248), after dismissing Mt 24[29] as an argument for the pre-70 date, remarks, "Nor do there seem to be other indications in the gospel which enable us to assign it with confidence to a time either before or after that or any other date." This is quite a wanton pessimism: it is caution glorified at the expense of intelligence.

Mark or even Matthew (Abbott places both before 70 A.D.), but Halcombe conjectures that the whole of the gospels were in existence and circulation before the Acts (*Historic Relation of the Gospels*, 1889, pp. 234–250), *i.e.* previous to 63±, and even twelve years earlier, before the Epistles, John being the earliest of the four, Luke the latest, and Mark following Matthew.

The following synchronisms help to orientate these dates :—

Juvenal's satires on Roman politics, manners, and religion kept appearing about this period, the earliest of them perhaps contemporaneous with the first gospels, the latest in the beginning of Trajan's reign, when the fourth gospel was composed in Asia Minor. Also, just as Luke, Acts, and the Apocalypse were coming into circulation among Christian readers, the Roman public were being delighted with Martial's disreputably piquant etchings of Italian society. But the circumstances of Epiktetus' career are even more apposite. His διατριβαί were being delivered in Rome and afterwards in Nikopolis during the last quarter of the first century A.D. They were reproduced thirty or forty years later by one of his hearers, the historian Arrian, who had taken notes of them for his own sake. The curious thing is that these private notes came to be published without the consent or knowledge of Arrian himself, although he probably gave them a subsequent revision. Cp. Tables II.–III.

The inner forces of the environment form too complex a subject to be outlined here. But in addition to what has been already said upon the practical aim which dominated the evangelists, it must be remembered that the medium through which they and their readers viewed the life of Jesus was not insulated from the contemporary spirit which pervaded the East. As Dr. Gardner decides, after drawing attention to the limited extent to which the Eastern parts of the Roman world were Hellenised in the first century, "the mass of the people were prepared to accept historical accounts not by the strict rules of evidence, but according as they satisfied certain inner needs or agreed with existing feelings." Some principle like this is needed as a canon for gospel-criticism. Otherwise many problems will remain insoluble to those who forget that to be realistic, ethically appropriate, circumstantial, edifying, is not equivalent to being "historical" in the strict and modern sense of the term. Roughly speaking, the priority of Mark, and approximately its date: the composition of Matthew within the first century, and its general period :—these are the points upon which most lines of modern criticism converge. That Luke is subsequent to Matthew, and that it was composed during Domitian's reign, are less certain positions; but they have excellent support, and may be adopted with a good conscience. On these points as on the criticism of the sources, it is certainly possible to speak with less dubiety than hitherto. If the province of the synoptic question has not yet been fully surveyed, the researches of the past half-century [1] have at least opened several main tracks along which all future workers must proceed, and from which it is reasonable to expect that, unless fresh documents are discovered, no serious deviation will be found necessary.

[1] The hope with which Ritschl closed his survey of the synoptic question (*Gesammelte Aussätze*, pp. 1–57) in 1851, has been largely justified: "Wie weit uns die innere Kritik der Evangelien in der Untersuchung ihres Ursprungs führen wird, wissen wir nicht, bisher hat sie nur zu Hader und Zank geführt, darum können wir aber die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben, dass auf diesem Wege das Geheimniss wenigstens theilweise enthüllt werde, welches die Ursprünge des evangelischen Schriftthums umgibt, und welches durch die Traditionen der Kirchenväter nur vermehrt, aber nicht vermindert wird."

MARK

With this gospel we proceed to describe the historical literature of early Christianity. Undoubtedly it is the earliest of the gospels, and became the groundwork for all that followed. The arrangement of the narratives, which is simple and thoroughly clear, represents the guiding principle followed in the main by Luke and Matthew. . . . The stories and speeches in Mark are presented throughout in a manner that bears the stamp of originality, with a clearness and precision that are self-evident, as well as with a completeness that is at once well rounded, coherent, and continuous. It is the first extant attempt to exhibit in narrative form, as a history of Jesus' life and sufferings, that gospel of Jesus as the Christ which Paul had preached as a theological doctrine. Materials from the earliest tradition are certainly utilised in this narrative; but in its conception of details it betrays as plainly the determining influence of that great teacher Paul, who probably had as one of his scholars the author of this first gospel.—**Pfleiderer.**

1^{1-13}	**The Preparation**	the ministry of John ; the baptism of Jesus ; the temptation of Jesus.
1^{14}–9^{50}	**The Galilean ministry:**	
1^{14}–7^{23}	East Galilee: early success: controversy and conflict on	forgiveness of sins, intercourse with tax-gatherers and sinners, fasting, Sabbath (eating and healing on).
		renewed activity and opposition:
4^{1-34}		a cycle of parables:
4^{35}–5^{43}		a cycle of miracles:
6		rejection at Nazareth: commission of apostles.
6^{30}–7^{23}		a cycle of miracles: opposition of the Pharisees.
7^{24}–9^{50}	North Galilee:	a cycle of miracles: controversy with Pharisees.
8^{27}–9^{32}		at Caesarea Philippi—the confession of Peter: the transfiguration.
9^{33-50}		sayings on humility—on hindrances—on obstacles to faith.
10–13	**The Judaean ministry:**	the teaching of Jesus on marriage, childhood, wealth, self-sacrifice.
10^{32-52}		incidents of the journey—the miracle at Jericho.
11^{1-27}		the triumphal entry into Jerusalem: the purging of the temple, etc.
11^{27}–12^{44}		controversy in temple with priests, Pharisees, Herodians, Sadducees, etc.
13		the apocalypse of Jesus—
14–15	**The Passion of Jesus:**	at Bethany: in the upper room—the last supper. in the garden—the agony, the betrayal. in the house of Kaiaphas—the trial, Peter's denial. before Pilate— the crucifixion, death, and burial.
16^{1-8}	**After death:**	appearance of an angel to the women.

MARK

1 1 [The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ.]
2 Even as it is written in the prophet Isaiah,
Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way!
3 *The voice of one crying in the wilderness:*
"Make ready the way of the Lord,
Make level his paths!"
4 John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness[1] preaching a baptism of
5 repentance for the remission of sins. And all the country of Judaea
began to go out to him, with all the people of Jerusalem; and they were
6 baptized by him in the river Jordan, as they confessed their sins. And
John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a leather girdle round his
7 loins, and he ate locusts and wild honey. And he preached saying,
"After me comes he who is mightier than I,
The thong of whose sandals I am not fit to stoop down and untie.
8 I have baptized you with water,
But he shall baptize you with the holy Spirit."
9 And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of
10 Galilee, and had himself baptized in the Jordan by John. And im-
mediately on rising up from the water he saw the skies part asunder and
11 the Spirit like a dove come down upon him: and a voice out of the skies
said,
"Thou art my Son, the beloved,
In thee I delight."
12 Then immediately the Spirit thrusts him out into the wilderness;
13 and he was in the wilderness for forty days, tempted by Satan.
And he was with the wild beasts. And the angels ministered to him.

14 Now after John had been delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee
15 preaching the glad tidings of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and
God's reign is near. Repent and believe in the glad tidings."
16 And in passing along beside the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew
17 the brother of Simon casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And
Jesus said to them, "Come after me and I will make you fishers of
18, 19 men." Then immediately they left the nets and followed him. And
going a little further on he saw James the son of Zebedee with his
20 brother John, who were also in their boat mending nets. And immedi-
ately he called them; and they left their father Zebedee with the hired
servants in the boat, and went away after him.
21 And they go into Kapharnahum. And immediately on the sabbath-
22 day he went into the synagogue and began to teach. And they were
astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as one who exerted
23 authority, and not like the scribes. And immediately there was in their

[1] Omitting [[*καὶ*]].

24 synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and it shrieked, "What have we
to do with thee, Jesus of Nazaret? Hast thou come to destroy us? I
25 know who thou art, the holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked it,
26 "Silence! leave him!" So after convulsing him and crying with a
27 loud voice, the unclean spirit left him. And in amazement they all
discussed it one with another, and said, "What is this?" "New teaching,
with authority!" "He commands even the unclean spirits!" "Yes,
28 and they obey him!" And the report of him went out immediately in
29 all directions into the whole of the surrounding country of Galilee. And
immediately on leaving the synagogue, they went into the house of
30 Simon and Andrew, with James and John. Now the mother of Simon's
31 wife was lying in a fever, and immediately they tell him about her. And
he came near, and taking her hand raised her; and the fever left her, and
32 she ministered to them. Now in the evening, when the sun had
set, they brought him all who were ill and those who were possessed by
33, 34 daemons. And the whole city was gathered at the door. And he healed
many who were ill with manifold diseases, and cast out many daemons;
35 nor would he let the daemons speak, because they knew him. And
very early, long before day, he rose, went away out to a desert place, and
36, 37 there began to pray. And Simon with his companions pursued him and
38 found him; and they say to him, "Everyone is seeking thee!" But he
says to them, "Let us go elsewhere, to the adjoining country-towns, that
39 I may preach there also; for that is why I came out." Then he went and
preached in their synagogues through the whole of Galilee, and cast out
the daemons.

40 And a leper comes to him, beseeching him and kneeling down, saying
41 to him, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." And in compassion
he stretched out his hand and touched him; and he says to him, "I will:
42 be clean. Then immediately the leprosy left him, and he became clean.
43, 44 And he sternly charged him and immediately sent him off, saying to
him, "See thou tell no one anything; but go, *show* thyself *to the priest*,
and offer for thy cleansing what Moses commanded—as a proof to men."
45 But he went away and began to proclaim it widely and to spread the
affair abroad. The result was that Jesus could no longer enter a city
openly. He stayed outside in desert places; and people came to him
from every quarter.

2 1 And when he entered Kapharnahum again after some days, it was
2 reported that he was at home. And many gathered together, so that
there was no longer any room for them even at the door; and he spoke
3 the word to them. Then people came bringing to him a paralytic man,
4 carried by four men. And as they were unable to bring him to Jesus
on account of the crowd, they uncovered the roof where he was, and after
tearing it up they lower the pallet on which the paralytic man lay.
5 And on seeing their faith, Jesus says to the paralytic man, "My son,
6 thy sins are forgiven." Now some of the scribes sat there and
7 argued in their hearts, "Why does this fellow speak thus? He is
8 blaspheming. Who can forgive sins except God alone?" And as Jesus
immediately perceived in his spirit that they were thus arguing to them-
9 selves, he says to them, "Why argue thus in your hearts? Which is
easier, to say to the paralytic man, 'Thy sins are forgiven,' or to say,
10 'Rise and take up thy pallet and walk'? But, to let you know that the
Son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins"—he says to the
11 paralytic man—"I say to thee, 'Rise, take up thy pallet and go home.'"
12 Then he rose, took up the pallet immediately, and went out in presence

of them all. So all were amazed, and magnified God saying, "We have never seen anything like this!"

13 And he went out again by the seaside; and all the crowd came to
14 him, and he taught them. And as he passed along he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting at the tax-office; and he says to him, "Follow me."
15 And he rose and followed him. And it came to pass that he was reclining at meat in his house, and many tax-gatherers and sinners were reclining along with Jesus and his disciples (for there were many of them,
16 and they followed him). And on seeing that he ate with the sinners and tax-gatherers, the scribes of the Pharisees said to his disciples, "Does he
17 eat [1] with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" And when Jesus heard it he says to them,

"The strong need not a physician, but those who are ill:
I came not to call upright men but sinners."

18 And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were observing a fast. And people come and say to him, "Why is it that the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, while thy disciples fast not?"
19 And Jesus said to them,

"Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast while the bridegroom is with them?
So long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.
20 But days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them:
And then will they fast on that day.
21 No man stitches a piece of undressed cloth on an old cloak:
Otherwise, the patch parts from it, the new from the old,
And a worse tear is made.
22 And no man pours fresh wine into old wine-skins:
Otherwise, the wine will burst the wine-skins,
And they are lost, wine and wine-skins together." [2]

23 And it came to pass that he was making his way upon the sabbath-day through the cornfields; and as his disciples journeyed, they began to
24 pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said to him, "Look! why
25 are they doing what is wrong upon the sabbath-day?" And he says to them, "Have you never read what David did when he was in need, and
26 he and his companions were hungry? How he went into the house of God, when Abiathar was high-priest, and ate *the show-bread*, which no one except the priests has any right to eat; and gave it also to his com-
27 panions?" And he said to them,

"The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath:
28 So the Son of man is lord even of the sabbath."

3 1 And he again entered a synagogue; and a man was there with his
2 hand withered. And they were watching him narrowly to see if he would heal him on the sabbath-day, in order to accuse him. And he says
4 to the man who had the withered hand, "Rise and come forward." And he says to them, "Is it right to help or to harm on the sabbath-day?
5 to save life or to kill it?" But they kept silence. Then after looking round on them with anger, grieved at the hardening of their heart, he says to the man, "Stretch out the hand." And as he stretched it out, his
6 hand was restored. And the Pharisees went out and immediately proceeded to consult [3] with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him.
7 And Jesus retired to the sea with his disciples. And a great multi-

[1] Omitting [[καὶ τίνει]].
[2] Omitting [[ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς]].
[3] Reading ἐδίδουν.

8 tude followed from Galilee, and from Judaea and from Jerusalem and
and from Idumaea and from across the Jordan and the neighbourhood of
Tyre and Sidon—a great multitude, on hearing all that he was doing,
9 came to him. And owing to the crowd he told his disciples to have a
10 small boat in attendance upon him, that he might not be crushed; for
he had healed many, and the result was that all who had plagues were
11 pressing on him to touch him. And whenever the unclean spirits saw
him, they fell down before him and shouted, "Thou art the Son of God!"
12 But he repeatedly charged them not to make him known.
13 Then he goes up the mountain, and summons those whom he would;
14 and they went away to him. And he appointed twelve,[1] whom he also
named "apostles"; that they might be with him, and that he might send
15 them out to preach and to possess authority for casting out the daemons.
16 So he appointed the twelve: Simon (he surnamed him also "Peter"),
17 with James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James (he sur-
18 named them also "Boanerges," that is, "sons of thunder"), and Andrew
and Philip and Bartholomew and Matthew and Thomas, and James the
19 son of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus and Simon ("the zealot"), and Judas of
Kerioth (he who betrayed him).
20 Then he comes home; and again the crowd gathers, so that they could
21 not so much as get their food. And when his relatives heard it, they
went out to seize him; for they said, "He is out of his mind."
22 And the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem said, "He has
Beelzebub," and, "He is casting out the daemons with the help of the ruler
23 of the daemons." So summoning them he said to them in parables,

"How can Satan cast out Satan?
24 And if a realm be divided against itself,
That realm cannot stand:
25 And if a household be divided against itself,
That house will not be able to stand:
26 And if Satan has risen against himself and is divided,
He cannot stand; it is all over with him.
27 Nay; no one can enter the house of the mighty man and plunder his
goods unless first of all he binds the mighty man; then indeed he will
28 plunder his house. I tell you truly,
All sins shall be forgiven the sons of men,
And all the blasphemies wherewith ever they blaspheme:
29 But whoever blasphemes against the holy Spirit
Never has forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin."

30, 31 (This was because they said, "He has an unclean spirit.") And
his mother and his brothers come, and standing outside they sent to him
32 and called him. And a crowd was seated round him; and they say to him,
"Here are thy mother and thy brothers and thy sisters, seeking thee
33 outside!" And he says to them in reply, "Who are my mother and my
34 brothers?" Then looking round on them who sat in a circle about him,
he says, "Here are my mother and my brothers!
35 Whoever obeys the will of God,
That is my brother and sister and mother."

4 1 And again he started to teach by the seaside. Then a very large
crowd gathers to him, so that he entered a boat and sat there on the sea,
2 while all the crowd stayed at the edge of the sea upon the land. And he
taught them many things in parables; and in the course of his teaching
he said to them:

[1] Adding οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν.

3 "Listen! behold, a sower went out to sow.
4 And as he sowed it came to pass that
Some seed fell along the path,
And the birds came and ate it up.
5 And some other seed fell upon the rocky ground, where it had not much earth,
And shot up immediately because it had no depth of earth;
6 But when the sun rose it was scorched,
And because it had no root, it withered away.
7 And some other seed fell among the thorns,
And the thorns came up and choked it; so it produced no crop.
8 And some other seeds fell into the good soil,
And as they came up and grew they produced a crop,
Yea, they bore thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold."
9, 10 And he said, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear." And when he was alone, his associates and the twelve questioned him about the
11 parables. Then said he to them,
"To you is the secret of God's reign given,
But to those outside everything is imparted by way of parables:
12 That *they may see and see, yet not perceive,*
And hear and hear, yet not understand,
Lest haply they should turn again and be forgiven."
13 And he says to them, "Do you not understand this parable? Then
14 how are you to understand all the parables? The sower is sowing the
15 word. The following are the people who are 'along the path,' where the word is sown—when they have heard, immediately Satan comes and
16 takes away the word sown among them. And in the same way the following are those who are 'sown upon the rocky places'—people who, when
17 they have heard the word, accept it immediately with joy; yet have no root in themselves, they last merely for a time; then, at the rise of dis-
18 tress or persecution for the word, they are immediately repelled. And others are those who are 'sown among the thorns': they are people
19 who have heard the word, yet the anxieties of the world and the deceit of riches and all the rest of the desires enter in to choke the word; and it
20 becomes unfruitful. And these are those who were 'sown upon the good soil'—people who hear the word and admit it, and bear fruit, thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold."
21 And he said to them,
"Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel or under the bed?
Is it not to be put on the lampstand?
22 For nothing is hidden except to be disclosed,
And nothing has been concealed save that it should come to view.
23, 24 If anyone has ears to hear, let him hear." And he said to them,
"Take heed what you hear.
With what measure you measure,
it shall be measured to you, and added to you besides.
25 For he who has,
to him shall be given:
And he who has not,
from him shall be taken even what he has."
26 And he said, "So is the reign of God as though a man should cast his seed
27 upon the earth, and sleep and rise by night and by day, while the seed
28 sprouts and springs up—he knows not how. The earth produces crops by
29 herself, first the blade, then the ear, then the grain full in the ear. But

when the crop admits of it, *he has the sickle put in immediately, because the*
30 *harvest has arrived.*" He said also,
"How are we to get comparisons for the reign of God?
Or in what parable shall we set it?
31 It is like a grain of mustard-seed: when sown upon the earth it is
32 smaller than any seed upon the earth, and yet when sown it comes
up to be greater than all the vegetables, throwing out great branches,
33 so that *the birds of the air* can *rest under its shadow.*" And with
many parables like these he spoke the word to them, as they were able to
34 understand it; except in parable he did not speak to them. In private,
however, he explained everything to his own disciples.
35 And on that day at evening he says to them, "Let us cross to the
36 opposite side." So leaving the crowd they take him with them in the
37 boat, just as he was, accompanied by other boats. And a great squall of
wind rises; and the waves began to beat into the boat, so that the boat
38 was already filling. And he was in the stern, asleep on the cushion. So
they wake him and say to him, "Teacher, carest thou not that we are
39 perishing?" Then awakening he rebuked the wind and said to the sea,
"Peace! silence!" And the wind dropped, and there was a great calm.
40 Then he said to them, "Why are you timid? have you no faith yet?"
41 And they feared greatly, and said to one another, "Who then is this, that
even the wind and the sea obey him?"
5 1 And they reached the opposite side of the sea, the country of the
2 Gerasenes. And when he stepped out of the boat he was immediately
3 met by a man from the tombs with an unclean spirit, who had his dwell-
ing in the tombs. And no man could bind him any longer, not even
4 with a chain, for he had often been bound with fetters and chains, and
the chains had been torn asunder by him and the fetters broken to pieces;
5 and no man had strength to tame him. And all the time, night and
day, among the tombs and among the mountains he kept shouting and
6 gashing himself with stones. And on seeing Jesus from afar he ran
7 and did him reverence, shouting with a loud voice, "What have I to do
with thee, Jesus, Son of the most High God? I adjure thee by God,
8 torment me not!" (For Jesus was saying to him, "Evil spirit, leave
9 the man.") Then he questioned him, "What is thy name?" And
10 he says to him, "'Legion' is my name, for we are many." And they
11 repeatedly besought him not to send them away from the country. Now
12 a large drove of swine was there, grazing on the mountain side; so
they besought him, "Send us into the swine, that we may enter them."
13 And he gave them permission. And the unclean spirits went out and
entered the swine; and the drove, about two thousand in number, rushed
14 down the steep slope into the sea, and were drowned in the sea. And
the herdsmen fled and brought word of it to the city and the hamlets.
15 And the people came to see what had happened. And they come to
Jesus and see the man who had been possessed by daemons sitting, clothed
16 and sane, the man who had had the "legion." And they were afraid. And
those who had seen it described to them what had happened to the man who
17 had been possessed by daemons and all about the swine. And they started
18 to appeal to him to depart from their territory. And as he was entering
the boat, the man who had been possessed by daemons besought him that he
19 might accompany him. But he would not allow him. "Go home to thy
people," says he to him, "and relate to them all that the Lord has done for
20 thee, and all his pity for thee." So he departed and began to proclaim in
the Dekapolis region all that Jesus had done for him. And all marvelled.

21 And when Jesus again crossed over in the boat to the opposite side a
large crowd had gathered to meet him; so he remained beside the sea.
22 Then there comes one of the presidents of the synagogue, Jaeiros by
23 name; and on seeing him he falls at his feet repeatedly, beseeching him
with the words, "My little daughter is at the point of death. O come
24 and lay thy hands on her, that she may be restored to life!" Then he
went away with him. And a large crowd followed him, and people were
25 pressing round him. And there was a woman who had had an issue
26 of blood for twelve years; she had suffered much under many physicians,
and had spent all her means, yet was none the better, but had rather
27 grown worse. She had heard about Jesus, and coming behind him in the
28 crowd she touched his cloak (for she kept saying, "If I touch but his
29 garments, I shall be restored"). Then the flow of her blood was immedi-
ately dried up, and she felt in her body that she was cured of her plague.
30 And Jesus, conscious immediately that power had gone out from him,
turned round in the crowd and said, "Who touched my garments?"
31 And his disciples said to him, "Thou seest the crowd is pressing round
32 thee, yet thou sayest, 'Who touched me?'!" But he kept looking round
33 about to see her who had done this. So the woman, aware of what had
happened to her, came in fear and trembling, fell down before him, and
34 told him all the truth. And he said to her, "Daughter, thy faith has re-
35 stored thee. Go in peace and be healed from thy plague." While
he was still speaking, people came from the house of the president of the
synagogue saying, "Thy daughter is dead. Why trouble the teacher any
36 further?" But paying no heed to what they were saying, Jesus says to
37 the president of the synagogue, "Fear not, only believe." And he would
not let anyone accompany him, except Peter and James and John the
38 brother of James. And they go to the house of the president of the
synagogue. And observing a tumult of people wailing with many tears
39 and shrill cries, he went in and says to them, "Why wail and weep? the
40 child is not dead but asleep." And they laughed him to scorn. But
after putting them all out he takes aside the father of the child and her
41 mother and his companions, and goes in to where the child lay. And
taking the child's hand he says to her, "Talitha koum" (which when
42 translated means, "Little girl, I say to thee, rise"). And immediately
the girl rose up and began to walk (for she was twelve years old). Then
43 they were immediately thrown into great amazement. But he enjoined
them earnestly that no one was to know of this, and told them to give her
something to eat

6 1 And he departed thence, and enters his own native place, followed by
2 his disciples. And when the sabbath came, he began to teach in the
synagogue; and most people, as they heard him, were astonished and
said, "Where has he got this?" and "What is the wisdom he has had
given him?" and "What mean such miracles as these worked by his
3 hands?" "Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary and the brother of
James and Joses and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters here
4 with us?" So they were repelled by him. And Jesus said to them, "A
prophet is not unhonoured except in his own native place and among his
5 own kinsfolk and in his own household." And he could not work any
miracle there, beyond laying his hands upon a few sick people and
healing them. And he marvelled at their unbelief.

6, 7 And he made a tour through the villages, teaching. Also, calling the
twelve to him, he started to send them out two by two, giving them
8 authority over the unclean spirits; and he charged them to take nothing

for their journey except a staff, no bread, no wallet, no money in their
9 girdles, but to go shod with sandals, "and" (he said) "put not on two
10 tunics." And he said to them, "Wherever you enter a house, stay
11 there till you leave the place. And whatever place will not receive you,
and the people refuse to listen to you, when you are leaving there, shake
12 off the dust that is under your feet, for a witness to them." And they
13 went out and preached that men were to repent. And they cast out
many daemons, and anointed many sick people with oil and healed them.
14 And king Herod heard of it—for his name had become known,
and people said,[1] "John the baptizer is risen from the dead, and that is
15 why miraculous powers are active in him." Others said, "It is Elijah,"
16 others again, "It is a prophet, like one of the prophets." But when
Herod heard of it, he said, "John whom I beheaded, he has risen."
17 For he, Herod, had sent and seized John and bound him in prison
for the sake of Herodias the wife of his brother Philip (because he
18 had married her). For John had repeated to Herod, "Thou hast no
19 right to have thy brother's wife." Now Herodias cherished a grudge
20 against him and wanted to kill him; but she could not. For
Herod stood in awe of John, as he knew him to be an upright and
holy man; so he kept him safe. And when he listened to him he
21 was greatly perturbed; yet he was glad to listen to him. Then a
convenient day arrived. Herod on his birthday made a feast for
his magnates and for the generals and the leading men of Galilee,
22 and the daughter of Herodias went in and danced, to the delight of
Herod and the other guests. And the king said to the girl, "Ask
23 me whatever thou wilt and I will give it thee." And he swore to
her, "Whatever thou shalt ask[2] I will give thee—were it the half
24 of my realm!" So she went out and said to her mother, "What
25 am I to ask?" She said, "The head of John the baptizer." Then
immediately she went in with haste to the king and asked, saying,
"I want thee to give me directly on a dish the head of John the
26 baptizer." And the king was very sorry. Still, for the sake of his
27 oaths and of his guests he was unwilling to disappoint her. So the
king immediately sent out a soldier of the guard with orders to
28 bring his head; and he went, beheaded him in the prison, brought
his head on a dish, and gave it to the girl; and the girl gave it to
29 her mother. And on hearing of it, his disciples came and carried
away his corpse and laid it in a tomb.
30 And the apostles gather to Jesus, and they reported to him all that
31 they had done and all that they had taught. And he says to them,
"Come by yourselves into a desert place in private, and rest a little."
(For there were many people coming and going, and they had no time
32 even to eat.) And they went off in the boat to a desert place in private.
33 Yet many people saw and recognised them as they went, and gathering
34 hurriedly on foot from all the cities they got there before them. So on
disembarking he saw a large crowd, and moved with compassion for
them, because they were *like sheep without a shepherd*, he began to teach
35 them many things. And as the day was now far advanced, his disciples
came to him and said, "It is a desert place, and the day is now far
36 advanced; dismiss them, that they may go into the surrounding hamlets
37 and villages and buy themselves something to eat." He answered and
said to them, "Give them something to eat, yourselves." And they say
to him, "Are we to go and spend two hundred shillings upon bread, and

[1] Reading ἔλεγον. [2] Omitting με.

38 give them to eat?" And he says to them, "How many loaves have you?
Go and see." And when they had ascertained it, they say, "Five; and
39 two fish." Then he ordered them all to recline in parties on the green
40, 41 grass. So they lay down in groups, by hundreds and by fifties. Then he
took the five loaves and the two fish, looked up to heaven, and after the
blessing broke the loaves in pieces; and he went on giving them to the
disciples to set before them, and divided the two fish among them all.
42, 43 And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up twelve baskets
44 full of fragments of the bread and also of the fish. (And those who ate
45 the loaves numbered five thousand men.) Then he immediately
made his disciples embark in the boat and go before him to the
46 opposite side, to Bethsaida, until he dismissed the crowd. And after
47 taking leave of them he went away up the mountain to pray. And
when evening came the boat was in mid-sea, while he was on the
48 land alone. And when he saw them harassed as they rowed (for the
wind was contrary to them), he comes to them about the fourth watch
of the night walking on the sea. And he would have passed them,
49 but when they saw him walking on the sea they imagined it was an
50 apparition and shrieked; for they all saw him and were troubled. But he
immediately talked to them; "Be of good cheer," he says to them,
51 "it is I, be not afraid." And he got up beside them in the boat, and the
wind dropped. And they were greatly[1] amazed within themselves;
52 for they did not understand about the loaves, but their heart was
53 hardened. And on crossing over to the land they came to
54 Gennesaret and moored to the shore. And when they had disem-
55 barked from the boat, the people immediately recognised him, and
went hurrying round the whole of that district, and started to carry
about on their pallets those who were ill, wherever they heard he
56 was. And wherever he entered villages or cities or hamlets, they
would lay the sick in the market-places beseeching him to let them
touch were it only the tassel of his cloak: and all who touched it
were restored.

7 1 And there gather to him the Pharisees and some of the scribes, who
2 had come down from Jerusalem. They had observed that some of his
3 disciples ate their food with unclean (that is, unwashed) hands.—For the
Pharisees and all the Jews refuse to eat without vigorously washing their
4 hands; as they hold to the tradition of the elders. Also, they refuse to
eat after coming from the market-place, until they sprinkle themselves.[2]
And there are many other matters which they have received and hold to,
5 washings of cups and pots and brazen vessels.—Then the Pharisees and
the scribes question him, "Why do not thy disciples walk after the
tradition of the elders, instead of eating their bread with unclean
6 hands?" And he said to them,

"Finely did Isaiah prophesy about you hypocrites, as it is written:
This people honours me with their lips,
While their heart is far away from me;
7 *Yet in vain do they worship me,*
Teaching doctrines which are mere human precepts.
8 You omit God's commandment
And hold to man's tradition."
9 And he said to them,
"A fine thing it is for you to set aside God's commandment
That you may keep your own tradition!

[1] Omitting [[ἐκ περισσοῦ]]. [2] Reading βαπτίσωνται.

10 For Moses said :
Honour thy father and thy mother, and
He who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die.
11 But you say :
If a man says to his father or his mother, 'What I might have
used to aid thee is Korban' (that is to say, 'given to God'),
12 You allow him no longer to do anything for his father or his
mother.
13 You cancel God's word by your tradition which you have handed on.
14 And you do many a thing like that." Then calling the crowd to him
again he said to them, "Listen to me, all of you, and understand.
15 Nothing can make a man unclean by entering him from outside ;
Nay, what makes a man unclean is that which issues from a man."
17 And when he went away from the crowd into the house, his disciples
18 plied him with questions about the parable. And he says to them, "So
you are ignorant also? Do you not understand that whatever is on the
19 outside and enters a man cannot make him unclean? It enters his belly,
not his heart, and passes out into the drain" (He thus pronounced all
20 foods clean). And he said, "What issues from a man is what makes a
21 man unclean. For out of the heart of men within, issue the wicked
22 designs, fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, coveting, malice, deceit,
23 sensuality, enviousness, slander, haughtiness, recklessness : all these
wicked things issue from within and make a man unclean."
24 Now he rose and went away from there into the territory of Tyre.[1]
And going into a house he wished no one to know of it. Yet he
25 could not escape notice ; immediately a woman, whose little daughter
had an unclean spirit, came when she heard of him and fell down at his
26 feet. (The woman was a Gentile, a Syrophoenician by race.) And she
27 begged him to cast the daemon out of her daughter. But he kept say-
ing to her, "Let the children be satisfied first. It is not fair to take the
28 children's bread and throw it to the dogs." And she answered and says to
him, "True, sir. Yet the dogs eat the children's crumbs below the table!"
29 And he said to her, "For this saying go thy way ; the daemon has left
30 thy daughter." And she went away home and found the child lying on
31 the bed with the daemon gone from her. Then once more he left the
territory of Tyre and went through Sidon to the sea of Galilee through the
32 middle of the district of Dekapolis. And they bring him a man who was
33 deaf and stammering, beseeching him to lay his hand upon him. So he
took him aside privately from the crowd and put his fingers into his ears ;
34 and after spitting he touched his tongue. And looking up to heaven he
groaned ; then he says to him, "Ephphatha" (that is, "be opened").
35 And his ears were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosened and
36 he began to speak correctly. And he enjoined them to tell no one ; but
37 the more he charged them, the more widely they proclaimed it. And
they were astonished beyond measure, saying, "He has done everything
well : he makes even the deaf hear and the dumb speak."
8 1 In those days again there was a great crowd and they had nothing to
2 eat. And he called his disciples to him and says to them, "I have
compassion on the crowd, because for three days now they have stayed
3 by me, and they have nothing to eat. Besides, if I send them away home
fasting, they will faint on the road. And some of them have come a long
4 distance." And his disciples answered him, "Where can one get bread
5 to satisfy these men, here in a desert?" And he asked them, "How

[1] Omitting [[καὶ Σιδῶνος]].

many loaves have you?" And they said, "Seven." Then he charges
the crowd to lie down on the ground. And he took the seven loaves,
gave thanks, broke them and went on giving to his disciples to set before
the crowd; and they set the food before them. And they had a few
small fish, and after blessing them he told them to set these before them
as well. So they ate and were satisfied. And they took up seven large
baskets of fragments that were left over (the people numbered about four
thousand). Then he dismissed them, and immediately entered the boat
with his disciples and went into the districts of Dalmanutha. And
the Pharisees came out and started to dispute with him, requiring from
him a sign from the sky, to make trial of him. And he sighed heavily
in his spirit and says,

"Why does this generation require a sign?
I tell you truly, no sign shall be given this generation."

And he left them, entered the boat again, and departed to the opposite side.
And they had forgotten to take bread, and had not with them
in the boat more than a single loaf. And he enjoined them, saying, "See
and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod!" And
they argued with one another, "It is because we have no bread." But on
perceiving it he says to them, "Why argue because you have no bread?
Do you not yet understand, do you not yet make it out? Is your heart
hardened? *You have eyes, do you not see? you have ears, do you not hear?*
and do you not remember how many baskets full of fragments you took
up when I broke the five loaves among the five thousand?" They say to
him "Twelve." "And how many large baskets of fragments did you
take up when I broke the seven among the four thousand?" And they say
to him "Seven." Then he said to them, "Do you not yet understand?"
And they came to Bethsaida. And people bring him a blind man
and beseech him to touch him. And he took hold of the blind man's
hand and brought him outside the village. And after spitting upon his
eyes and laying his hands on him, he asked him, "Beholdest thou any-
thing?" And he looked up and said, "I behold people: I see them
walking, like trees." Then he laid his hands once more upon his eyes;
and the man stared straight before him, and was quite restored, and
began to distinguish everything clearly. And he sent him away home,
saying, "Do not even enter the village."

And Jesus went away with his disciples to the village of Caesarea
Philippi. And on the road he questioned his disciples, saying to them,
"Who do people say that I am?" And they told him, "'John the
baptizer.' Yet others say, 'Elijah'; and others, 'One of the prophets.'"
And he questioned them, "But you—who do you say that I am?" Peter
answering says to him, "Thou art the Christ." And he charged them
to tell no one about him. And he began to teach them that the
Son of man must suffer much, and be rejected by the elders and the high
priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.
Indeed he uttered the saying openly. Then Peter took him and started
to rebuke him; but he turned, and on seeing his disciples he rebuked
Peter saying, "Get behind me, thou Satan! Thy mind is not on the
affairs of God, but on the affairs of men." And he called the crowd to
him with his disciples and said to them,

"If any man would come after me,
Let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.
For whoever would save his life
Shall lose it:

And whoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's,
Shall save it.
36 What use is it for a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?
37 What could a man give in exchange for his life?
38 For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words
In this adulterous and sinful generation,
The Son of man shall also be ashamed of him,
When he comes in his Father's majesty with the holy angels."
9 1 And he said to them, "I tell you truly, there are some of those standing here who shall not taste death, until they see the coming of God's
2 reign with power." And after six days Jesus takes Peter and James and John aside, and brings them up a high mountain privately,
3 alone. And he was transformed before them; and his garments glistened with a vivid whiteness such as no fuller on earth can produce.
4 And Elijah together with Moses appeared to them; and they were
5 talking with Jesus. Then Peter breaking in says to Jesus, "Rabbi, it is fine for us to be here. Now, let us make three booths, one
6 for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah." (He did not know
7 what to say, for they were frightened.) And a cloud came overshadowing them, and a voice came out of the cloud, "This is my Son, the be-
8 loved: listen to him." And suddenly on looking round they no longer
9 saw anyone except Jesus alone with themselves. And as they were descending from the mountain he enjoined them not to describe to anyone what they had seen, until after the Son of man should have arisen
10 from the dead. And they kept hold of the saying, discussing among
11 themselves what the "arising from the dead meant." And they plied him with the question, "How is it that the scribes say, Elijah must
12 come first?" And he said to them, "*Elijah* comes first indeed, and he *restores* all. (And yet, how is it written regarding the Son of man? that
13 he is to suffer much and be despised.) But I tell you: Elijah has actually come, and they have done to him whatever they pleased, even as it is written of him."
14 And when they came to the disciples they saw a large crowd round
15 them, and the scribes in a discussion with them. And on seeing him all the crowd were immediately astounded, and running to him they saluted
16 him. And he questioned them, "What are you discussing with them?"
17 And a man out of the crowd answered him, "Teacher, I brought thee
18 my son. He has a dumb spirit; and whenever it seizes him it hurls him down; and he foams and grinds his teeth. And he is pining away. So
19 I told thy disciples to cast it out; but they had no power." He says to them in answer, "O incredulous generation, how long am I to be with
20 you? how long am I to bear with you? Bring him to me." And they brought him to him. But on seeing him the spirit immediately convulsed him terribly, and falling on the ground he rolled about foaming.
21 And he asked his father, "How long is it since this befell him?" And
22 he said, "From childhood. And many a time it has thrown him now into fire, now into water, to destroy him. But if thou canst do anything,
23 have compassion upon us and help us." Jesus said to him, "'If thou
24 canst'!—Anything can be done for the man who believes." Immediately the father of the child shouted and said, "I do believe. Help my un-
25 belief!" Now as Jesus saw that a crowd was hurrying together, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying to it, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I
26 command thee, leave him and never enter him again." Then after crying and wildly convulsing him it came out, and the child turned like a

27 corpse; so that most of the people said, "He is dead." But Jesus took
28 him by the hand and raised him, and he arose. And when he went
into the house his disciples plied him in private with the question,
29 "How is it that we could not cast it out?" And he said to them,
"Nothing can make this kind come out, except prayer."
30 Then they departed thence upon their journey through Galilee. Yet
31 he wished no one to know it; for he was teaching his disciples and
telling them, "The Son of man will be delivered up into the hands of
men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, he shall rise again
32 after three days." But they did not understand the saying, and they
were afraid to question him.
33 And they came to Kapharnahum. And when he was in the house he
34 questioned them, "What were you arguing about on the road?" And
they kept silence, for they had been disputing with one another on the
35 road about who was the greatest. So he sat down, called the twelve, and
says to them, "If any one would be first, he shall be last of all and servant
36 of all." Then he took and set a little child in their midst, and putting his
arms round it he said to them,
37 "Whoever shall receive a little child like this in my name, receives me:
And whoever receives me, receives not me so much as him who
sent me."
38 [John said to him, "Teacher, we saw a man casting out daemons in thy
39 name;[1] and we tried to prevent him, because he did not follow us." But
Jesus said, "Prevent him not.
No one shall work a miracle in my name and then decry me
presently:
40 He who is not against us is for us.]
41 For whoever shall give you were it only a cup of water to drink,
because you are Christ's,
I tell you truly, he shall not lose his reward:
42 And whoever shall be a hindrance to one of these little ones who
believe,
Better for him were a great mill-stone fastened round his neck,
and were he thrown into the sea!
43 And should thy hand hinder thee, cut it away:
Better for thee to enter life maimed,
Than with thy two hands to depart into Gehenna, into the fire
unquenchable!
45 And should thy foot hinder thee, cut it away:
Better for thee to enter life lame,
Than with thy two feet to be thrown into Gehenna!
47 And should thine eye hinder thee, pull it out:
Better for thee to enter God's reign with one eye,
Than with two eyes to be thrown into Gehenna,
48 Where *their worm dies not and the fire is not quenched!*
49 For with fire shall everyone be salted.
50 Salt is a capital thing:
But if salt has become saltless, wherewith will you season it?
Have salt among yourselves:
Yea, be at peace with one another."
10 1 And rising up he goes from there into the territory of Judaea and across
the Jordan. And crowds again gather to him; and again he taught them as
2 was his custom. And Pharisees approached him and—to make

[1] Omitting [[ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν]].

trial of him—questioned him, "Is it right for a man to divorce his wife?"
3 And he answered and said to them, "What did Moses command you?'
4 "Moses," they said, "gave permission *to write a bill of repudiation and so*
5 *divorce her.*" But Jesus said to them, "It was out of regard for your
6 stubborness of heart that he wrote you this commandment. But from the
7 beginning of the creation *male and female he made them. For this cause a*
8 *man shall leave his father and mother; and the two shall become one flesh.*
9, 10 What God has joined, then, let not man separate." And in the house the
11 disciples questioned him again upon this subject. And he says to them,
"Whoever shall divorce his wife and marry another, commits
adultery against her.
12 And if she shall divorce her husband and marry another, she
commits adultery."
13 And people were bringing him little children that he might touch
14 them; but the disciples rebuked them. When Jesus saw it, however, he
was indignant and said to them,
"Let the little children come to me, forbid them not;
15 For of such is the reign of God.
I tell you truly, whoever shall not receive the reign of God like a little child,
Shall not enter it."
16 Then he put his arms round them, and invoked blessings upon them
as he laid his hands on them.
17 And as he came out upon the road, a man ran to him, knelt before
him and questioned him, "Good teacher, what am I to do, to inherit
18 life eternal?" Jesus said to him, "Why call me 'good'? No one is
19 good, except God alone. Thou knowest the commandments: *do not*
murder, do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not bear false witness, do not
20 defraud, *honour thy father and mother.*" He said to him, "Teacher, all
21 these have I observed from my youth." Jesus looked at him and loved
him; then he said to him, "One thing thou lackest. Go, sell whatever
thou hast and give it to the poor; so shalt thou have treasure in heaven.
22 Then come, follow me." But his face clouded over at the saying, and
23 he went away sorrowful; for he was one who had great possessions.
Then Jesus looked round him ands ays to his disciples, "With what
24 difficulty shall the wealthy enter God's reign!" And the disciples were
amazed at what he said. But once more Jesus addresses them, saying,
"Children, how difficult it is to enter God's reign!
25 It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye,
Than for a rich man to enter God's reign."
26 And they were exceedingly astonished, and said to themselves, "Then
27 who can be saved?" Jesus looked at them and says,
"With men it is impossible, but not with God:
for *anything is possible with God.*"
28 Peter began to say to him, "Lo, we have left all and followed thee."
29 Jesus said, "I tell you truly; there is no man who leaves house or
brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake
30 and for the gospel's sake, without receiving a hundredfold now in this
time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands,
31 with persecutions; and in the age to come, life eternal. But many who
are first shall be last, and the last first."
32 Now they were on the road going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus went in
front of them. And they were in dismay, while some who followed were
in fear. And he took the twelve once more aside and began to tell them
33 what was to happen to him, saying, "Lo, we are going up to Jerusalem;

and the Son of man shall be delivered to the high priests and the scribes.
They shall sentence him to death and deliver him to the Gentiles ; they
34 shall mock him and spit on him and scourge him and kill him. Yet after
three days he shall rise again."
35 And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, approach him. "Teacher,"
they say to him, "we want thee to do for us whatever we shall ask thee."
36 He said to them, "What do you want me to do for you?" They said to
37 him, "Grant that we may sit, one on thy right hand and one on thy left
38 hand, in thy majesty." But Jesus said to them, "You know not what you
are asking. Are you able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptized
39 with the baptism that I am baptized with?" And they said to him, "We
are able." And Jesus said to them,

"The cup that I drink, you shall drink :
And the baptism that I am baptized with, shall you be baptized with.
40 But to sit on my right hand or on my left hand is not mine to grant ;
It is for those for whom it has been made ready."

41 And on hearing of it, the ten began to be indignant at James and John
42 but Jesus called them to him and says to them,

"You know that those who are looked up to as rulers of the Gentiles
lord it over them,
And their great men wield authority over them :
43 Not so among you.
Nay, whoever would become great among you,
Must be your servant,
44 And whoever would be first among you,
Must be the slave of all.
45 For even the Son of man came not to be served but to serve,
And to give his life a ransom for many."

46 Then they come to Jericho. And as he was leaving Jericho with his
disciples and a considerable crowd, a blind beggar Bar-Timaeus (the son
47 of Timaeus) sat by the roadside. And on hearing it was Jesus of Nazaret,
he started shouting and saying, "Son of David, Jesus, have pity on me!"
48 And many people admonished him to keep silence, but he cried out all
49 the more, "Son of David, have pity on me!" Then Jesus stood still and
said, "Call him." So they call the blind man, saying to him, "Be of
50 good cheer, rise, he is calling thee." Throwing away his garment, he
51 started up and came to Jesus. And Jesus addressed him, saying, "What
wilt thou have me do to thee?" The blind man said to him,
52 "Rabbuni, let me regain my sight." Jesus said to him, "Go thy way, thy
faith has restored thee." And immediately he regained his sight, and
began to follow him on the road.

11 1 And when they draw nigh to Jerusalem, to Bethphagê and Bethany
2 at the hill of Olives, he despatches two of his disciples and says to them :
"Go into the village opposite you, and on entering it you shall at once
find a colt tied, on which no one has ever yet sat. Untie it and bring it.
3 And if anyone says to you, 'Why are you doing this?' say, 'The Lord
4 needs it, and he will send it here again, at once.'" Then off they went
and found a colt tied at the door outside in the open street ; and they
5 untie it. And some of the bystanders said to them, "What do you mean
6 by untying the colt?" But they spoke to them as Jesus had told them ;
7 and they allowed them to go. And they bring the colt to Jesus and throw
8 their garments on it. Then he sat upon it. And many spread their
garments on the road, and others leafy boughs which they had cut from
9 the fields. And those who went in front and those who followed shouted

"*Hosanna!*
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!
10 Blessed is the Reign to come, our father David's reign!
Hosanna in the highest!"
11 And he went into Jerusalem, into the temple. But after looking round on everything he went out with the twelve to Bethany, as it was now late in the day.
12, 13 And on the morrow, after they left Bethany, he grew hungry. And noticing far off a fig-tree in leaf, he went to see if he could find something on it; but when he came to it he found nothing but leaves, for it was
14 not the season for figs. Then he addressed it, saying, "Never man eat fruit from thee, after this!" And his disciples were listening.
15 And they come to Jerusalem. Then he entered the temple and started to drive out the sellers and the buyers in the temple; and he threw down the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold the doves,
16, 17 nor would he let any one carry a vessel through the temple. And he taught and told them,
"Is it not written, *My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations?*
But you have made it *a den of robbers!*"
18 And the high priests and the scribes heard it, and tried how they could destroy him (they were in fear of him, for all the crowd was
19 astonished at his teaching). And when evening came, they
20 went outside the city. And as they passed in the morning
21 they saw the fig-tree withered from its roots. Then Peter recollected; "Rabbi, look!" says he to him, "the fig-tree thou didst curse is
22 withered!" Then in answer Jesus says to them, "Have faith in God.
23 I tell you truly:
"Whoever says to this mountain, 'Be lifted and thrown into the sea,'
And hesitates not in his heart but believes that what he says shall be done,
He shall have it.
24 Therefore I tell you:
In all your prayers and asking
Believe that you have received,
So shall you have it.
25 Also, whenever you stand praying, if you have anything against any one, forgive it:
That your Father who is in the heavens may also forgive you your trespasses."
27 And they come once more to Jerusalem. And as he was walking in the temple the high priests and the scribes and the elders came to him.
28 "By what sort of authority," said they to him, "art thou acting thus?
29 or who gave thee this authority to act thus?" Jesus said to them, "I will put a single question to you; and do you answer me. Then I will
30 tell you by what sort of authority I am acting thus. "Was the baptism
31 of John from heaven or from men? Answer me." And they argued among themselves, "If we say, 'From heaven,' he will say, 'Why then
32 did you not believe him?' But shall we say, 'From men'?"—they were afraid of the people, for all held that John had really been a prophet.
33 So in reply to Jesus they say, "We do not know." Then says Jesus to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority I am acting thus."
12 1 And he started to speak to them in parables: A man *planted a vineyard and put a fence round it and dug a trough for the wine-press and*

built a tower; then after leasing it to vinedressers he went abroad.
2 And at the season he despatched a slave to the vinedressers, that he
might collect from the vinedressers part of the fruits of the vineyard.
3, 4 But they took and flogged him and sent him off empty-handed. Then
once more he despatched another slave to them, and this one they
5 wounded on the head and insulted. Then he despatched another,
and this one they killed; and so they did with many others, flogging
6 some and killing some. He had still one left, a beloved son; he
despatched him last of all to them, saying, "They will reverence my
7 son." But those vinedressers said to themselves, "This is the heir; come,
8 let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours." So they took him
9 and killed him and threw him outside the vineyard. What will the
owner of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the vinedressers
10 and give the vineyard to others. Have you not even read this scripture?

The stone which the builders rejected,
This is made head of the corner:
11 *This is the doing of the Lord,*
And in our eyes it is marvellous."

12 Then they tried to seize him (yet feared the crowd), for they knew
it was against them that he had told the parable; but leaving him they
went away.

13 And they despatch some of the Pharisees and Herodians to him, in
14 order to snare him in his talk. And they came saying to him,
"Teacher, we know thou art truthful, caring not for any one (for thou
regardest not the person of men), but teaching the way of God with truth.
15 Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar, or not? Must we pay, or must we not
pay?" But aware of their pretence he said to them, "Why make trial
16 of me? bring me a denarius that I may see it." So they brought one.
And he says to them, "Whose likeness and inscription is this?" They
17 said to him, "Caesar's." Jesus said to them, "Render to Caesar the
things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." And
they were lost in wonder at him.

18 And Sadducees come to him (men who say there is no resurrection),
19 and they questioned him, saying, "Teacher, Moses wrote for us that, *If a*
man's brother die and leave a wife *and leave no child, his brother is to take*
20 *his widow and raise up offspring for his brother.* There were seven
21 brothers. So the first took a wife and dying left no offspring; then the
second took her, and died leaving no offspring; and the third likewise;
22, 23 and the seven left no offspring. Last of all the woman died also. At the
resurrection whose wife will she be, for the seven had her as wife?"
24 Jesus said to them, "Is not this what leads you astray, that you are
25 ignorant of the scriptures and of God's power? For when people rise
from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are
26 like angels in heaven. And as regards the raising of the dead, have you
not read in the book of Moses, at the place of 'the Bush,' that God spoke
to him, saying, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God*
27 *of Jacob?* He is not God of the dead, but of the living. You are far astray."

28 And one of the scribes approached, after hearing their discussion.
Knowing that he had given them an able answer, he put a question
29 to him, "What commandment is chief over all?" Jesus answered,
"The chief is, *Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is one;*
30 *and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy*
31 *whole soul, with thy whole mind, with thy whole strength.* The second
is this, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* There is no other

32 commandment greater than these." And the scribe said to him, "True,
teacher! thou hast rightly said that *he is one and besides him there is no*
33 *other.* Also, *to love him with the whole heart and with the whole under-*
standing and with the whole strength, and *to love one's neighbour as oneself*—
34 that is far above all *holocausts and sacrifices.*" Then, seeing that he
answered intelligently, Jesus said to him, "Thou art not far from the reign
35 of God." And after that no one dared question him. And as
Jesus taught in the temple he would ask, "How is it that the scribes
36 say the Christ is David's son? David said himself, in the holy Spirit,

The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,
Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.'

37 David himself calls him 'Lord.' Then how is he his son?" And
38 the common folk listened to him gladly. And in his teaching he said,
"Beware of the scribes, who are fond of walking in long robes, and of
39 getting salutations in the market-places and chief seats in the synagogues
40 and chief places at the suppers—men who devour widows' properties, and
make long prayers for a pretext. These men shall be the more heavily
41 sentenced." Then sitting down opposite the treasury he watched how
the crowd put money into the treasury. Many rich people put in large
42 sums, and a poor widow also came and put in two farthings (which make
43 one halfpenny). Then calling his disciples to him, he said to them,
"I tell you truly, this poor widow has put in more than all those who
44 put into the treasury. For they have all put in a contribution out of
their wealth; but out of her want, she has put in all she possessed, the
whole of her livelihood."

13 1 And as he was going out of the temple one of his disciples says to
2 him, "Teacher, look! what splendid stones and buildings!" And Jesus
said to him, "Seest thou these great buildings? Not one stone shall be
3 left[1] upon another, that shall not be thrown down." And as he was
sitting on the hill of Olives opposite the temple, Peter and James and
4 John and Andrew plied him with questions privately. "Tell us, when
shall this be? Also, what is the sign when this is all to be completed?"
5 So Jesus began to say to them,

"Take care that no one leads you astray:
6 Many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am he,' and shall
lead many astray.
7 **And when you hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not disquieted;**
These things must come to pass, **but the end is not yet.**
8 **For** *nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,*
There shall be earthquakes in place after place, there shall be famines:
These are but the beginning of birth-pangs.
9 Now look to yourselves.
They shall deliver you up to councils,
And in synagogues you shall be flogged,
And before governors and kings you shall stand for my sake,
For a witness to them:
10 Yea the glad tidings must first be preached to all the nations.
11 And when they bring you to trial and deliver you up,
Devise not beforehand what to say:
But whatever is given you in that hour, say that,
For it is not so much you who speak as the holy Spirit.
12 Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child:
Children shall rise up against parents and have them put to death.

[1] Omitting [[ὧδε]].

13 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake,
But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.

14 **Now when you see** *the desolating abomination* **standing where he ought not (let the reader ponder),**
Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills.
15 **Let not him who is on the housetop**
Go down or enter in to get anything out of his house,
16 **Nor let him who is in the field**
Turn back to get his cloak.
17 **But woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those days!**
18 **And pray that it happen not in winter.**
19 **For those days shall be** *a distress,*
The like of which has not been, from the beginning of the creation **which God created,** *until now,*
And never shall be.
20 **Yea, unless the Lord had curtailed the days, no flesh would have been saved:**
But for the sake of the chosen whom he chose, he did curtail the days.
21 And should anyone say to you then,
'Look, here is the Christ!' 'Look, there!'
Believe it not.
22 For many false Christs and *false prophets* shall arise,
And they shall *exhibit signs and wonders*
To lead astray, if possible, the chosen.
23 Now do you beware:
Lo, I have told you everything beforehand!

24 **In those days after that distress**
The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,
25 *And the stars shall be falling from the sky,*
And the powers in the heavens shall be shaken:
26 **Then shall they see** *the Son of man coming in clouds* **with great power and majesty;**
27 **And then shall he send forth the angels and** *gather* **the**[1] **chosen** *together from the four winds, from the bounds of* **the earth** *to the bounds of the sky.*
28 Now from the fig-tree learn her parable.
When her branch is already tender and is putting out its leaves,
You know that summer is near:
29 So also when you see this come to pass,
You know that He is near, at the doors.
30 I tell you truly,
This generation shall not pass away
Until these all come to pass;
31 Sky and earth shall pass away,
But never shall my words pass away.
32 Yet of that day or hour none knows,
Not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son, only the Father.
33, 34 Beware, be wakeful: for you know not when the time is. It is as when a man going abroad has left his house, after giving authority to his slaves, to each his work, and has commanded the doorkeeper to watch.

[1] Omitting [[*αὐτοῦ*]].

35 Watch then—for you know not when the owner of the house is coming,
36 at evening or at midnight or at cock-crow or in the morning—lest
37 he come suddenly and find you sleeping. And what I say to you I say
to all, watch."

14 1 Now after two days it was the passover and the festival of unleavened
bread. And the high priests and the scribes were trying how they could
2 seize him by craft and kill him ; for they said, "Not during the festival,
in case of a possible tumult among the people."
3 And when he was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, as he
reclined at meat, a woman came with an alabaster flask of pure nard
perfume, most precious ; and breaking the flask she proceeded to pour
4 it over his head. Now some people were inwardly indignant : "Why,"
5 said they, "has the perfume been wasted thus? This perfume might
have been sold for more than three hundred shillings and given to the
6 poor." And they went on scolding her. But Jesus said, "Let her alone.
7 Why molest her? She has done a noble deed for me. For you have the
poor always beside you, and whenever you like you can do them
8 good : but you have not always me. She has done what she could : she
9 has anointed my body in anticipation of the burial. And I tell you
truly, wherever the glad tidings shall be preached through the whole
10 world, this woman's deed shall be also told, in memory of her."
Then Judas of Kerioth, who was one of the twelve, went off to the high
11 priests to betray him to them. Delighted to hear it, they promised to
pay him money. And he kept trying how he could betray him at an
opportune moment.
12 And on the first day of unleavened bread (when people sacrificed the
paschal lamb) his disciples say to him, "Where wilt thou have us go and
13 make ready for thee to eat the paschal lamb?" Then he despatches two of
his disciples, saying to them, "Go your way into the city ; and a man shall
14 meet you carrying a pitcher of water. Follow him ; and wherever he
shall enter, say to the master of the house, 'The teacher says, "Where is
my guest chamber, where I may eat the paschal lamb with my disciples?'
15 And he will himself show you a large upper room all ready, spread with
16 couches. Make ready there for us." So the disciples left and went
into the city, and found it was exactly as he had said to them ; and they
17 made ready the passover. And when it was evening he comes with
18 the twelve. And as they reclined at table and ate, Jesus said, "I tell you
19 truly, one of you—*one who is eating with me*—shall betray me." They
began to be sorrowful and to say to him one by one, "Can it be I?"
20 And he said to them, "It is one of the twelve, one who is dipping in the
dish with me.
21 For the Son of man goes on his way, even as it is written of him ;
But woe to that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed!
22 Better for that man had he never been born!"
And as they were eating he took bread, and after the blessing broke
23 and gave it to them, saying, "Take it, this is my body." Also he took
a cup, gave thanks and gave it to them, and they all drank of it ; and
24 he said to them, "This is my *covenant-blood* which is poured out for
25 many. I tell you truly, never again shall I drink of the produce of the
vine, till that day when in God's reign I drink it new."
26, 27 Then after a song of praise they went out to the hill of Olives. And
Jesus says to them, "All of you shall be repelled : since it is written,
28 *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad.* But after I

29 rise, I will go before you into Galilee." Peter said to him, "Though all
30 shall be repelled, yet I will not." Then Jesus says to him, "I tell thee
truly: to-day, this very night, ere ever the cock crows twice, three times
31 thou shalt deny me." But he repeated the more vehemently, "Though I
have to die with thee, I will not deny thee." And so said all of them as
32 well. And they come to a piece of ground named Gethsemanê.
33 And he says to his disciples, "Sit here until I pray." And with him he
takes Peter and James and John. And he began to feel appalled and sorely
34 troubled. And he says to them, "*My soul is very sorrowful*, even to
35 death: stay here and watch." Then he went forward a little, falling on
the ground and praying that if it were possible, the hour might pass
36 away from him. His words were, "Abba! Father! anything is possible
to thee; remove this cup from me. Yet not what I will, but what
37 thou wilt." Then he comes and finds them sleeping; and he says to Peter,
"Sleeping, Simon? Hadst thou not strength to watch a single hour?
38 Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation: the spirit is eager, but
39 the flesh is weak." Then once more he went away and prayed, uttering
40 the same words. And once more he came and found them sleeping, for
their eyes were very heavy; and they did not know how to answer
41 him. Then coming for the third time, he says to them, "So you sleep and
rest? It is enough. The hour has come; behold, the Son of man is
42 betrayed into the hands of sinners! Rise, let us be going. Behold, my
43 betrayer is near!" And immediately, when he was still speaking,
Judas[1] (one of the twelve) comes up accompanied by a horde with swords
44 and clubs, from the high priests and the scribes and the elders. Now his
betrayer had given them a signal, saying, "Whomsoever I kiss, that is the
45 man: seize him and get him safely away." So on arriving he immedi-
46 ately approached him, saying "Rabbi," and kissed him fondly. And
47 they laid hands on him and seized him. But one of the bystanders drew
his sword and struck the slave of the high priest, cutting off his ear.
48 And Jesus answered and said to them, "Did you come out as against a
49 robber, with swords and clubs to arrest me? Day by day I was with
you in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me.—However, it is
50 in fulfilment of the scriptures." Then they all left him alone and fled.
51 Yet one young man accompanied him, with a linen cloth thrown round
52 him over his naked body. They seize him also, but he left the linen cloth
behind him and fled naked.
53 And they led Jesus away to the high priest, and all the high
54 priests and the elders and the scribes accompany him. And Peter
followed him from afar till he was inside the palace of the high
priest; then he sat along with the officers and warmed himself at the
55 lighted fire. Now the high priests and in fact the whole Sanhedrin
sought for witness against Jesus to get him put to death, but they found
56 none. For while many bore false witness against him, their evidence
57 did not agree. And some persons stood up and bore false witness against
58 him; they said, "We heard him say, 'I will break down this sanctuary
made by hands, and after three days I will build another made by no
59, 60 hands.'" Yet not even thus did their evidence agree. And the high
priest stood up in the midst and questioned Jesus, saying, "Hast thou no
61 answer? Of what do these men bear evidence against thee?" He kept
silence and made no answer. Again the high priest questioned him, say-
62 ing to him, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" And Jesus
said, "I am: and *you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of*

[1] Omitting [ὁ] . . . [[ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης]].

63 *the Power and coming with the clouds of the sky.*" So the high priest rent
64 his vestments, saying, "What further witnesses do we need? You heard
the blasphemy; what is your opinion?" And they all condemned him to
65 the doom of death. And some started to spit on him, also to blindfold
him and buffet him, and then say to him, "Prophesy!" Even the officers
66 received him with blows. And while Peter was down below in
67 the courtyard, one of the maidservants of the high priest comes; and on
seeing Peter warming himself, she looked at him and says, "Thou also
68 wast with the man of Nazaret, Jesus." But he denied it, saying, "I
know not—I do not understand what thou meanest." Then he went out
69 into the fore-court.[1] And seeing him the maidservant began once more to
70 say to the bystanders, "This man is one of them." But he again persisted in denying it. Then after a little while the bystanders again said
to Peter, "To be sure, thou art one of them. Why, thou art a Galilaean!"
71 But he began to curse and swear, "I know not this man whom you
72 mean." And immediately the cock crowed for the second time. Then
Peter recollected the word that Jesus had spoken to him, "Before the cock
crows twice, three times thou shalt deny me." And as he thought of it
he wept.

15 1 And in the morning the high priests along with the elders and scribes
and the whole Sanhedrin immediately held a consultation, bound Jesus,
2 carried him away, and delivered him up to Pilate. And Pilate questioned him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" And in reply to him he
3 says, "Certainly." Then the high priests brought many accusations
4 against him. And again Pilate questioned him,[2] "Hast thou no reply?
5 Look at what grave accusations they bring against thee!" But to Pilate's
6 wonder, Jesus made no further reply. Now at festival time he used to
7 release for them one prisoner, whom they begged from him. And there
was a man called Bar-Abbas imprisoned along with the rioters, men who
8 had committed murder in the riot. So the multitude went up and began
9 to ask him for his customary boon. Pilate answered them, "Do you
10 wish me to release for you the king of the Jews?" (for he saw it was
11 for envy that the high priests had delivered him up). But the high
priests stirred up the crowd to make him release Bar-Abbas for them
12 instead. And in reply Pilate again said to them, "Then[3] what am I to
13 do with him whom you call 'the king of the Jews'?" And again they
14 shouted, "Crucify him." Said Pilate to them, "Why, what evil has he
15 done?" But they shouted vehemently, "Crucify him." So, as Pilate
wanted to satisfy the crowd, he released for them Bar-Abbas; and after
scourging Jesus he delivered him up to be crucified.

16 Now the soldiers led him away inside the palace (that is, the
17 praetorium). Then calling the whole cohort together, they clothe him in
18 purple, and after plaiting a wreath of thorns they put it on him; and
19 they began to salute him, "Hail, king of the Jews!" And they smote
his head with a reed, and they spat on him, and they did homage
20 to him on bended knee. Then after their mockery of him, they
stripped off the purple and put his own garments upon him. And
21 they lead him out to crucify him, and force a passer-by to carry his cross,
namely Simon a Cyrenian who was on his way from the country (the
22 father of Alexander and Rufus). So they bring him to the place
23 Golgotha (which when translated means, "The place of a skull"). Then
24 they offered him wine flavoured with myrrh, but he would not take it.
And they crucify him, and *distribute* his *garments among them by casting*

[1] Omitting καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν. [2] Omitting [[λέγων]]. [3] Omitting [[θέλετε]].

25 *lots over them* for each man's share. (It was the third hour, when they
26 crucified him.) And the title of his crime was inscribed, THE KING
27 OF THE JEWS. Also they crucify along with him two robbers, one on
29 his right hand and one on his left. And the passers-by heaped abuse
on him, *wagging their heads* and saying, "Ha! thou who wouldst break
30 down the sanctuary and build it in three days, save thyself and come
31 down from the cross!" Similarly, the high priests also mocked him
among themselves with the scribes, saying, "Others he saved, himself
32 he cannot save! Let 'the Christ,' 'the king of Israel,' come down now
from the cross, that we may see and believe!" Those also who were
crucified with him kept denouncing him.
33 And when the sixth hour came, a darkness covered the whole land till
34 the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice,
"*Elôi, elôi, lama sabachthanei?*" (which when translated means, "*My God,*
35 *my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*") And on hearing it some of the
36 bystanders said, "Look, he is calling Elijah!" Then one man ran,
filled a sponge full of *vinegar*, put it on a reed, and *offered* him it
to *drink*, saying, "Hold! let us see if Elijah does come to take him
37, 38 down." But Jesus uttered a loud cry and expired. And the veil of the
39 sanctuary was torn in two, from top to bottom. Now when the centurion,
who had been standing by opposite him, saw that he thus expired, he said,
40 "This man was certainly a son of God." Now there were also women
looking on from a distance. Among them were Mary of Magdala, Mary
41 the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and also Salomê (women
who used to follow him when he was in Galilee and minister to him),
as well as many other women who had come up with him to Jerusalem.
42 And now that it was evening, since it was the Preparation (that is,
43 the day before the sabbath), Joseph of Arimathaea—a councillor of good
position, who was also waiting himself for the reign of God—took courage
44 and went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Pilate was
astonished that he was dead already, and summoning the centurion
45 he inquired of him if he had been dead for any time. And on ascer-
46 taining it from the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph. And he
brought a linen cloth, took him down, wrapt him in the linen cloth,
and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of a rock. Then he
47 rolled a stone against the entrance to the tomb. (Now Mary of Magdala
and Mary the mother of Joses were looking to see where he was laid.)
16 1 And when the sabbath had elapsed, Mary of Magdala and Mary the
2 mother of James and Salomê bought spices, to go and anoint him.
And very early on the first day of the week, they go to the tomb when
3 the sun was up. And they were saying to themselves, "Who will roll
4 away the stone for us from the entrance to the tomb?" But on looking
up they observe that the stone had been rolled back (rolled, for it was
5 very large). And when they entered the tomb they saw a young man
6 sitting on the right, clothed in a white robe; and they were appalled.
But he says to them, "Be not appalled! you are seeking Jesus the man
of Nazaret, the crucified; he has risen, he is not here. Look! here is the
7 place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and
Peter, 'He goes before you into Galilee; you shall see him there, as he
8 told you.'" Then they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling
and amazement possessed them. And they said nothing to anyone,
for they were afraid. . . .

MATTHEW

The author is no Pharisaic Jewish Christian. His desire is to represent the advanced and universal form of Jewish Christianity, to guard it, to give it a firmer consciousness of its rights, and at the same time to oppose Judaism. With this point of view, his work maintains throughout a character that lies above all party-extremes. "Catholic": that is the final impression which this writing over and again presents most unmistakably, whether we look at its teaching on the church, its idea of Peter's primacy, its Christology and Trinity (pointing already in the direction of later dogma), or lastly its ethics.

Many features that at first strike one as due to Jewish and OT thought, may quite well be explained by the requirements of the church, which was accustomed from the outset to seek its own early history in the OT. Our first gospel is properly a book upon the OT possessions and inheritance of the new religion. In fact, not merely does the whole life of Jesus appear to be determined by the prophecies of the OT—that is the general rule, more or less, throughout the synoptic representation—but, in addition to this, the materials common to the synoptists have been expanded in a variety of ways, after the style of the OT historical writings; candidly, they have undergone alterations for the purpose of stirring OT reminiscences in still larger numbers. Whatever stands debited to the Messiah in the OT, must be discovered to his credit in the evangelic history, and OT vouchers must be adduced for all the deeds and fortunes of the Messiah that are fixed in the church's faith.—**Holtzmann.**

1–4[11] **The preparation of Jesus:** his birth—homage and persecution, baptism by John, temptation.

4[12]–9[34] **The Galilean ministry:**

4[12-25] introductory, call of first disciples,

5–7 a cycle of sayings—the "sermon on the mount." καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν κτλ (7[28]).

8–9[34] a cycle of incidents—chiefly (ten) miracles: in Kapharnahum and neighbourhood.

9[35-38] introductory,

10–13[58] commission to the twelve apostles. καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (11[1]).

11 Jesus and John—unbelief of age.

12 conflict with Pharisees on { Sabbath: / expulsion of devils: / demand for signs.

13 a cycle of seven parables. καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (13[53]).

14[1]–18[35] murder of John—miracles of Jesus: visit and controversy of scribes and Pharisees.

at Caesarea Philippi—the transfiguration—miracles.

a cycle of sayings. καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (19[1a]).

19[1]–25[46] **The Judaean ministry:** a cycle of sayings — at Jericho: the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

21[12]–22[46] purging of temple—controversy with priests, with Herodians, Sadducees, Pharisees.

23–24 a cycle of seven Woes against scribes and Pharisees.

the apocalypse of Jesus.

25 the parables of the virgins and the talents—the last judgment. καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (26[1a]).

26–27 **The passion of Jesus:** { at Bethany: in the upper room—the last supper. / in the garden—the agony and the betrayal. / in the house of Kaiaphas—the trial, Peter's denial. / before Pilate—the suicide of Judas—Jesus and Bar-Abbas. / the crucifixion, death and burial.

28 **After death:** appearance of angel, of Jesus, to women:

,, ,, Jesus to the eleven apostles: his final charge.

MATTHEW

1 1 The birth-roll of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham :
2 Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judah
3 and his brothers, and Judah begat Perez and Zerah by Tamar, and Perez
4 begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Ram, and Ram begat Aminadab, and
5 Aminadab begat Nahshon, and Nahshon begat Salmon, and Salmon begat
6 Boaz by Rahab, and Boaz begat Obed by Ruth, and Obed begat Jesse, and
Jesse begat David the king. And David begat Solomon by
7 Uriah's wife, and Solomon begat Rehoboam, and Rehoboam begat Abijah,
8 and Abijah begat Asa, and Asa begat Jehoshaphat, and Jehoshaphat begat
9 Joram, and Joram begat Uzziah, and Uzziah begat Jotham, and Jotham
10 begat Ahaz, and Ahaz begat Hezekiah, and Hezekiah begat Manasseh,
11 and Manasseh begat Amon, and Amon begat Josiah, and Josiah begat
Jechoniah and his brothers at the time of the transportation to Babylon.
12 And after the transportation to Babylon, Jechoniah begat
13 Shealtiel, and Shealtiel begat Zerubbabel, and Zerubbabel begat Abiud,
14 and Abiud begat Eliakim, and Eliakim begat Azor, and Azor begat
15 Zadok, and Zadok begat Achim, and Achim begat Eliud, and Eliud
16 begat Eleazar, and Eleazar begat Matthan, and Matthan begat Jacob, and
Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary of whom Jesus, who is called
"Christ," was born.
17 So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David to the transportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the transportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen generations.

18 Now the birth of Jesus Christ was in this way. When Mary his
mother had been betrothed to Joseph, she was found to be with child by
19 the holy Spirit before they came together. As Joseph her husband was
an upright man and yet unwilling to expose her publicly, he meant to
20 divorce her secretly. But after he had planned this, lo, an angel of the
Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying,

"Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife,
21 For what is begotten in her is by the holy Spirit :
And she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus,
For he shall save his people from their sins."

22 The whole of this came to pass in order that what was spoken by the
Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled ; when he said,
23 *Lo ! the maiden shall be with child and bear a son,*
And they shall call his name Immanuel
24 (which when translated means, "*God with us*"). And on awakening
from sleep Joseph did as the angel of the Lord commanded him ; he
25 took his wife, and did not know her until she had borne a son, and he
called his name Jesus.

2 1 Now after the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem of Judaea during the days
of Herod the king, lo, magicians from the East arrived at Jerusalem,
2 saying, "Where is the newly-born king of the Jews? for we saw his star
3 in the East and we have come to do him reverence." And on hearing it
4 Herod the king was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And he
gathered all the high priests and scribes of the people together, and
began to make inquiries of them as to where the Christ was to be born.
5 And they said to him, "In Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written
through the prophet,

6 *And thou Bethlehem, land of Judah,*
Art by no means least among the rulers of Judah;
For out of thee shall come a ruler,
One who shall shepherd my people Israel."

7 Then Herod secretly called the magicians and ascertained from them
8 the time of the star's appearing. And he sent them to Bethlehem and
said, "Go and make accurate inquiries about the child; and after you
have found him, bring me word, that I also may go and do him
9 reverence." Now when they heard the king they went on their way. And
lo, the star which they had seen in the East went before them, until it
10 came and stood still over the place where the child was. And on seeing
11 the star, they rejoiced with very great joy. And on entering the house they
saw the child with Mary his mother, and they fell down and did him
reverence, and opened their caskets and offered him gifts of gold and
12 frankincense and myrrh. And on being divinely instructed in a dream
not to return to Herod, they retired to their own country by another road.
13 Now after they had retired, lo, an angel of the Lord appears in a
dream to Joseph, saying, "Rise up, take the child and his mother and
flee to Egypt; and stay there till I tell thee. For Herod is about to
14 seek the child, to destroy him." And he rose up, took the child and his
15 mother by night and retired to Egypt, where he stayed until the death
of Herod; that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be
16 fulfilled, when he said, *Out of Egypt I called my son.* Then Herod
saw that the magicians had trifled with him; and he was mightily enraged,
and sent out and slew all the male children in Bethlehem and all its
neighbourhood, from two years of age and under, according to the time
17 which he had ascertained from the magicians. Then what was spoken
through the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled, when he said,

18 *A voice was heard in Ramah,*
Weeping and great mourning—
Rachel weeping for her children;
And she refused to be consoled, for they live no more.

19 But when Herod died, lo, an angel of the Lord appears in a dream to
20 Joseph in Egypt, saying, "Rise up, take the child and his mother and go
into the land of Israel, for those who sought the child's life are dead."
21 And he rose up, took the child and his mother and entered the land of
22 Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judaea in
succession to his father Herod, he was afraid to go there; and on being
divinely instructed in a dream, he retired into the districts of Galilee.
23 So he came and dwelt in a city called Nazaret; that what was spoken
through the prophets might be fulfilled, "He shall be called a Nazarene."

3 1 Now in those days John the baptizer arrives, preaching in the wilder-
2, 3 ness of Judaea, "Repent, for the reign of heaven is near." (For this
is he who was spoken of through the prophet Isaiah in the words:

The voice of one crying in the wilderness :
" Make ready the way of the Lord,
Make level his paths ! "

4 Now he, John, had his clothing made of camel's hair, with a leather
girdle round his loins, and his food consisted of locusts and wild honey.
5 Then Jerusalem and all Judaea and all the country surrounding the
6 Jordan began to go out to him ; and they were baptized by him in
7 the river Jordan, as they confessed their sins. But when he saw
many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming for baptism, he said to
them,

" You offspring of vipers, who has directed you to flee from the wrath
to come ?
8 Bear fruit, then, befitting your repentance :
9 And presume not to say to yourselves, ' We have Abraham as our
father,'
For I tell you, God can raise up children for Abraham from these
stones !
10 Even already is the axe laid at the root of the trees :
So shall each tree be hewn and thrown into the fire, unless it bear
sound fruit.
11 With water I baptize you for repentance ;
But he who comes after me is mightier than I,
Whose sandals I am not fit to carry :
He shall baptize you with the holy Spirit and fire—
12 Whose winnowing fan is in his hand, and he will cleanse out his
threshing-floor,
He will gather his corn into the granary,
But the straw he will burn up with fire unquenchable."

13 Then Jesus arrives from Galilee to John at the Jordan, to get baptized
14 by him. But John tried to prevent him, saying, " I need to get baptized
15 by thee, yet thou comest to me ! " But Jesus answered and said, " Let it
be so, for the present ; thus it behoves us to do whatsoever is right."
16 Then he gave in to him. And when Jesus had been baptized, he imme-
diately rose up from the water ; and lo, the skies opened, and he saw
17 God's Spirit descend as it were a dove and come upon him ; and lo, a
voice spoke out of the skies,

" This is my Son, the beloved,
In whom I delight."

4 1 Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be
2 tempted by the devil. And after fasting for forty days and forty nights
3 he at last hungered. And the tempter came and said to him, " If thou
4 art God's Son, give orders that these stones become bread." But in
answer he said, " It is written :

Not on bread alone is man to live,
But on every word that issues from the mouth of God."

5 Then the devil takes him to the holy city ; and setting him on the
6 pinnacle of the temple, he says to him, " If thou art God's Son, throw
thyself down ; for it is written,

He shall charge his angels concerning thee :
Yea on their hands they shall bear thee,
Lest ever thou strike thy foot against a stone."

7 Jesus said to him, " Again it is written : *Thou shalt not make trial of the*
8 *Lord thy God.*" Once more, the devil takes him to a very high mountain,
9 and shows him all the realms of the world and their grandeur ; and he

said to him, "All these I will give thee, if thou wilt fall down and do
10 me reverence." Then Jesus says to him, "Satan, begone! for it is
written: *Thou shalt do reverence to the Lord thy God, and him only shalt*
11 *thou worship.*" Then the devil leaves him; and lo, angels came and
ministered to him.

12 Now when he heard that John had been delivered up, he retired to
13 Galilee. And on leaving Nazaret he came and dwelt in Kapharnahum
which lies beside the sea in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali;
14 that what was spoken through Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled,
when he said,

15 *The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,*
Towards the sea, across the Jordan,
Galilee of the Gentiles:
16 *The people who sat in darkness*
Saw a great light;
And to those who sat in the region and the shadow of death,
To them light rose.

17 From that time Jesus began to preach and say, "Repent, for the reign
of heaven is near."

18 Now as he walked beside the sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers,
Simon (who is called Peter) and Andrew his brother, casting a fishing-
19 net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he says to them, "Come
20 after me and I will make you fishers of men." So they immediately left
21 the nets and followed him. And going on from there he saw two other
brothers, James the son of Zebedee, with his brother John, in the boat
22 with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. So
they immediately left the boat and their father, and followed him.
23 Then he made a tour through the whole of Galilee, teaching in their
synagogues, preaching the glad tidings of the Reign, and healing all
24 manner of disease and all manner of infirmity among the people. And
the report of him went out into the whole of Syria. And they brought
him all who were ill, possessed with various diseases and tormenting pains,
or possessed by daemons, or epileptic and paralytic; and he healed them.
25 And great crowds followed him from Galilee and Dekapolis and Jeru-
5 1 salem and Judaea and from across the Jordan. Now on seeing
the crowds he went up the mountain; and when he sat down, his
2 disciples approached him. Then opening his mouth he taught them,
saying:

3 "Happy *the poor* in spirit!
For theirs is the reign of heaven.
4 Happy *the mourners!*
For they *shall be comforted.*
5 Happy *the gentle!*
For they *shall inherit the earth.*
6 Happy they who hunger and thirst for uprightness!
For they shall be satisfied.
7 Happy the merciful!
For they shall obtain mercy.
8 Happy *the pure in heart!*
For they shall see God.
9 Happy the peacemakers!
For they shall be called sons of God.

10 Happy they who have been persecuted on account of uprightness!
For theirs is the reign of heaven.
11 Happy are you when men shall denounce you and persecute you
and say all manner of mischief against you for my sake:
12 Joy and rejoice! for great is your reward in the heavens.
For thus did they persecute the prophets who were before you.
13 You are the salt of the earth.
But if salt has lost its savour,
Wherewith shall it be salted?
It is no longer fit for anything,
Save to be thrown out and trampled under men's feet.
14 You are the light of the world (a city built on a mountain cannot be
hidden).
15 And men do not light a lamp to put it under the bushel, but on
the lampstand,
And it shines for all who are in the house:
16 So let your light shine before men,
That they may see your good deeds, and magnify your Father
who is in the heavens.
17 Think not that I came to break down the law and the prophets:
I came not to break down but to fulfil.
18 [For I tell you truly, till sky and earth pass away,
Not an iota, not one upstroke of a letter shall pass away from the
law, till all come to pass.
19 Whoever then shall break one of these least commandments and teach
men so,
In the reign of heaven he shall be reckoned least:
But whoever shall obey and teach them,
In the reign of heaven he shall be reckoned greatest.]
20 For I tell you, unless your uprightness shall excel that of the scribes
and Pharisees,
You shall not enter the reign of heaven.

21 You have heard that it was said to the men of old,
'*Thou shalt not murder:* and whoever murders shall be liable to
the judges.'
22 But I tell you,
Everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to the
judges,
And whoever says to his brother, 'Empty fellow!' shall be liable
to the Sanhedrin,
And whoever says to his brother, 'Idiot!' shall be liable to the
Gehenna of fire.
23 So if thou art offering thy gift at the altar,
And rememberest there that thy brother has anything against thee,
24 Leave thy gift there before the altar,
And go, be reconciled to thy brother first,
Then come and offer thy gift.
25 (Come quickly to terms with thine opponent, so long as thou art with
him on the road;
Lest the opponent deliver thee up to the judge, and the judge to the
officer, and thou be thrown into prison:
26 I tell thee truly, thou shalt not leave that place, till thou hast paid the
last halfpenny.)

27 You have heard that it was said,
'*Thou shalt not commit adultery.*'
28 But I tell you,
Everyone who looks at a woman for lust[1] has committed adultery
with her already in his heart.
29 If thy right eye hinder thee,
Pluck it out and throw it from thee:
For it is good for thee that one of thy members perish,
Instead of thy whole body being thrown into Gehenna.
30 And if thy right hand hinder thee,
Cut it off and throw it from thee:
For it is good for thee that one of thy members perish,
Instead of thy whole body going into Gehenna.
31 It was said also,
'*Whoever shall divorce his wife, let him give her a writing of repudiation.*'
32 But I tell you,
Everyone who divorces his wife, except on account of fornication,
makes her an adulteress:
And whoever marries her after she is divorced, commits adultery.

33 Once more, you have heard that it was said to the men of old,
'*Thou shalt not forswear thyself*, but *shalt discharge thy vows to the Lord.*'
34 But I tell you,
Swear not at all:
Neither by *heaven*, because it *is God's throne*,
35 Nor by *earth*, because it *is the footstool of his feet*,
Nor by Jerusalem, because it is *the city of the great King*,
36 Nor shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not
make one hair white or black.
37 Let what you say be simply 'yes' or 'no':
Whatever exceeds that is from the evil one.

38 You have heard that it was said,
'*An eye for an eye*, and *a tooth for a tooth.*'
39 But I tell you,
Resist not the evil man;
Nay, whoever smites thee on the[2] right cheek,
Turn the other to him also.
40 And if anyone wishes to sue thee for possession of thy tunic,
Let him have thy cloak also.
41 And whoever shall force thee to go one mile,
Go two with him.
42 Give to him who asks thee,
And turn not away from him who would borrow from thee.

43 You have heard that it was said,
'*Thou shalt love thy neighbour* and hate thine enemy.'
44 But I tell you,
Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you,
45 That you may become sons of your Father who is in the heavens:
For he makes his sun rise upon niggardly and generous,
And sends rain upon just and unjust.

[1] Omitting [[αὐτὸν]]. [2] Omitting [[σου]].

46 For if you love those who love you, what reward have you?
Do not even the tax-gatherers do that?
47 And if you salute merely your brothers, what are you doing beyond others?
Do not even the heathen do that?
48 *You are to be perfect* then,
As your heavenly Father is perfect.

6 1 Take care not to practise your charity before men, to be seen by them:
Otherwise you have no reward with your Father who is in the heavens.
2 So when thou givest alms,
Make no flourish of trumpets, as do the hypocrites
In the synagogues and in the thoroughfares, that they may be magnified by men:
I tell you truly, they get their reward.
3 But when thou givest alms,
Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand is doing,
4 That thine alms may be in secret;
And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.

5 And when you pray,
You shall not be like the hypocrites;
For they like to pray standing in the synagogues and at the street corners, to appear before men:
I tell you truly, they get their reward.
6 But thou, when thou prayest,
Go into thine inner chamber, shut thy door,
And pray to thy Father who is in secret;
And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.
7 In praying do not babble by rote as the heathen do,
For they imagine they shall be heard for their store of words:
8 Now be not like them;
For your Father knows what you need, before you ask him.
9 Pray you in this way, then:
'Our Father who art in the heavens,
Thy name be hallowed,
10 Thy reign come,
Thy will be done,
As in heaven so upon earth!
11 Our bread for the morrow give us to-day.
12 And forgive us our debts
As we also have forgiven our debtors;
13 And lead us not into temptation,
But rescue us from the evil one.'
14 For if you forgive men their trespasses,
Your heavenly Father will forgive you also:
15 But if you forgive not men,[1]
Neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses.

16 Now when you fast,
Put on no dejected looks, like the hypocrites,

[1] Omitting [[τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν]].

For they disfigure their faces to appear fasting before men :
I tell you truly, they get their reward.
17 But thou, when thou fastest,
Anoint thy head and wash thy face,
18 That thou mayest not appear to men as one fasting, but to thy Father who is in secret ;
And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.

19 Store up no treasure for yourselves on earth,
Where moth and rust consume,
And where thieves break in and steal :
20 But store up treasure for yourselves in heaven,
Where neither moth nor rust consumes,
And where thieves do not break in or steal.
21 For where thy treasure is,
There shall thine heart be also.
22 The lamp of the body is the eye :
If thine eye then be liberal,
Thy whole body shall be lit up ;
23 But if thine eye be niggardly,
Thy whole body shall be darkened.
If the light in thee is darkness,
Then—what a darkness !
24 No one can serve two masters :
For either he will hate the one and love the other,
Or else he will hold to one and despise the other.
You cannot serve God and Mammon.
25 Therefore I tell you,
Be not anxious for your life, about what you are to eat,[1]
Nor yet for your body, about what you are to wear :
Is not life more than food,
And the body than raiment ?
26 Look at the birds of the air :
They sow not, reap not, gather into no granaries,
Yet your heavenly Father feeds them.
Are you not worth more than they ?
27 Which of you can add one ell to his stature by anxiety ?
28 Why then be anxious about raiment ?
Mark well how the field-lilies grow ! they toil not, neither do they spin :
29 Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his grandeur was not robed like one of these.
30 Now if God thus arrays the grass of the field, which lives to-day and is thrown to-morrow into the oven,
O men of little faith, shall he not much more array you ?
31 Be not anxious then and say,
'What are we to eat ?' or 'What are we to drink ?' or 'How are we to be clothed ?'
32 (For all these things the Gentiles crave)
For your heavenly Father knows that you require all these.
33 But seek his reign and his uprightness first,
And you shall have all these added besides.
34 Be not anxious for the morrow, then ;

[1] Omitting [[ἢ τί πίητε]].

The morrow will be anxious for itself.
Sufficient for the day is the day's own trouble.

7 1 Judge not,
That you may not be judged ;
2 For with what judgment you judge,
You shall be judged,
And with what measure you measure,
It shall be measured to you.
3 Why look at the splinter in thy brother's eye,
And mark not the beam in thine own eye ?
4 What ! how art thou to say to thy brother, 'Come, let me pull the splinter out of thine eye,'
When lo, the beam is in thine own eye ?
5 Hypocrite ! pull the beam out of thine own eye first,
Then indeed shalt thou see clearly to pull the splinter out of thy brother's eye.
6 Give not what is holy to the dogs,
And throw not your pearls before swine ;
Lest they trample them under their feet,
And turn to tear you in pieces.
7 Ask and it shall be given you,
Seek and you shall find,
Knock and it shall be opened to you :
8 For every one who asks receives,
And he who seeks finds,
And to him who knocks it shall be opened.
9 Why, what man of you will hand his son a stone, if he asks him for a loaf ?
10 Or will hand him a serpent, if he asks him for a fish ?
If you then, niggardly as you are, know how to give good gifts to your children,
How much more shall your Father who is in the heavens give good things to those who ask him ?

12 All then that you would have men do to you,
Do also to them, yourselves :
For this is the law and the prophets.

13 Enter by the narrow gate :
For wide [1] and spacious is the way that leads to destruction,
And those who are entering by it are many ;
14 For narrow is the gate and strait the way that leads to life,
And those who are finding it are few.

15 Beware of false prophets, men who come to you in sheep's clothing,
But are inwardly ravenous wolves.
16 From their fruits you shall recognise them :
Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles ?
17 So every good tree brings forth sound fruits,
But the rotten tree brings forth bad fruits.
18 A good tree cannot bring forth bad fruits,
Nor can a rotten tree bring forth sound fruits.

[1] Omitting [[ἡ πόλη]].

19 (Each tree shall be hewn and thrown into the fire,
Unless it bear sound fruit)
20 So from their fruits then you shall recognise them.

21 Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord!' shall enter the reign of
heaven;
But he who obeys the will of my Father who is in the heavens.
22 Many will say to me on that day, 'Lord, Lord!
Did we not *prophesy by thy name?*
And cast out daemons by thy name?
And work many miracles by thy name?'
23 And then will I declare to them, 'I never knew you:
Depart from me, ye workers of evil.'

24 Everyone then who hears these words of mine,
and obeys them,
Shall be compared to a shrewd man,
who built his house upon the rock:
25 And the rain fell,
The streams rose,
The winds blew and beat upon that house;
Yet it fell not,
For it was founded upon the rock.
26 And everyone who hears these words of mine,
And obeys them not,
Shall be compared to a thoughtless man,
Who built his house upon the sand;
27 And the rain fell,
The streams rose,
The winds blew and struck upon that house,
And it fell;
And great was its downfall."
28 And it came to pass when Jesus finished these words, the crowds were
29 astonished at his teaching; for he taught them as one who exerted
authority, and not like their own scribes.

8 1 Now when he came down from the mountain, great crowds followed
2 him. And there was a leper who approached and began to do him
reverence, saying, "Sir, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean."
3 And stretching out his hand he touched him, saying, "I will:
4 be clean." And immediately his leprosy was made clean. And
Jesus says to him, "See thou tell no one; but go, *show* thyself *to the*
priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded—as a proof to men."
5 Now when he entered Kapharnahum, a centurion came to him
6 and besought him saying, "Sir, my servant is lying ill at home with
7 paralysis, in dreadful torture." He says to him, "I will come and heal
8 him." But the centurion answered and said, "Sir, I am not fit to have
thee come under my roof. Only say the word, and my servant shall
9 be cured. For indeed I am myself a man under authority, with soldiers
under me: I say to this man, 'Go,' and he goes; to another,
10 'Come,' and he comes; to my slave, 'Do this,' and he does it." Now
when Jesus heard it, he marvelled; and he said to his followers, "I
tell you truly, I have not found such faith as this with anyone in Israel.
11 I tell you,

Many shall come *from east and west*
And recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the heavenly realm:
12 But the sons of the realm shall be thrown out into the outer darkness;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth."
13 And Jesus said to the centurion, "Go; be it done for thee, as thou hast
14 believed." And in that hour the servant was cured. And on entering the house of Peter, Jesus saw his wife's mother lying in bed with
15 fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her; and she rose and
16 ministered to him. Now in the evening they brought him many who were possessed by daemons, and he cast out the spirits with a word, and
17 healed all who were ill—that what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled, *He took our illnesses himself, and our diseases bore.*
18 Now when Jesus saw great crowds around him, he gave orders to
19 depart to the opposite side. And one man, a scribe, came up and said to
20 him, "Teacher, I will follow thee wherever thou goest." Then Jesus says to him,
"The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have shelters,
But the Son of man has no place to lay his head."
21 Another of the disciples said to him, "Lord, let me go and bury my
22 father first." But Jesus says to him, "Follow me, and let the dead bury
23 their own dead." And he embarked in a boat, followed by his
24 disciples. And lo, a great storm rose on the sea, so that the boat was
25 being covered with the waves. But he was asleep. And they went to him
26 and woke him, saying, "Save, Lord! we are perishing!" And he says to them, "Why are you timid, O men of little faith?" Then he rose and
27 rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. And the men marvelled and said, "What a man this is! even the winds and the sea
28 obey him!" And when he reached the opposite side, the country of the Gadarenes, two men possessed by daemons met him, who came from the tombs, men of such violence that no one could pass along that
29 road. And behold, they shouted, "What have we to do with thee, Son
30 of God? Hast thou come here to torment us before the time?" Now
31 far away from them a drove of many swine was grazing. And the daemons besought him, "If thou cast us out, send us away into the
32 drove of swine." And he said to them, "Begone." So they came out and went off into the swine, and lo! all the drove rushed down the
33 steep slope into the sea and perished in the waters. Then the herdsmen fled and went away into the city bringing word of everything,
34 and of those who had been possessed by daemons. And behold, all the city came out to meet Jesus; and when they saw him, they besought
9 1 him to remove from their neighbourhood. And he embarked
2 in a boat and crossed over, and came to his own city. And behold, they brought him a paralytic man lying on a bed. And when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic man, "Be of good cheer, my son:
3 thy sins are forgiven." And behold, some of the scribes said to them-
4 selves, "This fellow is blaspheming." And when Jesus saw what they
5 were thinking he said, "Why think evil in your hearts? For which is easier, to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven,' or to say, 'Rise and walk'?
6 But, to let you know that the Son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins"—then he says to the paralytic man—"Rise, take up thy bed,
7, 8 and go home." And he rose and went away home. Now when the crowd saw it they were awed, and they magnified God who had given such

9 authority to men. And as Jesus passed along from there, he saw
a man sitting at the tax-office, called Matthew; and he says to him,
10 "Follow me." And he rose and followed him. And it came to pass as
he reclined at table in the house, there were many tax-gatherers and
11 sinners who came and reclined along with Jesus and his disciples. And
when the Pharisees saw it, they said to his disciples, "Why does your
12 teacher eat with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" But when he heard
it he said,

"The strong need not a physician, but those who are ill.
13 Go and learn what this means: *It is mercy I care for, not sacrifice.*
For I came not to call upright men but sinners."

14 Then the disciples of John approach him, saying, "Why is it that we
15 and the Pharisees fast, while thy disciples fast not?" And Jesus said to
them,

"Can the sons of the bride-chamber mourn
As long as the bridegroom is with them?
But days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away
from them:
And then will they fast.
16 No man sews a piece of undressed cloth on an old cloak;
For the patch parts from it,
And a worse tear is made.
17 Nor do men pour fresh wine into old wine-skins:
Otherwise the wine-skins burst,
The wine is spilt, and the wine-skins are lost.
No, they pour fresh wine into new wine-skins,
And both are preserved."

18 As he was speaking thus to them, behold, a president came and began to
do him reverence, saying, "My daughter has this moment died. But
19 come and lay thy hand on her, and she shall live." Then Jesus rose and
20 followed him, along with his disciples. And behold, a woman who had
had a hemorrhage for twelve years, came behind him and touched the tassel
21 of his cloak; for she kept saying to herself, "If only I touch his cloak,
22 I shall be restored." When Jesus turned and saw her, he said, "Be of
good cheer, daughter; thy faith has restored thee." And the woman was
23 restored from that hour. And when Jesus came to the house of the
24 president, and saw the flute-players and the crowd making a noise, he
said, "Retire; the girl is not dead, but asleep." And they laughed him
25 to scorn. But when the crowd had been put out, he went in and took
26 her hand, and the girl rose. And the report of this went out into the
27 whole of that land. And as Jesus passed along from there, two
blind men followed him, shouting and saying, "Have pity on us, Son of
28 David!" But when he had gone into the house, the blind men came up
to him; and Jesus says to them, "Do you believe I am able to do
29 this?" They say to him, "Yes, Lord." Then he touched their eyes,
30 saying, "According to your faith be it done for you." And their eyes
were opened. And Jesus sternly charged them, saying, "See that no
31 one knows of it." They went out, however, and spread his fame through
32 the whole of that land. Now as they were going out, there were
33 people who brought him a dumb man possessed by a daemon. And when
the daemon had been cast out, the dumb man spoke. And the crowd
34 marvelled, saying, "Never was such a sight seen in Israel!" But the
Pharisees said, "He is casting out the daemons with the help of the ruler
of the daemons."

35 And Jesus made a tour through all the cities and the villages,
teaching in their synagogues, preaching the glad tidings of the Reign,
36 and healing all manner of disease and all manner of infirmity. And
when he saw the crowds he was moved with compassion for them,
because they were harassed and prostrate, *like sheep without a shepherd.*
37 Then he says to his disciples,
"The harvest is ample, but the labourers are few:
38 Entreat then the owner of the harvest to thrust out labourers into
his harvest."
10 1 And calling his twelve disciples to him, he gave them authority over
unclean spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of disease and
2 all manner of infirmity. Now these are the names of the twelve
apostles. First Simon (who is called Peter), with Andrew his brother,
3 and James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and
Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the tax-gatherer, James (the son of
4 Alphaeus) and Thaddaeus, Simon ("the zealot") and Judas Iskariot (who
5 also betrayed him). These twelve men Jesus sent out, after charging
them in these words:
"Take no road to the Gentiles,
And enter no city of the Samaritans;
6 Rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
7 And as you go, preach, saying, 'The reign of heaven is near.'
8 Heal the sick, raise the dead,
Make lepers clean, cast out daemons:
You received without fee,
Give without fee.
9, 10 Provide yourselves with no gold or silver or brass in your girdles, with
no wallet for your journey, nor with two tunics, nor with sandals, nor
11 with staff; for the labourer is worthy of his food. And whatever city or
village you enter, ascertain who is worthy in it, and stay there till you
12 leave. As you enter the household, salute it.
13 Then if the household be worthy,
Let your peace come upon it:
But if it be not worthy,
Let your peace return to you.
14 And whoever shall not receive you or listen to your words,
As you go outside that house or that city, shake off the dust of your
feet;
15 I tell you truly, the land of Sodom and Gomorra shall find it more
bearable on the day of judgment than that city.
16 Lo, I despatch you like sheep amid wolves;
Be shrewd then like serpents, and guileless like doves.
17 Beware of men:
For they will deliver you up to councils,
And scourge you in their synagogues.
18 Moreover before governors and kings shall you be brought for my sake,
For a witness to them and to the Gentiles.
19 Now when they deliver you up,
Be not anxious how to speak or what to say;
What you are to say shall be given you in that hour.
20 For it is not so much you who speak,
As the Spirit of your Father which speaks in you.
21 Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child:
Children shall rise up against parents and have them put to death.

22 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake;
But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.
23 When they persecute you in this city, flee to the next:
For I tell you truly, you shall not have got to the end of the cities of
Israel, before the Son of man comes.
24 A pupil is not above his teacher,
Nor a slave above his owner:
25 It is enough for the pupil to be like his teacher,
And the slave like his owner.
If they surnamed the master of the house 'Beel-zebub,'
How much more those of his household?
26 So fear them not: for nothing is veiled that shall not be disclosed,
Or hidden that shall not be known.
27 What I tell you in the darkness, speak in the light:
And what is taught you in a whisper, proclaim on the
housetops.
28 And fear not those who kill the body but are not able to kill the soul:
Rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in
Gehenna.
29 Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?
Yet not one of them shall fall to the ground without your Father.
30 Yes, and as for you, the hairs of your head have been all numbered.
31 Fear not, then: you are worth more than many sparrows.
32 Everyone therefore who shall confess me before men,
I also will confess him before my Father who is in the heavens:
33 But whoever shall disown me before men,
I also will disown him before my Father who is in the heavens.
34 Think not that I came to bring peace on the earth,
I came not to bring peace but a sword.
35 For I came to set a man at variance *against his father*,
And the daughter against her mother,
And the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law;
36 Yea *a man's enemies shall be the people of his own household.*
37 He who loves father or mother more than me,
Is not worthy of me:
And he who loves son or daughter more than me,
Is not worthy of me:
38 And he who does not take his cross and follow after me,
Is not worthy of me.
39 He who has found his life,
Shall lose it:
And he who for my sake has lost his life,
Shall find it.
40 He who receives you receives me,
And he who receives me receives him who sent me.
41 He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet,
Shall receive a prophet's reward:
And he who receives an upright man because he is an upright man,
Shall receive an upright man's reward:
42 And whosoever shall give one of these little ones, were it only a cup of
cold water, because he is a disciple,
I tell you truly, he shall not lose his reward."
11 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished giving instructions to his twelve
disciples, he removed from there to teach and preach in their cities.

2 Now when John in the prison-house heard of the deeds of the Christ,
3 he sent a message to him by his disciples, "Art thou he 'who is to come'?
4 or are we to expect someone else?" And in answer Jesus said to them,
"Go and report to John what you hear and see:
5 *The blind regain their sight*, and the lame walk,
The lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear,
The dead also are raised, and the *poor have glad tidings preached to them.*
6 And happy is he who is repelled by nothing in me."
7 Now as these men went on their way, Jesus began to speak about John
to the crowds:
"What did you go out into the wilderness to view? A reed being
shaken by the wind?
8 Nay, what did you go out to see? A man clothed in soft robes?
Lo, those who wear soft robes are in kings' houses!
9 Nay, why did you go out? to see a prophet?
Yes, I tell you, and far more than a prophet.
10 This is he of whom it is written,
Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.
11 I tell you truly, no one has arisen among those born of women, greater
than John the baptizer:
Yet he who is least in the heavenly realm is greater than he.
12 (And from the days of John the baptizer until now, the heavenly realm
is carried by storm, and the violent seize on it.)
13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied till John:
14 Yea, if you would receive it, this is Elijah who is to come.
15 He who has ears, let him hear.
16 To what shall I compare this generation?
It is like children sitting in the market-places, who address their play-
17 mates and say,
'We piped to you, and you did not dance:
We lamented, and you beat not your breasts.'
18 For John came neither eating nor drinking,
And men say, 'He has a daemon':
19 The Son of man came eating and drinking,
And men say, 'Here is a man of gluttony and wine, a friend of
tax-gatherers and sinners.'
(Yet wisdom is vindicated by her deeds.)"
20 Then he began to reproach the cities in which most of his miracles
had been wrought, because they did not repent.
21 "Woe to thee, Khorazin! Woe to thee, Bethsaida!
For had the miracles wrought in you been wrought in Tyre and Sidon,
They had repented long ago in sackcloth and in ashes.
22 Yet I tell you, Tyre and Sidon shall find it more bearable on the day
of judgment than you.
23 And thou, Kapharnahum, *shalt thou be raised to the sky? thou shalt go down to Hades!*
For had the miracles wrought in thee been wrought in Sodom,
It would have lasted until this day.
24 Yet I tell you, the land of Sodom shall find it more bearable on the
day of judgment than thou."
25 At that season Jesus spoke and said,
"I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,

That thou didst hide these things from wise and clever men, revealing them to babes.
26 Even so, Father!—
That thus it pleased thee.
27 All things have been delivered to me by my Father,
And no one understands the Son but the Father.
Nor does anyone understand the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son may choose to reveal him.
28 Come to me, all ye who are weary and burdened,
And I will give you rest.
29 Take my yoke on you and learn from me,
For I am gentle and humble in heart,
And *you shall find rest for your souls:*
30 For my yoke is easy and my burden light."

12 1 At that season Jesus went on the sabbath-day through the cornfields; and as his disciples hungered, they began to pluck ears of corn and eat.
2 Now the Pharisees saw it and said to him, "Lo! thy disciples are
3 doing what it is wrong to do upon a sabbath." But he said to them, "Have you not read what David did, when he and his companions
4 were hungry? How he went into the house of God, and they ate *the show-bread*, which neither he nor his companions had any right to eat,
5 but only the priests? Or have you not read in the law that on the sabbath-day the priests in the temple desecrate the sabbath and are guilt-
6, 7 less? And I tell you, a greater than the temple is here. But had you known what this means, *It is mercy I care for, not sacrifice*, you would
8 not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is lord of the
9, 10 sabbath." And removing thence he entered their synagogue. And there was a man with a withered hand; and they asked him, "Is it right
11 to heal on the sabbath-day?"—in order to accuse him. He said to them, "What man of you shall there be who has one sheep, and, if this falls into
12 a ditch on the sabbath-day, will not lay hold of it and lift it out? How much more then is a man worth than a sheep? So that it is right to
13 do good on the sabbath-day." Then he says to the man, "Stretch out thy hand." And as he stretched out, it was restored sound
14 like the other one. Now the Pharisees went out and took counsel
15 against him, how to destroy him. But Jesus perceived it and retired
16 thence; and many followed him, and he healed them all, charging
17 them not to make him known—that what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled, when he said,
18 *Behold, my servant whom I have chosen,*
My beloved, in whom my soul delights!
I will put my spirit upon him,
And he shall proclaim justice to the Gentiles.
19 *He shall not wrangle nor clamour,*
Nor shall his voice be heard in the streets.
20 *A bruised reed he shall not break,*
And smouldering flax he shall not quench,
Till he bring out justice triumphant:
21 *And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.*
22 Then one possessed by a daemon, blind and dumb, was brought him;
23 and he healed him, so that the dumb man spoke and saw. And all the crowds were amazed and said, "Can this be the son of David?"
24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, "This fellow is casting out

25 the daemons with the help of Beelzebub the ruler of the daemons." And
aware of their thoughts, he said to them,
"Any realm divided against itself comes to ruin,
And any city or household divided against itself shall not
stand;
26 And if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself:
How then shall his realm stand?
27 And if I am casting out the daemons with the help of Beelzebub,
with whose help do your sons cast them out?
Therefore shall they be your judges.
28 But if I am casting out the daemons with the help of God's Spirit,
Then God's reign has already reached you.
29 Why, how can one enter the house of the mighty man and spoil his
goods, unless one first of all binds the mighty man? Then indeed he
will plunder his house.
30 Whoever is not with me is against me;
And whoever gathers not with me, is scattering.
31 Therefore I tell you,
Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men,
But the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven.
32 And whoever speaks a word against the Son of man, shall be
forgiven:
But whoever speaks against the holy Spirit, shall not be for-
given, neither in this age nor in that which is to come.
33 Either make the tree sound and its fruit sound,
Or make the tree rotten and its fruit rotten:
For by the fruit the tree is known.
34 Offspring of vipers! how can you speak what is good, when you
are bad?
For from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.
35 The good man from his good storehouse produces good,
And the bad man from his bad storehouse produces bad.
36 I tell you, for every useless word that men shall speak,
They shall render account on the day of judgment:
37 For by thy words shalt thou be justified,
And by thy words shalt thou be condemned."
38 Then some of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, "Teacher,
39 we would see a sign from thee?" But he answered and said,
"It is an evil and adulterous generation that craves a sign:
Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah the prophet:
40 For as *Jonah was in the sea-monster's belly for three days and three*
nights,
So shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth for three
days and three nights.
41 The men of Nineveh shall stand up at the judgment along with this
generation and condemn it;
For they repented at the preaching of Jonah—
And lo, a greater than Jonah is here!
42 The queen of the South shall rise up at the judgment along with this
generation and condemn it;
For she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of
Solomon—
And lo, a greater than Solomon is here!
43 When the unclean spirit leaves a man,

It passes through waterless places in search of rest, yet finds
not any.
44 Then it says, 'I will return to my house, that I left';
And on coming finds it vacant,[1] swept clean and in order:
45 Then it goes and fetches along with it seven other spirits more hurt-
ful than itself,
And entering there they dwell—and that man's last state becomes
worse than his first.
So shall it be also with this evil generation."
46 While he was still speaking to the crowds, behold, his mother and his
48 brothers stood outside, trying to speak to him.[2] But in reply he said
to him who told him, "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?"
49 Then stretching his hand out towards his disciples he said, "Here are my
mother and my brothers!
50 For whoever shall obey the will of my Father who is in the heavens,
He is my brother and sister and mother."
13 1, 2 On that day, after leaving the house, Jesus sat by the seaside. And
great crowds gathered to him, so that Jesus entered a boat and sat
3 down, while all the crowd stood upon the beach. And he spoke of many
things to them in parables, saying:
"Behold, a sower went out to sow!
4 And as he sowed
Some seeds fell along the path,
And the birds came and ate them up.
5 And other seeds fell upon the rocky places, where they had not
much earth,
And shot up immediately because they had no depth of earth;
6 But after sunrise they were scorched,
And because they had no root, they withered away.
7 And other seeds fell upon the thorns,
And the thorns came up and completely choked them.
8 And other seeds fell upon the good soil,
And began to produce a crop,
Some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold.
9 He who has ears, let him hear."
10 And the disciples came and said to him, "Why speak to them in
11 parables?" He answered and said,
"To you it is given to know the secrets of the reign of heaven,
But to them it is not given:
12 For whoever has,
To him shall be given, and amply given;
But whoever has not,
From him shall be taken even that which he has.
13 This is why I speak to them in parables, because for all their sight
they see not, and for all their hearing they hear not, nor do they under-
14 stand. And with them the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled, which
says:
'*You shall hear and hear, yet never understand,*
You shall see and see, yet never perceive.'
15 *For dulled is the heart of this people,*
Their ears are heavy of hearing,

[1] Omitting [[*καὶ*]].
[2] Omitting [[εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ· Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἑστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι]].

Their eyes have they shut,
Lest haply they should see with their eyes
And hear with their ears
And understand with their heart and turn again,
For me to cure them.

16 But happy are your eyes, for they see!
And your ears, for they hear!
17 For I tell you truly, many prophets and just men were fain to see what
you see, yet they saw not;
And to hear what you hear, yet they heard not.
18, 19 Listen you then to the parable of the sower. When anyone hears the
word of the Reign and understands it not, the evil one comes and
snatches away what has been sown in his heart. This is he who was
20 'sown along the path.' And he who was 'sown upon the rocky places'—
21 this is he who hears the word and accepts it immediately with joy; but
he has no root in himself, he lasts merely for a time; then at the rise
of distress or persecution for the word, he is immediately repelled.
22 And he who was 'sown among the thorns'—this is he who hears the
word; yet the anxiety of this world and the deceit of riches choke
23 the word, and it becomes unfruitful. But he who was 'sown upon
the good soil'—this is he who hears the word and understands it, who
indeed bears fruit and brings forth, now a hundred, now sixty, now
thirty fold."
24 Another parable he set before them. "The reign of heaven," he said,
25 "is compared to a man who sowed good seed in his field; but while men
were asleep, his enemy came and sowed darnel also among the corn, and
26 went away. Now when the corn sprouted and came to fruit, then the
27 darnel appeared as well. And the slaves of the master of the house came
and said to him, 'Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? How
28 does it contain darnel, then?' And he said to them, 'An enemy has done
this.' The slaves say to him, 'Wilt thou have us go and gather it, then?'
29 'No,' he says; 'while you are gathering the darnel, you might root up the
30 corn along with it. Let both of them grow together until the harvest;
then at the harvest time I will tell the reapers, Gather the darnel first and
bind it in bundles for burning; but collect the corn into my granary.'"
31 Another parable he set before them. "The reign of heaven,"
he said, "is like a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in
32 his field. Though smaller than any seed, yet when it grows it is greater
than the vegetables, and it becomes a tree for *the birds of the air* to come
33 and *rest in its branches.*" Another parable he spoke to them: "The
reign of heaven is like leaven which a woman took and concealed in three
34 pecks of wheaten flour, till the whole was leavened." All these
things Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, and except in parable he did
35 not speak to them—that what was spoken through the prophet might be
fulfilled, when he said,

I will open my mouth in parables,
I will speak out what has been hidden from the world's foundation.

36 Then he left the crowds and went into the house. And his disciples
approached him and said, "Explain to us the parable of the darnel in the
37 field." And he answered and said, "He who sows the good seed is the
38 Son of man, the field is the world, as for the good seed—that is the
39 sons of the Realm, the darnel is the sons of the evil one, the enemy who
sowed them is the devil, the harvest is the close of the age, and the
reapers are angels.

40 Just as the darnel then is gathered and burned with fire,
So shall it be at the close of the age.
41 The Son of man shall send forth his angels and they shall gather out
of his realm all *hindrances and those who do evil,*
42 And they shall throw them into the furnace of fire;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
43 Then *shall the upright shine out* like the sun, in the reign of their Father.
He who has ears, let him hear.
44 The reign of heaven is like treasure hidden in the field, which a man
found and hid; then in his joy over it he goes and sells all that he has, and
45 buys that field. Once more, the reign of heaven is like a merchant
46 who was seeking fine pearls; on finding one very precious pearl, he went
47 off and at once sold all that he had, and bought it. Once more, the
reign of heaven is like a seine cast into the sea and collecting fish of every
48 kind; when it was filled, they drew it up on the beach, sat down, and
gathered what was good into vessels, throwing away the bad.
49 So shall it be at the close of the age.
The angels shall come forth and separate the evil from among the
upright,
50 And they shall throw them into the furnace of fire;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
51, 52 Have you understood all this?" They tell him, "Yes." And he said
to them, "Therefore is every scribe who has become a disciple of the reign
of heaven, like a man who is master of a household, who produces from
his storehouse new things and old."
53 And it came to pass, when Jesus finished these parables he set out
54 from there. And on entering his own native place he taught them in
their synagogue, so that they were astonished and said, "Where has this
55 man got this wisdom and these miracles? Is not this the carpenter's
son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brothers, James and
56 Joseph and Simon and Judas? And are not his sisters all with us?
57 Where then has this man got all this?" So they were repelled by him.
But Jesus said to them, "A prophet is not unhonoured except in his own
58 native place and in his own household." And he did not work many
miracles there, on account of their unbelief.

14 1, 2 At that season Herod the tetrarch heard the report about Jesus, and
he said to his servants, "This is John the baptizer; he has risen from
the dead, and that is why miraculous powers are active in him."
3 For Herod had seized John and bound him and put him in
prison for the sake of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.
4 For John had repeated to him, "Thou hast no right to have her."
5 Yet, although he wanted to put him to death, he feared the crowd;
6 for they held John to be a prophet. Now when Herod's birthday
arrived, the daughter of Herodias danced in public, to the delight of
7 Herod. Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatever
8 she should ask. Instigated by her mother, she says, "Give me
9 here on a dish the head of John the baptizer." And although the
king was sorry, yet for the sake of his oaths and of his guests he
10 commanded it to be given her; so he sent and had John beheaded in
11 the prison. And his head was brought on a dish and given to the
12 girl, and she brought it to her mother. And his disciples came and
carried away the corpse and buried him; then they went and told
Jesus.

13 Now when Jesus heard it, he retired from there in a boat to a desert
place in private. And when the crowds heard of it, they followed him
14 on foot from the cities. So on disembarking he saw a large crowd, and
15 moved with compassion for them he healed their sick folk. And when it
was evening, the disciples came to him saying, "It is a desert place, and
it is far on in the day. Dismiss the crowds, that they may go into the
16 villages and buy themselves food." Jesus said to them, "They need not
17 go away; give them something to eat, yourselves." They say to him,
18 "We have only five loaves here and two fish." He said, "Bring them
19 here to me." Then he commanded the crowds to recline on the grass,
took the five loaves and the two fish, looked up to heaven, and after the
blessing broke the loaves and gave them to the disciples, and the disciples
20 to the crowds. And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up
21 the fragments that were left over, twelve baskets full. (Those who ate
numbered about five thousand men, besides women and children.)
22 Then [1] he made the disciples embark in the boat and go before him to
23 the opposite side, till he could dismiss the crowds. And after dismissing
the crowds, he went up the mountain to pray in private. Now when
24 evening came he was there alone; while the boat was by this time in the
middle of the sea, harassed by the waves (for the wind was contrary).
25 At the fourth watch of the night he came to them, walking over the sea.
26 And when the disciples saw him walking over the sea, they were troubled.
27 "It is an apparition!" they said, and shouted for fear. But he [2]
immediately spoke to them. "Be of good cheer!" says he, "it is I, be
28 not afraid." Peter answered him and said, "Lord, if it be thou, com-
29 mand me to come to thee over the waters!" He said, "Come." Then
Peter got down from the boat and walked over the waters and came to
30 Jesus. But he looked at the wind and got afraid; and as he began to
31 sink he shouted, "Lord, save me!" Immediately Jesus stretched out
his hand and caught hold of him, saying to him, "O man of little faith,
32 why didst thou doubt?" And when they got up into the boat, the wind
33 dropped. And those who were in the boat did reverence to him, saying,
34 "Certainly thou art God's Son!" And on crossing over they came
35 to land at Gennesaret. And when the men of that place recognised him,
they sent to the whole of the surrounding country and brought him all
36 who were ill, beseeching him to let them touch only the tassel of his
cloak; and all who touched were quite restored.

15 1 Then Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem come to Jesus, saying,
2 "Why are thy disciples transgressing the tradition of the elders? For
3 they wash not their hands when they take a meal." And he answered
and said to them, "And why do you transgress God's commandment
for the sake of your tradition?

For God said:

Honour thy father and thy mother, and
He who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die.

5 But you say:

Whoever says to his father or his mother, 'What I might have
used to aid thee is a gift for God,'

6 He need not support his father.

So for the sake of your tradition you have cancelled God's word.
7 Hypocrites! finely did Isaiah prophesy about you, when he said,
8 *This people honours me with their lips,*
While their heart is far away from me;

[1] Omitting [[εὐθέως]]. [2] Omitting [[ὁ Ἰησοῦς]].

9 *Yet in vain do they worship me,*
Teaching doctrines which are mere human precepts."
10 And calling the crowd to him he said to them, "Listen and understand.
11 What goes into the mouth does not make a man unclean;
But what issues from the mouth, that makes a man unclean."
12 Then the disciples came and said to him, "Knowest thou that the
13 Pharisees took offence at the word which they heard?" But he answered
and said, "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted shall be
14 rooted up. Leave them alone; they are blind guides.[1] And if a blind man
15 guides a blind man, both of them shall fall into a ditch." And
16 Peter answered and said to him, "Expound the parable to us." And
17 he said, "Are you also ignorant, even yet? Do you not understand
that whatever enters the mouth passes into the belly and is thrown out
into the drain?
18 Whereas the things that issue from the mouth come out of the heart,
And it is they that make the man unclean.
19 For out of the heart come wicked designs, murders, adulteries, forni-
cations, thefts, false witness, slanders:
20 These are what make the man unclean.
But to eat with unwashed hands does not make the man unclean."
21 And Jesus went out from there and retired into the districts of Tyre
22 and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan came out from this territory,
crying aloud, "Have pity on me, Lord, Son of David! My daughter is
23 cruelly possessed by a daemon." But he answered her not a word. And
his disciples came and begged him, saying, "Send her away. She is
24 crying out after us." But he answered and said, "I was only sent to the
25 lost sheep of the house of Israel." Then she came and kept doing
26 reverence to him, saying, "Help me, sir." He answered and said, "It is
27 not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs." And she
said, "True, sir; for the dogs just eat the crumbs that fall from their
28 master's table!" Then Jesus answered and said to her, "O woman,
great is thy faith! Be it done for thee as thou wilt." And her daughter
was cured from that hour.
29 Then removing from there Jesus went along to the sea of Galilee; and
30 going up the mountain he sat there. And large crowds came to him,
having with them lame, blind, dumb, maimed people, and many others,
31 whom they placed at his feet. And he healed them; so that the crowd
marvelled as they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed sound, the lame
walking, and also the blind seeing; and they magnified the God of Israel.
32 Now Jesus called his disciples to him and said, "I have compassion
on the crowd, because for three days now they have stayed by me, and they
have nothing to eat. Nor would I send them away fasting, lest they
33 faint on the road." And the disciples say to him, "Where are we to get
34 bread in a desert to satisfy such a crowd?" And Jesus says to them,
"How many loaves have you?" "Seven," they said, "and a few small
35, 36 fish." Then he charged the crowd to lie down on the ground. And he
took the seven loaves and the fish, and giving thanks he broke them and
37 went on giving to the disciples, and the disciples to the crowds. So they
all ate and were satisfied. And they took up seven large baskets full of the
38 fragments that were left over. (Those who ate numbered four thousand
39 men, besides women and children.) Then after dismissing the crowd, he
entered the boat and went to the territory of Magadan.
16 1 And the Pharisees and Sadducees approached and—to make trial of

[1] Omitting [[τυφλῶν]].

him—requested him to display for them a sign from the sky. But he answered and said to them,
"[[When evening comes you say, 'It will be fine,
For the sky is red':
And in the morning, 'It will be stormy to-day,
For the sky is red and clouded.'
You know how to distinguish the appearance of the sky,
But you cannot distinguish the signs of the times.]]
It is an evil and adulterous generation that craves a sign:
Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah the prophet."
And he left them and went away. And the disciples had gone to the opposite side, forgetting to take bread. Jesus said to them, "See and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees." And they began to argue among themselves, saying, "We did not take any bread." But on perceiving it Jesus said,
"Why argue among yourselves, O men of little faith, because you have no bread?
Do you not yet understand?
Do you not yet remember the five loaves of the five thousand and how many baskets you got?
Or the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many large baskets you got?
How is it you do not understand?
I did not speak to you about bread.
Nay, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees."
Then they realised that he told them to beware, not of the leaven of bread, but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.
Now Jesus had come into the districts of Caesarea Philippi; and he began to ask his disciples saying, "Who do people say that the Son of man is?" They said, "Some John the baptizer, some Elijah, others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." He says to them, "But you—who do you say that I am?" So Simon Peter answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Jesus answered,
"Happy art thou, Simon Bar-Jona!
For flesh and blood did not reveal that to thee,
It was my Father who is in the heavens.
And I tell thee,
Thou art Peter; and on this rock I will build my Community,
And the gates of Hades shall not succeed against it.
I will give thee the keys of the heavenly realm:
And whatever thou shalt prohibit on earth shall be prohibited in the heavens,
And whatever thou shalt permit on earth shall be permitted in the heavens."
Then he enjoined the disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ.

From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go away to Jerusalem and suffer much from the elders and high priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day rise. Then Peter took him and started to rebuke him, saying, "Good gracious, Lord! this never shall befall thee!" But he turned and said to Peter,
"Get behind me, thou Satan! Thou art a hindrance to me!
Thy mind is not on the affairs of God but on the affairs of men."
Then said Jesus to his disciples,

"If any man would come after me,
Let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.
25 For whoever would save his life
Shall lose it:
And whoever loses his life for my sake
Shall find it.
26 What use will it be for a man, if he gain the whole world and forfeit his life?
Or what shall a man give in exchange for his life?
27 For the Son of man is to come in the majesty of his Father with his angels,
And then *shall he render to everyone according to what he has done.*
28 I tell you truly, there are some of those who stand here, who shall not taste death, until they see the Son of man coming with his royal power."
17 1 And after six days Jesus takes Peter and James and John his brother
2 aside and brings them up a high mountain privately. And he was transformed before them, and his face shone like the sun, while his garments
3 became white as light. And behold, Moses and Elijah appeared to them,
4 talking with him. Then Peter broke in; "Lord," said he to Jesus, "it is fine for us to be here. Pray, let me make three booths here, one
5 for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah." While he was still speaking, behold, a cloud full of light overshadowed them; and behold, a voice out of the cloud said,
"This is my Son, the beloved,
In whom I delight: hear him."
6 And on hearing it the disciples fell on their face and were terribly
7 afraid. So Jesus came near and touched them, saying, "Rise, and be not
8 afraid." Then lifting up their eyes they saw no one except Jesus alone.
9 And as they were descending from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, "Tell the vision to no one until the Son of man rise from the
10 dead." And the disciples asked him, "How is it then that the scribes
11 say, 'Elijah must come first'?" And he answered and said,
"*Elijah* indeed is coming
and he *shall restore* all;
12 But I tell you, Elijah has already come,
and they have not recognised him, but have done whatever they pleased to him.
So shall the Son of man also suffer from them."
13 Then the disciples realised that he spoke to them of John the baptizer.
14 And when they came to the crowd, a man approached him, kneeling
15 to him and saying, "Lord, have pity on my son, because he is epileptic and suffers cruelly; often he falls into the fire, and often into the water.
16 And I brought him to thy disciples; but they could not cure him."
17 Jesus answered and said, "O incredulous and perverse generation, how long am I to be with you? how long am I to bear with you? Bring him
18 here to me." And Jesus rebuked the daemon, and it came out of him;
19 and the boy was healed from that hour. Then the disciples came to
20 Jesus in private saying, "Why could we not cast it out?" "On account of your little faith," he says to them; "For I tell you truly,
If you have faith like a grain of mustard-seed,
You shall say to this mountain, 'Remove from this place to that,'
and remove it shall.
Nor shall anything be impossible to you."

22 Now while they were travelling about in Galilee, Jesus said to them,
23 "The Son of man is to be delivered up into the hands of men, and they
shall kill him, and on the third day he shall rise." And they were
exceedingly sorry.
24 When they came to Kapharnahum, those who collected the temple-tax
came to Peter and said, "Does your teacher not pay the temple-tax?"
25 "Yes," he says. And when he came into the house Jesus anticipated
him by saying, "What thinkest thou, Simon? From whom do the kings
of the earth collect customs or taxes? From their own sons, or from
26 strangers?" And when he said, "From strangers," Jesus said to him,
27 "So then the sons are free. However, to give them no offence, go to the
sea, throw a hook in and take the first fish that comes up. Open its
mouth and thou shalt find a stater; take that and pay it over to them
for me and for thyself."

18 1 At that time the disciples came to Jesus saying, "Pray, who is the
2 greatest in the reign of heaven?" Then calling a little child to him, he
3 set it in their midst and said:
"I tell you truly,
Unless you turn and become like the little children,
You shall not enter the reign of heaven.
4 Whoso then shall humble himself like this little child,
He is the greatest in the reign of heaven.
5 Whosoever also shall receive one such little child in my name, re-
ceives me:
6 But whosoever shall be a hindrance to one of these little ones, who
believe on me,
It were good for him were a great millstone hung round his neck,
and were he sunk in the deep sea.
7 Woe to the world for hindrances!
For it must needs be that hindrances come,
But woe to the man through whom the hindrance comes!
8 If thy hand or thy foot hinder thee, cut it off and throw it from thee:
Better for thee to enter life maimed or lame,
Than with two hands or two feet to be thrown into the fire
eternal!
9 And if thine eye hinder thee, tear it out and throw it from thee:
Better for thee to enter life with one eye,
Than with two eyes to be thrown into the Gehenna of fire!
10 See and despise not one of these little ones;
For I tell you that their angels in the heavens look ever on the face
of my Father who is in the heavens.
12 What do you think? If any man has a hundred sheep and one of them
strays, will he not leave the ninety-nine on the mountains and go in
13 search of the one that is straying? And if so be that he find it, I tell
you truly he rejoices more over it than over the ninety-nine which
14 have not strayed. So it is not the will of your Father who is in the
heavens that one of these little ones should perish.
15 Now if thy brother sin, go and reprove him between thee and him
alone:
If he listens to thee, thou hast won over thy brother.
16 But if he does not listen, take one or two others along with thee,
So that *on the statements of two or three witnesses every case may be
decided.*
17 But if he will not heed them, tell the Community:

And if he will not heed even the Community, treat him as a heathen or a tax-gatherer.

18 I tell you truly, whatever you shall prohibit on earth shall be prohibited in heaven,
And whatever you shall permit on earth shall be permitted in heaven.

19 Once more,[1] I tell you, if two of you shall agree on earth in regard to any matter that they ask,
It shall be done for them by my Father who is in the heavens.

20 For where two or three are gathered together in my name,
There am I in the midst of them."

21 Then Peter came up and said to him, "Lord, how often is my brother
22 to sin against me, and I to forgive him? Up to seven times?" Jesus says to him, "I say not to thee, 'Up to seven times,' but, 'Up to seventy
23 times seven.' For this reason the reign of heaven is compared to a king
24 who resolved to settle his accounts with his slaves. Now when he had begun to settle them, one man was brought him who owed him two
25 million, four hundred thousand pounds. As he was unable to pay, the lord commanded him to be sold, along with his wife and children and all
26 that he had, and payment to be made. The slave then fell down and began to do him reverence, saying, 'Have patience with me, and I will
27 pay thee everything.' And as the lord of that slave was moved with com-
28 passion, he released him and forgave him the debt. Now on going out, that slave fell in with one of his fellow-slaves who was owing him twenty pounds; and he seized him and took him by the throat, saying, 'Pay
29 what thou owest.' His fellow-slave then fell down and kept beseeching
30 him, saying, 'Have patience with me, and I will pay thee.' But he would not. He went away and had him thrown into prison, till he
31 should pay what was due. So when his fellow-slaves saw what had taken place, they were exceedingly sorry; and they went and explained to their
32 lord all that had taken place. Then the lord summoned him and said, 'Thou wicked slave! I forgave thee all that debt, seeing that thou didst
33 beseech me. Oughtest thou not also to have had pity on thy fellow-slave,
34 just as I also had pity on thee?' And in anger the lord delivered him up to
35 the gaolers, until he should pay all that was due. So also shall my heavenly Father do to you, unless you cordially forgive, everyone his brother."

19 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished these words he set out from
2 Galilee and went into the territory of Judaea across the Jordan. And large crowds followed him, and he healed them there.

3 And some Pharisees approached him, to make trial of him. "Is it
4 right," they said, "to divorce one's wife for any and every cause?" And he answered and said, "Have you not read that he who made them from
5 the beginning *made them male and female*, and said, *For this cause a man shall leave his father and mother and join himself to his wife, and the two*
6 *shall become one flesh?* So that they are no longer two, but one flesh.
7 What God has joined, then, let not man separate." "Why then," they say to him, "did Moses command men *to give a bill of repudiation and so*
8 *divorce her?*" He says to them, "As your heart was stubborn, Moses permitted you to divorce your wives; but it has not been so from the
9 beginning. I tell you, Whoever shall divorce his wife—except for
10 fornication—and marry another, commits adultery." The disciples say to him, "If this is the position of a man with his wife, there is no good
11 in marrying." But he said to them,

[1] Omitting [[ἀμήν]].

"All men cannot receive this saying, but those only to whom it is
given.
12 For there are eunuchs who were born thus from their mother's
womb,
And there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men,
And there are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the
sake of the reign of heaven.
He who is able to receive it, let him receive it."
13 Then little children were brought to him that he might lay his hands
14 on them and pray. The disciples rebuked them, but Jesus said, "Let the
little children come to me, and forbid them not; for of such is the heavenly
15 realm." And after laying his hands on them, he went away from there.
16 And behold, a man came up to him and said, "Teacher, what good
17 thing am I to do that I may have eternal life?" He said to him, "Why
ask me about what is good? One alone is good. But, if thy desire is to
18 enter life, keep the commandments." He says to him, "Which com-
mandments?" And Jesus said, "These: *thou shalt not murder, thou shalt*
not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness,
19 *honour father and mother*, and, *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*"
20 The young man says to him, "I have observed all these. What is lack-
21 ing still?" Jesus said to him, "If thy desire is to be perfect, go, sell thy
goods and give them to [1]poor people; so shalt thou have treasure in
22 heaven. Then come, follow me." But when the young man heard what was
said, he went away sorrowful; for he was one who had great possessions.
23 Then Jesus said to his disciples, "I tell you truly, It is difficult
24 for a rich man to enter the reign of heaven. Once more I tell you,
It is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye,
Than for a rich man to enter God's reign."
25 Now on hearing it the disciples were greatly astonished. "Who then
26 can be saved?" they said. Jesus looked at them and said to them,
"With men this is impossible,
But *with God anything is possible.*"
27 Then Peter answered and said to him, "Lo, we have left all and followed
28 thee! What then are we to get?" Jesus said to them, "I tell you truly,
At the Restoration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of
his majesty,
You, my followers, shall also sit on twelve thrones, governing the
twelve tribes of Israel.
29 And every one who leaves houses or brothers or sisters or father or
mother or children or lands for my name's sake, shall receive manifold
30 more, and inherit life eternal. But many who are first shall be last, and
20 1 the last first. For the reign of heaven is like the master of a house who
2 went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard. And
after agreeing with the labourers for a shilling a day, he sent them into
3 his vineyard. And on going out about the third hour, he saw other men
4 standing in the marketplace idle; and he said to them, 'Go you also
into the vineyard, and I will pay you whatever is right.' And they
5 went. Again [2]he went out about the sixth and the ninth hour, and
6 acted in the same way. And on going out about the eleventh hour, he
found other men standing; and he says to them, 'Why stand the whole
7 day idle here?' They say to him, 'Because no one has hired us.' He
8 says to them, 'Go you also into the vineyard.' Now when evening came,
the owner of the vineyard says to his manager, 'Call the labourers and

[1] Omitting [[τοῖς]]. [2] Omitting [[δὲ]].

9 pay their wages, beginning from the last up to the first.' And when
those who had been hired about the eleventh hour came, they got a
10 shilling each. And when the first men came, they supposed they would
11 get more; yet they too got a shilling each. So on getting it they began
12 to murmur against the master of the house, saying, 'These last men
worked for a single hour; yet thou hast made them equal to us, to men
13 who bore the burden of the day and the scorching wind!' But he
answered and said to one of them, 'Friend, I am not injuring thee.
14 Didst thou not agree with me for a shilling? Take what is thine and go.
15 I choose to pay this last man what I pay thee. Have I not the right to do
as I choose with what is my own? What! dost thou look with envy
16 because I am generous?' So shall the last be first, and the first last."

17 And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve[1] aside
18 privately and said to them on the road, "Lo, we are going up to
Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered to the high priests and
19 scribes. They shall sentence him to death and deliver him to the Gentiles
to mock and scourge and crucify. Yet on the third day he shall rise."
20 Then the mother of the sons of Zebedee came up to him with her
21 sons, doing reverence to him and asking a favour from him. He said to
her, "What is thy wish?" She says to him, "Say that these my sons
shall sit, one on thy right hand and one on thy left hand, in thy reign."
22 But Jesus answered and said,
"You know not what you are asking. Are you able to drink the cup
that I am to drink?"
23 They say to him, "We are able." He says to them,
"My cup indeed you shall drink,
But to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to grant;
That is for those for whom it has been made ready by my Father."
24, 25 And on hearing of it, the ten were indignant at the two brothers. So
Jesus called them to him and said,
"You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them,
And their great men wield authority over them:
26 It shall not be so among you.
Nay, whosoever would become great among you,
Must be your servant,
27 And whoever would be first among you,
Must be your slave:
28 Even as the Son of man came not to be served but to serve,
And to give his life a ransom for many."
29 And as they were leaving Jericho, a large crowd followed him.
30 And behold, two blind men sitting by the roadside heard that Jesus
was passing by; and they shouted, "Lord, have pity on us! Son of
31 David!" And the crowd admonished them to keep silence, but they
shouted more than ever, "Lord, have pity on us! Son of David!"
32 Then Jesus stood still and called them, saying, "What will you have me
33, 34 do to you?" They say to him, "Lord, let our eyes be opened." Moved
with compassion, Jesus touched their eyes; and they immediately
regained their sight, and followed him.
21 1 And when they drew nigh to Jerusalem and came to Bethphagê, to the
2 hill of Olives, then Jesus despatched two disciples, saying to them,
"Make your way into the village opposite you, and you shall at once find
an ass tied, and a colt along with her. Untie them and bring them to

[1] Omitting [[μαθητὰς]].

me. And if anyone says anything to you, you shall say, 'The Lord needs them'; then he will send them at once." Now this came to pass that what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, when he said,

Tell the daughter of Zion,
"Lo, thy king is coming to thee,
Gentle, and riding on an ass
And on a colt, the foal of a beast of burden."

So the disciples went and did as Jesus had instructed them. They brought the ass and the colt and put their garments on them; then he sat upon them. And the greater part of the crowd spread their garments on the road, and others kept cutting branches from the trees and spread them on the road. And the crowds, those who went in front of him and those who followed, shouted,

"*Hosanna* to the Son of David!
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!
Hosanna in the highest!"

And when he entered Jerusalem, all the city was in a ferment with the words, "Who is this?" And the crowds said, "This is the prophet Jesus, who comes from Nazaret of Galilee."

Then Jesus entered the temple of God and drove out all the sellers and buyers in the temple, and threw down the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of those who sold the doves; and he says to them,

"*My house shall be called a house of prayer;*
But you make it *a den of robbers!*"

And blind and lame people came to him in the temple, and he healed them. Now, when the high priests and the scribes saw the wonders that he did, and the children who were crying out in the temple and saying, "*Hosanna* to the Son of David!" they were indignant, and said to him, "Dost thou hear what they are saying?" And Jesus says to them, "Yes. Have you never read, *From the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast fashioned praise?*" And leaving them he went outside the city to Bethany, and passed the night there.

Now in the morning as he came back to the city, he grew hungry. And noticing a single fig-tree on the roadside, he went to it, but found nothing on it except mere leaves; and he says to it, "Never shall there be fruit from thee, after this!" Instantly the fig-tree withered. And on seeing it the disciples marvelled. "How was it," they said, "that the fig-tree instantly withered?" Jesus answered and said to them,

"I tell you truly,
If you have faith and do not hesitate,
You shall not only do what has been done to this fig-tree,
But even if you say to this mountain, 'Be lifted and thrown into the sea,'
It shall be done.
Yea, in all your asking and praying,
Believe and you shall receive."

And when he entered the temple, the high priests and the elders of the people approached him as he taught, and said, "By what sort of authority art thou acting thus? And who is it that gave thee this authority?" Jesus answered and said to them, "I will ask you one question myself; and if you tell me it, then I will tell you by what sort of authority I am acting thus. The baptism of John—whence was it? From heaven or from men?" And they argued to themselves, "If we say, 'From heaven,' he will say to us, 'Why then did you not believe him?'

26 But if we say, 'From men,' we fear the crowd ; for all hold John to be a
27 prophet." So in reply to Jesus they said, "We do not know." Then he
said to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority I am acting
28 thus. What do you think ? a man had two sons. He went to the first
29 and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard to-day.' But he answered and
said, 'I will not' ; afterwards, however, he changed his mind and went.
30 And he went to the second and spoke in the same way. And he answered
31 and said, 'I will, sir' ; but he did not go. Which of the two did the will
of his father ?" They say, "The first." Jesus says to them, "I tell you
truly,

The tax-gatherers and the harlots go in front of you into the reign
of God.

32 For John came on the way of uprightness, yet you did not
believe him,
But the tax-gatherers and the harlots believed him ;
And though you saw it, you did not even change your mind
afterwards and believe him.

33 "Listen to another parable. There was a master of a house who
planted a vineyard and put a fence round it and dug a wine-vat in it and
34 *built a tower ;* then after leasing it to vinedressers he went abroad. Now
when the season for fruit approached, he despatched his slaves to the
35 vinedressers to collect his fruit. And the vinedressers took and flogged
36 one of his slaves, killed another, and stoned another. Once more he sent
other slaves more numerous than the first ; yet they treated them in the
37 same way. Afterwards he sent his son to them, saying, 'They will
38 reverence my son.' But when the vinedressers saw the son, they said to
themselves, 'This is the heir ; come, let us kill him, and seize his
39 inheritance.' So they took him and threw him outside the vineyard,
40 and killed him. When the owner of the vineyard comes, then, what will
41 he do to those vinedressers ?" They say to him, "Wretches ! he will
wretchedly destroy them, and lease the vineyard to other vinedressers,
42 who shall render him the fruits in their seasons." Jesus says to them,
"Have you never read in the scriptures ?—

The stone which the builders rejected,
This is made head of the corner :
This is the doing of the Lord,
And in our eyes it is marvellous.

43 Therefore I tell you, God's reign shall be taken from you
And given to a nation that brings forth the fruits of the reign.

44 [[And he who falls upon this stone shall be shattered,
But it shall crush to pieces whomsoever it falls upon.]]"

45 Now on hearing his parables, the high priests and the Pharisees knew he
46 was speaking about them. Yet, while they tried to seize him, they feared
22 1 the crowds ; since they held him for a prophet. And Jesus started
2 to speak once more in parables. "The reign of heaven," he said to them,
3 "is compared to a king who gave a marriage-feast for his son. And he
despatched his slaves to summon those who had been invited to the
4 marriage-feast ; but they would not come. Again he despatched other
slaves, saying, 'Tell those who have been invited, "Here have I got ready
my dinner : my oxen and my fatted beasts are killed, and everything is
5 ready. Come to the marriage-feast."' But they paid no heed, and went
6 off, one to his farm, another to his business ; while the rest seized his
7 slaves, ill-treated them and killed them. So in anger the king sent his
8 troops and destroyed those murderers and burned their city. Then

he says to his slaves, 'The marriage is ready, but those who were invited
9 were not worthy. Go to the crossroads then, and invite as many people
10 as you find to the marriage-feast.' And those slaves went out to the
roads and proceeded to gather all they could find, both bad and good.
11 So the wedding was supplied with guests. Now when the king entered
to view the guests, he saw a man there who had no marriage-robe on ;
12 and he says to him, 'Friend, how didst thou come in here without a
13 marriage-robe?' And he was speechless. Then the king said to the
servants, 'Bind him hand and foot, and throw him out into the outer
14 darkness ; there shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.' For
many are called, but few chosen."

15 Then the Pharisees went and took counsel, in order to trap him in his
16 talk. And they despatch their disciples to him, along with the Herodians,
saying, "Teacher, we know thou art truthful, teaching the way of God in
truth and caring not for anyone ; for thou regardest not the person of
17 men. Tell us then : what dost thou think? Is it right to pay taxes
18 to Caesar, or not?" But Jesus perceived their malice and said, "Why
19 make trial of me, you hypocrites? Show me the coin for the taxes." So
20 they handed him a denarius. And he says to them, "Whose likeness
21 and inscription is this?" "Caesar's," they say. Then he says to them,
"Well, render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the
22 things that are God's." And when they heard it they marvelled ; and
leaving him they went away.

23 On that day the Sadducees approached him—they say there is no
24 resurrection—and they questioned him. "Teacher," they said, "Moses
said, *if a man dies without children, his brother shall become a husband to his*
25 *widow and raise up offspring for his brother.* Now among us there were
26 seven brothers. The first married and died, and as he had no offspring
he left his wife to his brother ; the same thing took place with the second
27 also, and with the third, even to the seventh. And after them all the
28 woman died. At the resurrection, then, whose wife will she be of the
29 seven? For they all had her." Jesus answered and said to them, "You
30 are led astray by your ignorance of the scriptures and of God's power. For
at the resurrection people neither marry nor are given in marriage, but
31 are like angels in heaven. And as regards the resurrection of the dead,
32 have you not read what was spoken to you by God, when he said, *I am*
the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is
33 not[1] God of the dead, but of the living." And when the crowds heard it,
they were astonished at his teaching.

34 Now when the Pharisees heard that he had silenced the Sadducees,
35 they mustered together ; and one of them, a lawyer, put a question to him
36 to make trial of him : "Teacher, what is the greatest commandment in
37 the law?" And he said to him, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with*
38 *thy whole heart, with thy whole soul, with thy whole mind.* This is the great
39 and chief commandment. A second is like it : *Thou shalt love thy neigh-*
40 *bour as thyself.* On these two commandments hang the whole law and the
41 prophets." Now as the Pharisees had gathered together, Jesus
42 questioned them, saying, "What do you think about the Christ? Whose
43 son is he?" They say to him, "David's." He says to them, "How is
it then that David in the Spirit calls him 'Lord'? saying,

44 *The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,*
Till I put thine enemies below thy feet.'

45 If David then calls him by the name of 'Lord,' how is he his son?"

[1] Omitting [[*i*]].

46 And no one could answer him a word ; nor from that day did anyone dare
to question him any further.
23 1, 2 Then Jesus spoke to the crowds and to his disciples, saying,
"The scribes and the Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses ;
3 Obey and observe then all that ever they bid you.
But act not as they act,
For they talk and practise not.
4 They bind up heavy burdens and lay them on the shoulders of
men,
But they themselves will not move them with their finger.
5 They do all their deeds to be seen by men ;
For they make their phylacteries broad and enlarge their tassels,
6 And they like the chief place at the suppers and the chief seats
in the synagogues,
7 And the salutations in the marketplaces, and to be called 'Rabbi'
by men.
8 Now for your part—be not called 'Rabbi' ;
For One is your teacher, and you are all brothers.
9 And call no one your 'father' upon earth ;
For One is your father, the heavenly Father.
10 Nor be called 'leaders' ;
For One is your leader, the Christ.
11 He who is greatest among you, must be your servant ;
12 Whoever shall raise himself shall be humbled,
And whoever shall humble himself shall be raised.
13 But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !
For you shut the heavenly realm in men's faces ;
You enter not yourselves, and you will not let those enter who are
entering.
15 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !
For you scour sea and dry land to make a single proselyte ;
And when he is won, you make him a son of Gehenna twice as
much as yourselves.
16 Woe to you, blind guides, who say :
'Whoever shall swear by the sanctuary, it is a mere nothing ;
But whoever shall swear by the gold of the sanctuary, he is
bound by his oath.'
17 Thoughtless and blind ! Which is greater, the gold or the sanctuary
that consecrated the gold ?
18 Also, 'Whoever shall swear by the altar, it is a mere nothing ;
But whoever shall swear by the gift that is on it, he is bound
by his oath.'
19 Blind men ! which is greater, the gift or the altar that consecrates
the gift ?
20 He who swears, then, by the altar,
Swears by it and by all that is on it.
21 And he who swears by the sanctuary,
Swears by it and by him who dwells in it.
22 And he who swears by heaven,
Swears by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it.
23 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !
For you tithe mint and dill and cummin,
And you have omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice and
mercy and faithfulness.

Now these you ought to have done — without omitting the former.
24 Blind guides, filtering a gnat away, yet swallowing a camel!
25 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious!
For you cleanse the outside of the cup and plate,
But inside they are filled with plunder and indulgence.
26 Blind Pharisee! first cleanse the inside of the cup,[1]
That the outside of it also may become clean.
27 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious!
For you resemble white-washed sepulchres,
Which outwardly appear beautiful,
But inwardly are filled with dead men's bones and all impurity.
28 So also do you outwardly appear to men upright,
But inwardly you are full of hypocrisy and wickedness.
29 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious!
For you build the sepulchres of the prophets and adorn the tombs of the just,
30 And you say, 'Had we been living in the days of our fathers,
We had not shared with them in the blood of the prophets.'
31 So you witness against yourselves that you are sons of those who murdered the prophets!
32 Fill up then for yourselves the measure of your fathers.
33 Serpents! offspring of vipers! how can you escape being sentenced to Gehenna?
34 Therefore, behold I send to you prophets and wise men and scribes:
Some of them you shall kill and crucify,
And some of them you shall scourge in your synagogues and pursue from city to city—
35 That upon you may come all the innocent blood shed on the earth,
From the blood of Abel the upright down to the blood of Zachariah the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar.
36 I tell you truly, these things shall all come upon this generation.
37 Jerusalem, Jerusalem! slayer of the prophets and stoner of those sent to her!
How often would I have gathered thy children together,
Even as a fowl gathers her brood beneath her wings—and you would not!
38 Lo, *your House is abandoned to yourselves, deserted!*
39 For I tell you, after this you shall not see me until you say,
'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'"

24 1 And Jesus went out of the temple and proceeded on his way; and his
2 disciples came to point out to him the buildings of the temple. He answered and said to them, "You see all these? I tell you truly, not one stone shall be left upon another here, that shall not be thrown down."
3 Now, as he was sitting on the hill of Olives, the disciples came to him privately, saying, "Tell us, when shall these things be? also, what shall be the sign of thy arrival and of the close of the age?"
4 And Jesus answered and said to them:
"Take care that no one leads you astray:
5 For many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am the Christ,' and they shall lead many astray.

[1] Omitting [[καὶ τῆς παροψίδος]].

6 **You shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see and be not disquieted;**
For *these must come to pass*, **but the end is not yet.**
7 **For** *nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,*
And there shall be famines and earthquakes in place after place:
8 **Yet all these are but the beginning of birth-pangs.**
9 Then shall they deliver you up to distress, and kill you,
And you shall be hated by all the nations for my name's sake.
10 Yea then *shall many be repelled* and deliver up one another and hate one another;
11 And many false prophets shall rise and lead many astray.
12 And as wickedness shall be multiplied, the love of the majority shall grow cold;
13 But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.
14 And these glad tidings of the Reign shall be preached in the whole world for a witness to the nations,
And then shall come the end.
15 **So when you see** *the desolating abomination*, **which was spoken of through Daniel the prophet, standing** *in the holy place* **(let the reader ponder),**
16 **Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills.**
17 **Let not him who is on the housetop**
Go down to get what is in his house,
18 **Nor let him who is in the field**
Turn back to get his cloak.
19 **But woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those days**
20 **And pray that your flight happen not in winter nor on a sabbath;**
21 **For then there shall be great** *distress,*
The like of which has not been, from the beginning of the world until now, **no and never shall be.**
22 **Yea, unless those days had been curtailed, no flesh would have been saved:**
But for the sake of the chosen, those days shall be curtailed.
23 Then, should anyone say to you, 'Lo, here is the Christ!' or 'there!' believe it not.
24 For false Christs and *false prophets* shall arise, and *shall exhibit* great *signs and wonders,*
25 So as to lead, if possible, even the chosen astray. Lo, I have told you beforehand!
26 If they say to you then, 'Lo, he is in the wilderness!' go not out:
'Lo, he is in the inner chambers!' believe it not.
27 For as the lightning shoots from the east and flashes across to the west,
So shall be the arrival of the Son of man.
28 Wherever the dead body lies,
The vultures will be gathered there.
29 **Immediately after the distress of those days**
The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,
And the stars shall fall from the sky,
And the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:
30 **And then shall the sign of the Son of man appear in the sky.**
Then *shall all the tribes of the earth wail,*
And they shall see *the Son of man coming on the clouds of the sky* **with power and great majesty.**
31 **And he shall send forth his angels** *with a loud trumpet,*
And *they shall gather* **his chosen** *together from the four winds, from the sky's one bound to the other.*
32 Now from the fig-tree learn her parable.

When her branch is already tender and is putting out its leaves,
You know that summer is near:
33 So also, when you see all this,
You know that He is near, at the doors.
34 I tell you truly, this generation shall not pass away
Till all these come to pass;
35 Sky and earth shall pass away,
But never shall my words pass away.
36 Yet of that day and hour none knows,
Not even the angels of the heavens, not even the Son, but the Father alone.
37 For as were the days of Noah,
So shall be the arrival of the Son of man:
38 For as in the [1] days before the deluge they were feeding and drinking,
marrying and giving in marriage,
Up to the day that *Noah entered the ark*,
39 And knew nothing until the deluge came and swept them all away,
So shall be the arrival of the Son of man.
40 Then shall two men be in the field,
One is to be taken, one is to be left:
41 Two women shall be grinding with the mill-stone,
One is to be taken, one is to be left.
42 Watch then, for you know not on what day your Lord is coming.
43 Be sure of this; had the master of the house known the watch in
which the thief was coming,
He would have been on the alert, and would not have allowed his
house to be broken into.
44 Then be you also ready,
For in an unexpected hour the Son of man is coming.
45 Who then is the faithful and shrewd slave whom his owner
has appointed over his household to give them their food in due season?
46 Happy that slave whom his owner shall find so doing, when he comes!
47, 48 I tell you truly, he will appoint him over all he has. But if that evil
49 slave says in his heart, 'My owner is delaying,' and shall start to beat
50 his fellow-slaves, and to eat and drink with drunkards, the owner of that
slave shall come in a day when he does not look for him, and in an hour
51 when he does not know, and shall cut him in two and assign his part
among the irreligious: there shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of
25 1 teeth. Then shall the reign of heaven be like ten maidens who
2 took their lamps and went out to meet the bridegroom. Five of them were
3 thoughtless, and five were shrewd. The thoughtless took their lamps
4 but took no oil with them; while the shrewd took oil in their vessels
5 with their lamps. Now while the bridegroom delayed, they all grew
6 drowsy and fell asleep. And at midnight a cry was raised, 'Here is the
7 bridegroom! Come out to meet him!' Then all those maidens rose
8 and trimmed their lamps. And the thoughtless said to the shrewd,
9 'Give us some of your oil, because our lamps are going out.' But the
shrewd answered, 'Possibly there may not be enough for us and for you.
10 Better go to those who sell it and buy for yourselves.' Now while
they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; then those who were
ready went with him into the marriage-feast, and the door was shut.
11 Afterwards the other maidens also came, saying, 'Lord, lord, open to us';
12, 13 but he answered and said, 'I tell you truly, I do not know you.' Watch
14 then, for you know not the day nor the hour. For it is like a man

[1] Omitting [[ἐκείναις]].

going abroad, who called his own slaves and handed over his property to
15 them. And he gave twelve hundred pounds to one, four hundred and
eighty to another, two hundred and forty to another, to each man accord-
16 ing to his individual ability. Then he went abroad. Immediately, he
who had got the twelve hundred went and traded with them and gained
17 twelve hundred more. In the same way, he who had got the four hundred
18 and eighty gained four hundred and eighty more. But he who had got
the two hundred and forty went away and dug a hole in the ground
19 and hid his owner's money. Now after a long time the owner of those
20 slaves comes and settles his accounts with them. Then he who had got
the twelve hundred came forward and brought twelve hundred more,
saying, 'Sir, thou didst hand over twelve hundred pounds to me. Here
21 I have gained twelve hundred more.' His owner said to him, 'Well
done, good and faithful slave! Thou hast been faithful over a few
things, I will appoint thee over many things. Enter thine owner's feast.'
22 He who had got the four hundred and eighty also came forward and said,
'Sir, thou didst hand over four hundred and eighty pounds to me. Here
23 I have gained four hundred and eighty more.' His owner said to him,
'Well done, good and faithful slave! Thou hast been faithful over a few
things, I will appoint thee over many things. Enter thine owner's feast.'
24 Then he who had got the two hundred and forty also came forward and said,
'Sir, I knew thou wast a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown,
25 and gathering where thou hast not winnowed. So in fear I went away
and hid thy two hundred and forty pounds in the ground. Here, thou
26 hast what is thine.' His owner answered and said to him, 'O wicked
and backward slave! Thou knowest that I reap where I have not sown,
27 and gather where I have not winnowed! Then thou oughtest to have
placed my money with the bankers, and I would have gone and got my
28 own back with interest. Take away the two hundred and forty pounds
from him, then, and give them to him who has the twelve hundred.'

29 For to everyone who has,
Shall be given, and amply given;
But from him who has not,
Even what he has shall be taken.
30 And throw out the useless slave into the outer darkness:
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
31 When the Son of man *comes* in his majesty and *all the angels with him*,
32 Then shall he sit on the throne of his majesty, and before him all
the nations shall be gathered,
And he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd
separates the sheep from the goats,
33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.
34 Then shall the king say to those on his right hand:
'Come, you who are blessed by my Father,
Inherit the realm prepared for you from the foundation of the world.
35 For I hungered and you gave me to eat,
I thirsted and you gave me drink,
I was a stranger and you entertained me,
36 Unclad and you clothed me,
I was ill and you visited me,
I was in prison and you came to me.'
37 Then shall the upright answer him, saying:
'Lord, when did we see thee hungry and feed thee? or thirsty and
give thee drink?

38 And when did we see thee a stranger and entertain thee? or unclad
and clothe thee?
39 And when did we see thee ill or in prison and come to thee?'
40 And the king shall answer and say to them: 'I tell you truly,
In so far as you did it to one of these my brothers, even to the least,
You did it to me.'
41 Then shall he say also to those on the left hand:
'Depart from me, accursed,
Into the fire eternal prepared for the devil and his angels.
42 For I hungered and you gave me not to eat,
I thirsted and you gave me no drink,
43 I was a stranger and you entertained me not,
Unclad and you clothed me not,
Ill and in prison and you visited me not.'
44 Then shall they also answer, saying:
'Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or
unclad or ill or in prison
And not minister to thee?'
45 Then shall he answer them, saying: 'I tell you truly,
In so far as you did it not to one of these least,
You did it not to me.'
46 And *these* shall go away *into* punishment *eternal*,
But the upright *into life eternal.*"

26 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished all these words, he said to
2 his disciples, "You know the passover is to be held after two days, and
3 the Son of man is to be delivered up for crucifixion." Then the
high priests and the elders of the people met in the palace of the high
4 priest, who was called Kaiaphas; and they took counsel together to seize
5 Jesus by craft and kill him. But they said, "Not during the festival,
lest a tumult arise among the people."
6 Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper,
7 a woman came to him with an alabaster flask of expensive perfume; and
8 she proceeded to pour it on his head as he reclined at table. But when
the disciples saw it they were indignant, saying, "What is this waste
9 for? This perfume might have been sold for a large sum, and given
10 to poor people." But when Jesus understood, he said to them, "Why
11 molest the woman? She has done a noble deed for me. For you have
12 the poor always beside you, but you have not always me. In pouring
13 this perfume on my body she acted in view of my burial. I tell you
truly, Wherever these glad tidings shall be preached in the whole world,
this woman's deed shall be also told in memory of her."
14 Then one of the twelve, who was called "Judas Iskariot," went to the
15 high priests and said, "What are you willing to pay me, and I will
betray him to you." *So they weighed out* for him *thirty silver pieces.*
16 And from that time he sought an opportune moment for betraying him.
17 Now on the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus,
saying, "Where wilt thou have us make ready for thee to eat the
18 paschal lamb?" Then he said, "Go your way into the city to such and
such a man and say to him, 'The teacher says, "My time is near; I will
19 keep the passover with my disciples at thy house."'" So the disciples did
20 as Jesus instructed them, and made ready the passover. Now when it
21 was evening, he was reclining at table with the twelve disciples; and as they
were eating, he said, "I tell you truly, one of you shall betray me."

22 Then in exceeding sorrow each one began to say to him, "Can it be
23 I, Lord?" He answered and said, "He who dipped his hand with me in
the dish, he shall betray me.
24 The Son of man goes on his way, even as it is written of him.
But woe to that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed!
Better for that man had he never been born!"
25 Judas, his betrayer, answered and said, "Can it be I, Rabbi?" He says to
26 him, "It is as thou sayest." Now as they were eating, Jesus took
bread; and after the blessing, he broke and gave it to the disciples, saying,
27 "Take, eat; this is my body." Also he took a cup, and after giving
28 thanks he gave it to them, saying, "Drink of it, all of you; for this is my
covenant-blood which is poured out for many, for the remission of sins.
29 I tell you, never shall I drink in future of this produce of the vine, till
that day when in my Father's reign I drink it with you new."
30 Thereupon after a song of praise they went out to the hill of Olives.
31 Then Jesus says to them, "You shall be all repelled through me, this
night; for it is written, *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the*
32 *flock shall be scattered abroad.* Yet after I rise, I will go before you into
33 Galilee." Peter answered and said to him, "Should all be repelled
34 through thee, never will I be repelled." Jesus said to him, "I tell thee
truly, this night, before the cock crows, three times thou shalt deny me."
35 "Even if I have to die with thee," says Peter to him, "I will not deny
36 thee." And all the disciples said the same. Then Jesus comes
with them to a piece of ground called Gethsemanê. And he says to his
37 disciples, "Sit there, until I depart yonder and pray." And he took with
him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful
38 and sorely troubled. Then he says to them, "*My soul is very sorrowful,*
39 even to death: stay here and watch with me." So he went forward
a little and fell on his face in prayer, saying, "My Father! if it be
possible, let this cup pass away from me. Nevertheless, not as I will,
40 but as thou wilt." Then coming to the disciples he finds them sleeping,
and says to Peter, "So you had not strength to watch with me a single
41 hour? Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation: the spirit is
42 eager, but the flesh is weak." Again he went away for a second time and
prayed, saying, "My Father! if this cannot pass away unless I drink it,
43 thy will be done." And on coming again he found them sleeping, for their
44 eyes were heavy. And leaving them he again went away and prayed for
45 a third time, repeating the same words. Then coming to the disciples
he says to them, "So you sleep and rest? Behold, the hour is near,
46 when the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners! Rise, let us
47 be going. Behold, my betrayer is near!" And when he was still
speaking, behold Judas (one of the twelve) came, accompanied by a large
horde with swords and clubs, from the high priests and elders of the
48 people. Now his betrayer had given them a sign, saying, "Whomsoever
49 I kiss, that is the man; seize him." So he immediately approached
50 Jesus, saying, "Hail, Rabbi!" and kissed him fondly. Jesus said to
him, "Friend, do thine errand." Then they approached and laid hands
51 on Jesus and seized him. And behold, one of the companions of Jesus
stretched out his hand, drew his sword, smote the slave of the high priest
52 and cut off his ear. Then Jesus says to him, "Put back thy sword into
53 its place; for all who take the sword shall perish by the sword. What!
dost thou think that I cannot appeal to my Father, and he will provide me
54 at this moment with more than twelve legions of angels? But how then
55 should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must come to pass?" At

that hour Jesus said to the hordes, "Did you come out as against a
robber, with swords and clubs to arrest me? Day by day I sat in the
56 temple teaching, and you did not seize me. But the whole of this
has come to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled."
Then the disciples all left him alone and fled.
57 Now those who had seized Jesus led him away to Kaiaphas the high
58 priest, where the scribes and the elders had gathered. Peter followed
him from afar, up to the palace of the high priest; then he went inside
59 and sat with the officers to see the end. Now the high priests and in fact
the whole Sanhedrin sought for false witness against Jesus that they
60 might get him put to death; but they found none, although many false
witnesses came forward. However two men came forward at last,
61 and said, "This man said, 'I am able to break down the sanctuary
62 of God, and to build it after three days.'" And the high priest stood up
and said to him, "Hast thou no answer? Of what do these men bear
63 evidence against thee?" Jesus kept silence. And the high priest said
to him, "I adjure thee by the living God! Tell us if thou art the
64 Christ, the Son of God?" Jesus says to him, "It is as thou sayest.
Yet I tell you, in future you shall see *the Son of man sitting at the right*
65 *hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of the sky.*" Then the high
priest rent his vestments, saying, "He has blasphemed! What further
66 witnesses do we need? Look now, you heard the blasphemy; what
67 do you think?" They said in reply, "He is doomed to die." Then
68 they spat on his face and buffeted him, and some dealt him blows, saying,
"Prophesy to us, Christ! Who was it that struck thee?"
69 Now Peter was sitting outside in the courtyard; and a maidservant
70 came to him, saying, "Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilean." But
he denied it before them all, saying, "I know not what thou meanest."
71 And when he went out into the porch, another maidservant saw him;
and she says to those who were there, "This man was with Jesus
72 the Nazarene." And again he denied with an oath, "I know not
73 the man." After a little while the bystanders came up and said to
Peter, "To be sure, thou art one of them too; for indeed thy speech
74 betrays thee." Thereupon he began to loudly curse and swear, "I know
75 not the man." And immediately the cock crowed. Then Peter remembered the word that Jesus had said, "Before the cock crows, three times
shalt thou deny me." And he went out, and bitterly he wept.
27 1 Now when morning came, all the high priests and the elders of
the people took counsel against Jesus, in order to get him put to death;
2 and after binding him they led him away and delivered him up to Pilate
3 the procurator. Then seeing that he was condemned, Judas his
betrayer repented; and he returned the thirty silver pieces to the high
4 priests and elders, saying, "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood."
5 "What is that to us?" they said; "that is thy concern!" Then
throwing down the silver pieces in the sanctuary he retired, and
6 went away and hung himself. Now when the high priests took the
silver pieces, they said, "It is not right to put them into the sacred
7 treasury, since they are 'the price of blood.'" So after taking counsel
they bought with them the potter's field as a burying-place for strangers.
8 Therefore that field has been called to this day, "Field of blood."
9 Then what was spoken through the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled,
when he said: *And they took the thirty silver pieces, the price of him who*
10 *had been appraised, whom some of the sons of Israel appraised, and they gave*
them for the potter's field, as the Lord instructed me.

11 Now Jesus stood before the procurator, and the procurator questioned
him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus said to him,
12 "Certainly." But while he was being accused by the high priests and
13 elders, he made no answer. Then Pilate says to him, "Hearest thou not
14 how grave their evidence is against thee?" Yet to the procurator's
15 great wonder he made no reply to him, not even a single word. Now
at festival time the procurator was accustomed to release for the crowd
16 any one prisoner whom they chose. At that time they had a notorious
17 prisoner called Bar-Abbas; so when they had met, Pilate said to them,
"Whom do you wish me to release for you? Bar-Abbas, or Jesus who is
18 called 'Christ'?" (For he knew it was for envy that they had delivered
19 him up. Also, when he was sitting on the tribunal, his wife had sent to
say to him, "Have nothing to do with that innocent man; for I have
20 suffered much to-day in a dream, on his account.") But the high priests
and the elders persuaded the crowd to ask for Bar-Abbas and have Jesus
21 destroyed. The procurator answered and said to them, "Which of the
two will you have me release for you?" They said, "Bar-Abbas."
22 Pilate says to them, "Then what am I to do with Jesus who is called
23 'Christ'?" They all say, "Let him be crucified." And he said,
"Why, what evil has he done?" But they kept vehemently shouting,
24 "Let him be crucified." So when Pilate saw he was doing no good, but
on the contrary that a tumult was rising, he took water and washed his
hands before the crowd; "I am innocent of this blood," he said; "it
25 is your concern!" And all the people answered and said, "His blood
26 be upon us and upon our children!" Then he released for them Bar-
Abbas; but after scourging Jesus, he delivered him up to be crucified.
27 Then the soldiers of the procurator took Jesus into the praetorium
28 and gathered the whole cohort to him. And after stripping him, they put
29 a scarlet mantle round him. And plaiting a wreath out of some thorns,
they put it on his head, with a reed in his right hand; and kneeling
down before him they mocked him, saying, "Hail, king of the Jews!"
30 And they spat on him, and taking the reed they kept striking him
31 on the head. Then after their mockery of him, they stripped the
mantle off him and put his own garments upon him; and they led him
32 away to be crucified. Now as they were going out, they came
upon a Cyrenian named Simon; this man they forced to carry his cross.
33 Then coming to a place called Golgotha (which means, "The place of a
34 skull") *they offered* him *wine to drink* with a *bitter* mixture; but after
35 tasting it, he would not drink it. Now when they had crucified him,
36 *they distributed* his *garments* among them *by casting lots*, and sitting down
37 they kept watch there over him. And over his head they put the charge
against him in writing, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.
38 Then along with him two robbers are crucified, one on the right hand
39 and one on the left. And the passers-by heaped abuse on him, *wagging*
40 *their heads* and saying, "Thou who wouldst break down the sanctuary
and build it in three days, save thyself! If thou art God's son, come down
41 from the cross!" Similarly, the high priests also mocked him, with the
42 scribes and the elders, saying, "Others he saved, himself he cannot save!
He is 'the king of Israel'! Let him come down now from the cross, and
43 we will believe upon him! *He puts his trust in God: let God rescue him*
44 *now, if he cares for him.* For he said, 'I am God's son.'" And even the
robbers who were crucified along with him, denounced him in the
same fashion.
45 Now from the sixth hour a darkness covered all the land till

46 the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a
loud voice, saying, "*Elei, elei, lema sabachthanei?*" (that is, "*O my God,*
47 *O my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*") And on hearing it some of the
48 bystanders there said, "He is calling Elijah." Then immediately one
of them ran, took and filled a sponge with *vinegar*, put it on a reed,
49 and *offered* him it *to drink*. The rest said, "Hold, let us see if Elijah
does come to save him." [[But another took a lance and pierced his side, and
50 out came water and blood.]][1] Then once more Jesus cried out with a loud
51 voice and yielded up his spirit. And behold! the veil of the sanctuary
was torn in two from top to bottom, the earth shook, the rocks were torn
52 apart, the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had
53 fallen asleep rose—and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection,
54 they entered the holy city and appeared to many people. Now when
the centurion and his companions who were watching Jesus saw the
earthquake and what took place, they were exceedingly afraid, and said,
55 "This man was certainly a son of God!" And many women were there
looking on from a distance—women who had followed Jesus from Galilee,
56 ministering to him. Among them was Mary of Magdala, Mary the
mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.
57 Now when it was evening, a rich man from Arimathaea named Joseph
58 came, who also was himself a disciple of Christ. This man went to Pilate
and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate ordered it to be given up.
59, 60 And Joseph took the body, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and
laid it in his own new tomb which he had hewn out in the rock; then,
after rolling a large stone to the entrance of the tomb, he went away.
61 Now Mary of Magdala was there with the other Mary, sitting opposite the
62 sepulchre. On the next day (that is, the day after the Prepara-
63 tion) the high priests and the Pharisees gathered to Pilate and said, "Sir,
we have remembered that when this impostor was still alive, he said,
64 'After three days I rise.' Give orders then to have the sepulchre secured
until the third day; in case the disciples come and steal him away, and
say to the people, 'He rose from the dead.' And so the last fraud will
65 be worse than the first?" Pilate said to them, "Take a guard and
66 begone! Secure it yourselves, as you know how." So they went in
company with the guard, and secured the sepulchre by sealing the stone.

28 1 Now at the close of the sabbath-day, as it was just dawning to the
first day of the week, Mary of Magdala went with the other Mary to see
2 the sepulchre. And behold, a great earthquake took place; for an angel
of the Lord came down from heaven and went and rolled away the stone
3 and sat on it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white
4 like snow; and for fear of him the watchers shook and became like dead
5 men. But the angel addressed the women, saying, "Be not you afraid!
6 I know you are seeking Jesus, the crucified. He is not here, for he
7 has risen, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. Then go
quickly and tell his disciples, he has risen from the dead; and lo, he
goes before you into Galilee; you shall see him there. Lo, I have told
8 you." Then they went away quickly from the tomb with fear and great
9 joy, and ran to bring word to his disciples. [And behold, Jesus met
them, saying, "Hail!" and they went to him, caught hold of his feet, and
10 did him reverence. Then Jesus says to them, "Be not afraid. Go your
way; bring word to my brothers to go away into Galilee, and they shall
11 see me there."] Now while they were going, behold some of the

[1] Adding [[ἄλλος δὲ λαβών λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα]].

guard went into the city and brought word to the high priests of all
12 that had taken place. And after meeting with the elders and taking
13 counsel, they gave a considerable sum of money to the soldiers, telling
them, "Say 'his disciples came at night and stole him when we were
14 asleep.' And should this matter come before the procurator, we will
15 satisfy him and clear you of any trouble." So they took the money
and did as they were instructed. And this story has been disseminated
among the Jews, down to the present day.

16 Now the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where
17 Jesus had appointed them. And on seeing him they did him reverence;
18 but some doubted. And Jesus came and talked to them, saying,

"All authority has been given to me in heaven and upon earth;
19 Go then and make disciples of all the nations,
Baptize them into the name of the Father and the Son and the
holy Spirit,
20 Teach them to observe all that ever I commanded you.
And lo, I myself am with you all the days until the close of the age!"

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

LIKE its successor Acts, Hebrews is an implicit apology for Christianity. Only, there is this difference between them. The apologetic element in the former is principally [1] concerned with the outward relationship of the Christian faith (cp. Holtzmann, *Das NT u. der Römische Staat*, 1892, p. 13 f.) to the Roman Empire. Hebrews is directly a word of encouragement (13^{22}) for those inside the church; it forms an attempt to emphasise the sufficiency and finality of Christianity for those who accept Christ, not a demonstration of its political innocence. Both books were written primarily to instruct and edify their age. But while the method of Acts is historical and retrospective, Hebrews is speculative and theological. Luke and Acts establish the certainty of the faith by exhibiting its growth in Jesus and its development into the expanded sphere of the Empire. The author of Hebrews proves Christianity to be the ultimate religion, by means of a long series of comparisons drawn between it and the religion from which it sprang. His training leads him to use the religious authority common to himself and his readers—the OT—and to interpret this on Alexandrian principles of symbolism and typology. Hence the impression of remoteness in his treatment of the religious situation of Christendom within the Empire as compared with Acts, and especially with the Apocalypse. This author does not deal with the Temple and the Jews as they lived. His view is directed to the ideal tabernacle and the Levitical services as these exist in the LXX. He and his readers are citizens of Jerusalem, but it is the Jerusalem in heaven. He and they await the crisis and end of the age; but it is no outcome of a Roman campaign, it is the act of God in fulfilment of older prophecy (Jer $31^{31\,f}$), when the new covenant is introduced. The book reflects a situation of trial, especially in the Roman church, but the attitude to Domitian is more akin to that of Clem. Rom. than to that of the Apocalypse; for the character of the author and the object of the writing alike prevent the political situation from becoming an absorbing feature of thought. Before transcendentalism, political and social colours pale. Even the later "First Epistle of John" is as silent upon the outer relations of the churches under Trajan, as the *Religio Medici* upon the Star Chamber and the fortunes of the Huguenots.

The very breath of Hebrews is antagonism to a retrograde movement within the circle of Roman Christians to which it was probably addressed. Behind the letter we can feel a tendency on the part of timid and disheartened members to abandon the Christian faith under stress of

[1] Though in Acts also there is an implicit apology directed to contemporary Judaism. The author strove to demonstrate that Christianity was the legitimate heir to the Jewish law and its promises. He had before him a Jewish propaganda (Ac 15^{21}) which attempted to jealously dispute that claim, and in view of this he aimed at showing how Gentile Christianity had come from the heart and centre of Judaism by a natural and unforced development.

contemporary trial. This is aggravated by the length of time which has elapsed since the conversion of the readers—a period which has dimmed the first brightness of their faith without producing a mature and intelligent experience. Mental seriousness[1] and moral stability are two qualities in which these people are found sadly deficient. Coupled also with the external trial and internal sluggishness, there is an element of strain existing between the readers and their church authorities. It is these considerations rather than any mere outward features, which characterise the writing.

The *terminus ad quem* for the date of Hebrews is fixed by the epistle of Clemens Rom. in which it is certainly and copiously used (Euseb. *HE*, 3. 38, *τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθείς, ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος*). As this epistle was composed *c.* 97 A.D., Hebrews cannot be much later than 94–95; and probably it was in existence considerably before that time. The exact *terminus a quo*, however, is much more difficult to fix. It is certain that the writing presupposes an acquaintance with the Pauline epistles[2]; its indebtedness to Galatians, 1 Corinthians, and (especially) Romans lies on the surface, and as close—in spite of divergent aims and standpoints—is its connection with Ephesians[3] in conceptions and phraseology. A similar series of affinities exists between 1 Peter[4] and Hebrews; but here, as in the case of Ephesians, the explanation of these is uncertain. If Ephesians is authentic, it was used by the author of Hebrews. If 1 Peter is authentic, on the other hand, its use in Hebrews is possible, its similarity of atmosphere indubitable. The latter may be due to the fact that both writings are coloured by an independent use of Ephesians. The net result of these lines of criticism, however, is merely to establish the post-Pauline date of Hebrews, and at the same time to exhibit its affinities with two writings which upon other grounds are often relegated to a much later date. The latter hint is corroborated by the distinct connection of Hebrews with the group Luke–Acts (cp. the excellent table in Simcox: *Writers of NT*, Appendix I. Table 2; also *Exp.*[3] viii. pp. 184–190), which has even suggested the Lucan authorship of the epistle (Delitzsch). The similarities are to be most reasonably explained by the hypothesis that all three writings are neighbours in spirit and practically contemporaries in age. Other coincidences, between Hebrews and later works like the Apocalypse, the Pastorals, and James, are too infrequent and subordinate to be decisive on the question of the date.

[1] cf. 2^{1-3} 5^{11-6^3} $12^{1-5.25}$ 13^{22}. "Is there a Christ? Is He the Heir of all things? Was He made flesh? Did He offer the all-perfect sacrifice? Did He supersede the old order of priests? Is He the mediator of a new and better Covenant? What are the terms of that Covenant? There are no questions like these. . . . . I am astonished at the imperative tone of this Epistle, and the element of holy scorn against those who refuse to go into these great questions carefully" (James Smetham's *Letters*, p. 170).

[2] Evidence stated in Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 298, 299; Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 236–241. The whole cast and temper of the writer's thought, along with an incidental allusion like that in 13^{23}, indicates a connection with the Pauline circle.

[3] Heb. 1^3 3^1 6^4 7^{18} 8^1 9^{11-12} 10^{10} 12^2 13^{12} $10^{14.29}$: Eph. 1^{20} 1^{18c} 1^3 2^{13} 1^{20} 1^7 5^{26} 1^{20} 5^{26} 5^{26} : besides words and phrases like *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ*, *ἀχραντεῖν*, *κραυγή*, *ὑτιράνω*, *τὶς ἀπολύτρωσιν*, *αἰὼν μέλλων*, *προσφορὰ καὶ θυτία*, *βουλή* (of God), *παρρησία*, etc.

[4] The relative priority of Hebrews, which is largely held, is not certain upon the grounds of mere literary criticism (cp. Usteri's ed. of 1 *Peter*, pp. 298–300, and von Soden, *HC*, III. 2, pp. 3, 4). The probable priority of 1 Peter to James also tells strongly against it.

The Domitianic date, suggested by the literary connections of the epistle, is corroborated by its internal evidence. The author appears to have followed the history of the church from its beginning with affectionate and intelligent interest. He appeals to a storm of affliction which broke on them after their awakening to Christianity (10$^{32-34}$), and may be most naturally referred to the Neronic outburst, especially if the epistle is considered as addressed to the Roman church. Such suffering, however, is a matter of retrospect. At the time of writing, a further peril is being experienced (12$^{3.\ 4}$)—evidently the rise of the Domitianic persecution, which is not yet at its full height. Imprisonment (13^{23}) and banishment (13^{19}), however, have befallen some of the Christian leaders, and the church as a whole is being tried by the severity of the situation. The writer alludes to these trials indefinitely.[1] He was writing not a history but a word of encouragement, treating the situation with a practical aim on its religious side. But through the appeals (12$^{4.\ 11\text{-}13}$) we can detect that the comparatively smooth existence of the church (Allard, *Hist. Persécut.* i. pp. 81–133) during the earlier Flavian régime has been rudely broken up. Persecution, unknown in recent years, is upon the readers. And persecution has its attendant perils of relapse and moral failure. Hence they are summoned to remember the past line of heroes stretching from the patriarchs to the Maccabees, and also to recall their own good record as a church. Further, they are reminded that they—unlike some of their predecessors—have not yet had to face (12^{4}) the worst. With all its discomforts their career hitherto has been exempt from that supreme trial which is never quite away from the horizon of a genuine faith.[2]

That the epistle was written at a late[3] period (5^{12}), when the first generation had long passed from the scene (cp. 2^{3} with Luke 1$^{1\text{-}4}$), is self-evident. The original founders and rulers (13^{7}) had been succeeded by others whose authority was apparently apt to be somewhat ignored. The severity of the situation, coupled with the length of time that had elapsed since the primitive flush and freshness of the gospel, tended to produce a dissatisfaction with Christianity; and the temptation of the "Hebrews" was to abandon its membership,[4] as if it were an exhausted

[1] The absence of exact references in Hebrews to the Imperial policy and régime need excite as little surprise as the silence of the *De Imitatione Christi* upon Joan of Arc and the wars and court of Louis XI., or of the *Pilgrim's Progress* upon the brilliant immorality of Charles the Second and the dash of van Ruyter up the Thames. The author's idealistic and speculative bent does not lead him to be nearly as explicit as Clem. Rom., but the references of the latter quite bear out the implicit hints of the situation conveyed by Hebrews. It is a less probable conjecture that the slight allusions in Hebrews to political matters are purposely vague and covert, from the prudential fear of compromising author or readers.

[2] This, in spite of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 126), seems the true sense of the words.

[3] The reference to Timotheus (13^{23}) unfortunately yields no evidence for the date, as we have no data for ascertaining the length of his lifetime. I cannot see any covert historical allusion in the use which the author makes of the period forty years (3^{17}), although several editors regard this as an unequivocal proof that the church had a Christian career of forty years behind it when the author wrote. This would, of course, bring the date down past 70 A.D., but it must be pronounced rather a prosaic and unnecessary reading of the words in question.

[4] Same danger in Clem. Rom. 46^{2} (*γέγραπται γάρ· κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἁγιασθήσονται*), Did. 16^{2}, Ignat. *ad Ephes.* 13, Barnab. 4^{10}. Associations and societies, however congenial to the spirit of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries (Foucart, *Associat. religieuses chez les Grecs*), involved a certain strain and sacrifice for some Christians. Evidently association required to be enforced as a

philosophic school (10[25]), or to slacken their ties with it as though they had received from it all possible benefit. Besides, after 70 A.D. Christianity found itself now in a twofold peril. It was an object of suspicion to the political authorities, an object of jealousy to Judaism, its rival. The former danger was the simpler, involving mainly the straightforward attack of persecution. The latter was more complex. The propaganda of Judaism affected Christians in at least three ways: by using against them its influence with the Roman authorities (cp. the reiterated mention of "jealousy" in Clem. Rom. v.–vi., *à propos* of the Christian hardships under Nero); by insidiously representing itself as the ancient and sufficient faith, of which this upstart heresy of the Nazarenes was but a meagre offshoot; and on the ground of history and scripture, by directly challenging with bitterness and dialectic skill their historical right and claims. It is for a situation affected chiefly by the second of these phases that Hebrews is intended. The gospel of Matthew is the chief witness to the third, as Acts is to the first.

This Domitianic date,[1] *i.e.* previous to 96 A.D., is advocated by Schenkel (*Das Christusbild der Apostel*, etc., 1879, pp. 123, 130 f.), Mangold (*Römerbrief*, 1884, p. 258 f.), Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1884, pp. 1–10; *Einl.* pp. 292–309), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 155–160), von Soden (*JpTh*, 1884, pp. 435–493, 627–656; *HC*, III. 2, pp. 14–19), Lipsius (*HC*, II. 2, p. 83), Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 103–106), and McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 463–470), while Zahn practically agrees by dating the epistle *c.* 80 A.D. (*Einl.* ii. pp. 142–158; *RTK*, VII. pp. 492–506). So Cone (*The Gospel and its Interpretations*, p. 232 f.); also Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888, p. 80 f.), Bousset (*TR*, 1897, pp. 9, 10), J. Réville (*Les origines de l'Épiscopat*, pp. 363–366), Krüger (*Altchristliche*] *Litteratur*,[2] 1898, p. 11), Häring (*SK*, 1891, pp. 589–598), and Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 224–249). The last-named, however, goes a little too far down, while Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 627, 628) seems to lean rather to the Trajanic than to the Domitianic date.

Unfortunately there is no decisive evidence for the place of Hebrews within its group. It cannot be placed before 80 A.D.; but if the third gospel and Acts were composed by the beginning of the last decade of the century, Hebrews may be dated slightly earlier, if not as practically contemporary.

The alternative date for Hebrews is between 60 and 70 A.D. This largely supported view takes the epistle as implying the contemporary existence of the Jewish temple and ritual, and as written in view of the religious dissolution which (8[13]) culminated in A.D. 70.[2] The arguments in favour of this date have been in part already met by implication, and in part they depend upon a view of the development of early Christianity,

duty, before it became a fixed and natural habit. "Aggregation does not appear to have invariably followed belief." It was possible to be a Christian in some quarters, and yet, for different reasons, to stand aloof from or to abandon outward adhesion to the community (Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 29, 30).

[1] For a date indefinitely later than 70 A.D., cp. also Professor W. Robertson Smith (*EB*, article "Hebrews"), Dr. A. B. Davidson (*Hebrews*, pp. 15–17), Wendt (*ZwTh*, 1895, pp. 157–160), and Reuss (?) (pp. 148–153). Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 475–479) also dates the writing subsequent to 1 Peter under Domitian, though he thinks it might be somewhat earlier.

[2] On the seventh decade date and the implied shock with which the crisis threatened the religious feelings of the Hebrews, Dr. Davidson rightly remarks, "Such a despair ought to have seized all Hebrews alike, whether Christians or not; but there is no historical evidence of such a thing."

which would require many pages to exhibit. The finest statements of the case are given by Professor Bruce (*Exp.*[3] vii. p. 162 f.; *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1899; and in *DB*, ii. article "Hebrews"), Weiss (-Meyer, and *INT*, ii. p. 30 f.), and Westcott (*Epistle to Hebrews*). Rendall (*Theology of Hebrew Christians*, pp. 70–76), Professor Mackintosh (*Essays tow. a New Theology*, 1889, pp. 291–297), and Adeney, *BI*, p. 429 (*c.* 68 A.D.), prefer to place the writing as near as possible to the crisis of 70 A.D., while a more or less earlier date (65–70) is chosen by Bleek, Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 286–288), Renan (*l'Antéchrist*, chap. ix.), Hilgenfeld (*Einl.* pp. 377–383), Clemen (*Chron.* pp. 277–279), Burton (*RLA*), Farrar (*CGT*, "Hebrews"), Roberts (*Greek the Language of Christ and his Apostles*, 1897, chap. viii.), Salmon (*INT*, pp. 430, 431), S. Davidson (*INT*, i. pp. 183–250), Bovon (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 387–389), Ménégoz,[1] (*La Théologie de l'épître aux Hebreux*, 1895), Professor G. G. Findlay (*Epistles of Paul*, p. 263 f.), Stevens (*NTTh*, p. 485 f.), Schäfer (*Einl.* pp. 149–157), Trenkle (*Einl.* pp. 88–91), and G. Milligan (*Theol. of Epistle to Hebrews*, 1899). With many others, these critics keenly defend the Jewish Christian character of the writing ("Le monument le plus éloigné du judaisme," Havet) and its date in the seventh decade of the first century.[2] As a phase of this theory, it may be noted that Ramsay, retracting his former adhesion to the 64–66 date (*CRE*, p. 307), now regards the writing as addressed to the Jewish party of the Jerusalem church by Philip the Deacon, who wrote from Caesarea (59 A.D.) after discussions with Paul (*Exp.*[5] ix. pp. 407–422); while W. M. Lewis (*Thinker*, Oct.–Nov. 1893; *Biblical World*, Aug. 1898, April 1899) had already conjectured on similar lines that the epistle was a joint production of Paul and Luke, written from the Caesarean imprisonment (Ac 23^{35}). Such attempts possess the merit of novelty.[3] But even upon the ordinary theory, as argued by the critics already named, it seems impossible to demonstrate that Hebrews was composed before the fall of the temple in A.D. 70, in the sense in which one can determine, for example, that a book like Tobit was written previously to its building in B.C. 25. Ultimately, the question of the date rests upon the question of the destination—the character and situation of the readers.

Of the localities to which the epistle is conjectured to have been addressed—Palestine (Jerusalem or Syria[4]), Alexandria, Rome (Italy)—

[1] "Nous devons nous résigner à ignorer le lieu ou se trouvaient les destinataires. Tout ce qu'il nous est permis de conjecturer, c'est qu'ils vivaient dans une ville ou dans une contrée ou l'influence des Juifs—cultivés plutôt qu' incultes, ritualistes plutôt que légalistes—constituait un danger pour la prospérité de la communauté chrétienne." Cp. also Dr. J. B. Crozier, *Intell. Development* (1897), i. pp. 333–337.

[2] The (*α*) seventh decade date is usually held with (*b*) the Jewish-Christian hypothesis, and the (*α*) Domitianic date with (*β*) the Gentile-Christian. But some, *e.g.* Dr. A. B. Davidson and Zahn, accept (*b*) and come down later than 70, while others, like Pfleiderer, accept (*β*) with a second century date (*Urc.* pp. 620–640; so Hausrath), or—like Häring—admit (*α*) with a modified form of (*b*).

[3] Cp. a critique by G. Milligan, *Exp.*[5] x. pp. 154–160; Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 210 f., 281 f.) also dates it *c.* 62 A.D. as addressed to Caesarea.

[4] Kübel (*Kurzgefasster Comment. NT.* 4, pp. 151–153) thinks the epistle was written by Barnabas between 67 and 68 A.D. to the Syrian Jewish-Christians. Rendall (*Theology of Hebrew Christians*, pp. 67–69) also inclines to a Syrian audience, possibly Antioch itself. Mr. Ayles (*Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1899) makes Barnabas the author, and dates the book *c.* 64 A.D.; but, like *e.g.* Professor Ramsay, he unfortunately decides for Jerusalem as the destination. Passages like 2^{3} 5^{11} 12^{4}—to mention no others—absolutely prohibit this idea of Jerusalem as the circle of "Hebrews."

the last-named is upon the whole to be preferred (cp. Heb $13^{10.16}$, Ro 14), although the destination[1] of the letter is almost as dim as its authorship. Rome suits the internal evidence of the letter,[2] its connection with Clem. Rom., and especially the reference in $13^{23.24}$, where *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* (read in the light of Mt 15^{1}, Ac 21^{27} 24^{18}) surely means Italian residents abroad. Possibly it was written from Alexandria.[3] At any rate its direct audience were the members of the particular church (13^{24})—the rank and file, not the leaders, still less a group of evangelists (Heinrici, *ThLz*, 1895, p. 289). Probably enough it was some special community of older Christians at Rome, who are not to be identified with the whole church (cp. the expressions in 5^{1} 10^{25} 13^{24}), but may have formed a household church by themselves (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 146–148; Harnack, *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 19–23, the latter, oddly enough, attributing the authorship of the writing to Prisca and Aquila, chiefly Prisca).

It looks almost a paradox to assert that the epistle to the Hebrews[4] was addressed to a church (in Rome or Italy) whose body and complexion were predominantly Gentile. Yet the evidence of the writing seems to leave no alternative (so Schürer, Harnack, von Soden, Pfleiderer, Wendt, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, and McGiffert among others). The copious and elaborate reasoning that fills page after page, the verbal illustrations and arguments from the LXX, the interest implied among the readers in the OT and their acquaintance with its contents and scope, these and many other characteristics spring, not from the fact that this circle of Christians was specially rooted in Judaism, but from the whole groundwork of OT and Jewish associations, traditions, and presuppositions, which underlay early Christianity. The epistle of Clem. Rom., *e.g.*, is simply woven through and through with OT quotations and references. Yet it was addressed to a predominantly Gentile church, which was evidently expected to understand and be profited by such a treatment of the subject. So, too, in Paul's letters to Rome ($4^{13.16}$) and Galatia (3^{29})[4].

[1] Taking the title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* with the other Alexandrian titles of the gospel *κατὰ Ἑβραίους* and the gospel *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους*, Harnack (*Chron.* p. 479 n.) conjectures that *Ἑβρ.* might mean the Hellenistic Jewish-Christians in Egypt, in which case the epistle would be taken as addressed to Egypt at a time when the churches contained Jewish-Christians, not Egyptian Gentile Christians (*Αἰγύπτιοι*). On our ignorance, however, of Jewish-Christianity in early Egypt, cp. the caveat of Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 153.

[2] Cp. the discussions in Dr. A. B. Davidson's edition (pp. 13–18; he dates the epistle from Rome to some community of the Dispersion in the East) and Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 303–308). Neither Rome nor Alexandria completely satisfies the evidence of the epistle, but perhaps there are fewer difficulties on the Roman hypothesis than upon any other (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 142–158). On the *συναγωγὴ Λιβέρων* (*CIG*, 40, 9909), cp. *Exp. Ti.* x. p. 422.

[3] For an estimate of Alexandria and its significance in early Christianity, cp. J. S. Riggs, *AJT* (1897), pp. 927–949; also, from another standpoint, Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums, ein excurs von den Septuaginta zum Evangelium* (1894), espec. pp. 143–172.

[4] The title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* was, of course, added by later tradition. The superficial appearance of the letter and its contents made it a very natural guess, but it has no more weight or value than that of the Pauline authorship ("hardly more than a reflection of the impression produced on an early copyist," W. R. Smith). Both rose out of an age which had already lost all direct knowledge of the writing's origin and standpoint (cp. Zahn's decisive remarks, *Einl.* ii. pp. 111–113, 118–120, a recapitulation of his researches upon the canonical tradition). Klostermann (*Zur Theorie d. bibl. Weissagung u. zur Char. d. Hebr.* p. 55 f.) conjectures *πρὸς Βιρυαίους* = *Βεροιαίους* as the original form of the title, in which case the epistle was written by Apollos to the Jewish-Christian community of Beroea (Ac 17^{10}).

There, Jewish Christians formed certainly the minority of his audience; yet Abraham is termed "our forefather according to the flesh" (Ro 4^1, cp. also 2 Co 6^{16}), and Gentile Christians are over and again assumed to be the people of God. Besides, such a use of the OT for didactic purposes was quite a conventional method of instruction, as may be seen in Philo (quis rer. divin. her., I. 511; de Monarch, II. 222; *ἑρμηνεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται, θεοῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὀργάνοις πρὸς δήλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ*), far too general to be confined merely to Jewish Christians. The OT had been familiar to many members of the church, even before they became Christians. Their first acquaintance with Jewish history and hopes did not date from their reception of Christ. It was originated by the propaganda, especially of Hellenistic Judaism. And even after their entrance into the Christian faith, the OT rather grew in significance. It was their religious codex, authoritative on worship and theology; any writer could with confidence appeal to it and argue from it, as in the nature of the case it was certain that his readers and he would be thus occupying common ground.

Positive arguments which tend to support this conclusion are drawn (Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, p. 202 f.) from allusions such as those in $6^{1 f.}$ 13^4 13^{12}. The principles mentioned in $6^{1 f.}$ are not such as would naturally be required for Jewish Christians (Schürer, *SK*, 1876, p. 776 f.); they distinctly point, like 13^4, to the first steps not of Jewish but of pagan converts, and the lapse feared in 13^{12} is a fall not into Judaism but away to idols and pagan faith.

The church addressed, then, is Christian. Gentiles form the major part of it, but the readers are viewed under no distinctions of race. At the same time one or two passages (6^6 $13^{9\text{-}16}$ etc.; cp. Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, p. 156 f.; Haupt, *SK*, 1895, pp. 388–390) certainly seem to suggest that the situation of the church included temptations of a specifically Jewish character, which might appeal with especial force to Jewish Christians,[1] and an attempt has been made to explain these as the efforts of a speculative Judaism which beset Gentile Christians during the second decade after the fall of Jerusalem (Häring, *SK*, 1891, pp. 589–598). At any rate, during the closing quarter of the century Jewish propaganda flourished throughout the Empire. The genuine morality and monotheism preached by the Hellenistic Jews especially must have proved not merely a rival to Christianity in the eyes of the outside pagans, but a dangerously attractive movement for those weaker and less intelligent members of the Christian church who lay open, through birth or circumstances, to such Jewish influences.[2] *Vivere more judaico* was a specious watch-word. It represented, as we find from Cerinthus afterwards, a distinct and subtle danger, prompting Gentile Christians—especially proselytes—to revert to their old life.[3] "Better," urges the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to add that the occasional use of the present tense ($7^{8.\ 20}$ $8^{3\text{-}5}$ $9^{6\text{-}9.\ 13}$ 13^{10}) in the epistle is no argument for the contemporary existence of the temple and its services. The writer is using a literary method, in common with Jewish (Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 6–12) and Christian writers (Clem. Rom. 40^4–41^3; Diognet. 3, etc.; Fourth gospel, 5^2), who had occasion to refer to the Jewish cultus and customs after 70 A.D. (cp. Schürer, *HJP*, I. ii. p. 268 f.; Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 141, 142).

[2] On the exposure of provincial Christianity in the East to such Jewish apostasy, cp. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, III. p. 196 f., and Harnack, *TU*, I. 3, p. 73 f.

[3] Although Judaism may be reckoned—in spite of Bar-kokhba's revolt—as a lost cause after 70, it was far from being a forsaken belief. It became, in spirit and

shrill dogmatist some thirty years later—"better listen to Christianity from a circumcised man than to Judaism from one uncircumcised" (Ignat. *ad Philad.* 6).

In Hebrews some unknown Alexandrian[1] scholar uses the OT in a characteristic fashion to state the superiority and finality of the Christian religion. This feature is distinctive. Yet the application of Philonic methods and phrases should not, by their very strangeness in the NT, blind us to the dominating Christian spirit which is master of these characteristics. Philonist and student of the wisdom literature as he was, the author of Hebrews was supremely and essentially a Christian. No more than his successor, the author of the fourth gospel, does he suffer himself to be carried far away by the terminology and conceptions which press upon him out of his early training. Their use is strictly modified. They are at best subordinate to his leading principles and beliefs. Consequently in Hebrews, as in the fourth gospel, the fact that philosophic terms are employed in a sense occasionally different to their original setting is a proof, not that these Christian authors stood wholly remote from such speculative influences, but that they assimilated them and used them freely as accessories to their own purposes. The able thinker[2] who composed Hebrews used his contemplative philosophy and command of rhetoric for genuinely religious ends.

situation, a rival of Christianity. This explains the differences of attitude to the Jews, in Paul and in the fourth gospel (or Apocalypse), and the later keenness of tone in the references to them made by Barnabas and Justin Martyr.

[1] Besides the well-known exposition of Pfleiderer, cp. for the Alexandrian culture of the author of Hebrews, Wendt, *ZwTh* (1895), pp. 157–160; with Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. 281–295. The Philonic parallels are amply stated by Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des AT*, p. 321 f., and reproduced by Ménégoz, *op. cit.* p. 197 f., and Pfleiderer, *Urc.* p. 629 f.

[2] He was "the finest and most cultured genius of the primitive church. . . . The fact that a writer of such rare power and grace should have left us only a single monument of his genius, and that a mere letter, written for a definite practical purpose, and that his name should have been entirely forgotten within less than a century after his death, serves to remind us in a very forcible way of the limitations of our knowledge respecting the early days of Christianity" (McGiffert). Ménégoz has his bright antithesis: "l'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux est un *évolutionniste*; saint Paul est un révolutionnaire, en prenant ce terme en son sens exclusivement moral et religieux . . . si l'on a pu comparer saint Paul à Luther, nous comparerions volontiers l'auteur de l'Épître aux H. à Mélanchthon."

It is obvious that our Hebrews were familiar with the law, and had a high regard for the ordinances of temple worship. In particular it appears that they had not fully understood how the mediatorial functions of the OT were superseded by the mediatorship of Christ. But their ritualism seems to have been rather theoretical than practical. . . . . The most natural view of the apostle's argument, as it comes to a point in such passages as viii. 13, ix. 9, is that the disappearance of the obsolete ritual of the old covenant is no blow to Christian faith, because in Christ ascended into glory the church possesses in heavenly verity all that the old ritual presented in mere earthly symbol. It was the ruin of the Jewish state and worship which compelled Christianity to find what is offered in our epistle—a theory of the disappearance of the old dispensation in the new.—**W. Robertson Smith.**

Dogmatic: JESUS BETTER THAN

1^1–2^{18} (*a*) ANGELS—as son of God: his humanity and career.

3^1–4^{13} (*b*) MOSES—as son over God's house: { warning against unbelief, / the opportunity of rest.

4^{14}–10^{18} (*c*) THE HIGH-PRIEST—as perfect in his

4^{14}–5^{10} *Sympathy:* its grounds and character,

5^{11}–6^{20} a remonstrance and a warning.

7 *Priesthood*, "after the order of Melchizedek."

$8^{1\text{-}13}$ (i.) superiority of new to old covenant,

$9^{1\text{-}14}$ (ii.) superiority of new to old Levitical ministry,

9^{15}–10^{18} (iii.) finality of new covenant and new ministry.

10^{19}–13^{17} **Appeal and counsel:** need of { confidence, / stedfastness, / faith— / a historical panegyric upon faith— / constancy, especially in trial, / mutual care:

a résumé of the old and the new economies:

$13^{1\text{-}17}$ a table of duties.

$13^{18\text{-}25}$ **Epistolary conclusion.**

HEBREWS

1 1 After speaking to the fathers long ago by fragments and forms manifold
2 in the prophets, God spoke to us at the end of these days in a Son, whom
he appointed heir of all things, through whom he also made the worlds;
3 who, as the reflected radiance of his majesty and the *facsimile* of his
nature, sustaining also all things with the word of his power, *sat down*,
after he had made purification of sins, *at the right hand* of the Sovereignty
4 on high, becoming so far better than the angels as the name he has
5 inherited is more excellent than they. For to which of the angels did
he ever say,

My Son thou art, to-day have I begotten thee?

and again,

I will be to him a Father, and he shall be a Son to me?

6 And again, when he introduces the first-born into the world, he says,

And let all God's angels do him reverence.

7 And while he says of the angels,

Who makes his angels winds,
And his servants a flame of fire;

8 he says of the Son,

Thy throne, O God, is ever and for ever,
And the sceptre of thy reign is the sceptre of equity.
9 *Thou hast loved justice and hated lawlessness;*
Therefore has God anointed thee, thy God,
With oil of rejoicing above thy comrades.

10 And,

Thou Lord didst found the earth at the beginning,
And the skies are works of thy hands:
11 *They shall perish, but thou remainest;*
They shall all become worn out like a garment,
12 *Yea, like a mantle thou shalt fold them up and*[1] *they shall be changed,*
But thou art the same and thy years shall not fail.

13 And to which of the angels has he ever said,

Sit at my right hand,
Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet?

14 Are they not all spirits for service, sent out to minister on behalf of
2 1 those who are to inherit salvation? Therefore we must more
and more devote ourselves to what we have been taught, in case we drift
2 away. For if the word spoken through angels held good, and every
transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward,
3 how shall we escape if we have paid no heed to so great a salvation?—
which began by being spoken through the Lord and was confirmed for
4 us by the hearers, while God bore witness along with them by signs and
also by wonders and by manifold miracles and by distributions of the
holy Spirit in virtue of his will.

[1] Omitting [[ὡς ἱμάτιον]].

5 For it was not to angels that he subjected the world to come, of which
6 we speak: but someone has testified somewhere, saying,
What is man that thou rememberest him?
Or the son of man that thou carest for him?
7 *Thou didst make him for a little while lower than the angels,*
With majesty and honour thou didst crown him;
8 *Thou didst make all things subject under his feet.*
In *making all things subject* to him he left nothing unsubjected to him.
9 Now as it is, we do not yet see *all things subjected* to him; but we see
Jesus, *who has been made for a little while lower than the angels, crowned with majesty and honour* for the suffering of death, that by the grace of
10 God he might taste death for everyone. For it became him for whom
are all things and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons to
majesty to make the leader of their salvation perfect through sufferings.
11 For the sanctifier and the sanctified all come from One; and this is
12 why he is not ashamed to call them *brothers*, saying,
I will declare thy name to my brothers,
In the midst of the assembly I will sing thy praise:
13 and again,
I will put my trust in him:
and again,
Here am I with the children whom God has given me!
14 Since then the children's share is blood and flesh,
Of these did he partake in the same way,
That through death he might put down him who has the power of death (that is, the devil),
15 And deliver all who through fear of death were all their life-time held under bondage.
16 For, one need hardly say, it is not angels that he takes in hand;
No, *he takes in hand the offspring of Abraham.*
17 Hence he needed to be made like his *brothers* in all things,
That he might be merciful and a faithful high priest with regard to God,
To make propitiation for the sins of the people.
18 For as he was tempted himself in what he suffered,
He is able to help the tempted.

3 1 Wherefore, holy brothers, partakers of a heavenly calling,
Consider Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession;
2 Who was *faithful* to him who appointed him,
Like *Moses in God's whole household.*
3 For this man has been held worthy of more majesty than Moses,
Inasmuch as he who established the household is more honoured than the household.
4 For every household is established by someone;
But he who established all things is God.
5 And while Moses was *faithful in God's whole household* as a *servant*—
To bear testimony to what was to be spoken—
6 Christ was faithful as a son over *his household;*
And we are his household,
If we hold fast and firm to the end our confidence and the hope wherein we exult.
7 Therefore, as the holy Spirit says,
To-day, when you hear his voice,

8 *Make not your heart stubborn as at the provocation*
On the day of the trial, in the wilderness,
9 *Where your fathers tried me by proving me,*
Yet saw my works for forty years.
10 Therefore *was I exasperated with this generation,*
And I said, "They are ever erring in their heart."
Yea, they knew not my ways.
11 *So I swore in my wrath,*
"They shall not enter into my rest."
12 Brothers, take care lest there is ever in any one of you an evil heart of unbelief,
and you depart from the living God:
13 But exhort one another day by day, as long as the call comes "To-day"—
so that none of you may *become stubborn* by the deceit of sin.
14 For we are partakers of Christ,
If we hold fast and firm to the end the confidence with which we began—
15 While it is said, *To-day, when you hear his voice,*
Make not your hearts stubborn as in the wilderness.
16 For who heard and yet *provoked?*
Was it not all who came out of Egypt under Moses?
17 And with whom was he *exasperated for forty years?*
Was it not with those who had sinned, whose *corpses fell in the wilderness?*
18 And to whom *did he swear that they should not enter into his rest?*
To whom but to those who had disobeyed?
19, 4 1 So it was owing to unbelief, we see, that they could not enter. Let
us then be afraid lest, when there is still a promise left of entering into his rest, any one of you be held to have fallen short of it.
2 For indeed we have had the glad tidings preached to us as they had also;
but to them the word of the message was of no avail, since the hearers
3 did not make it their own[1] by faith. For it is we who have believed *that enter into the rest;* as he said,
So I swore in my wrath,
"They shall not enter into my rest"—
although from the foundation of the world *the works* were finished.
4 For he spoke somewhere about the seventh day thus: *And God rested on*
5 *the seventh day from all his works,* and again in this place, *they shall not*
6 *enter into my rest.*—Well then, since it is reserved for some to *enter into it,* and since those who had the glad tidings previously preached to them
7 did not enter on account of disobedience, he appoints a day once more;
To-day (speaking in David after so long a time, as it has been already said)
To-day, when you hear his voice,
Make not your hearts stubborn.
8 For had they been given rest by Joshua, he would not afterwards have
9 spoken of another day. So then there is reserved for the people of God
10 a sabbath-rest; for he *who has entered into his rest,* he also *has rest from*
11 his *works, as God from his.* Let us then eagerly endeavour to *enter into* that *rest,* so that no one may follow the same example and fall into
12 disobedience. For the Logos of God is living and active and sharper than any two-edged sword, penetrating even to the division of soul

[1] Reading *συνκεκιρασμενους.*

and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to judge the thoughts
and convictions of the heart:
13 And before him nothing created is concealed,
But all things are bare and laid open before the eyes of him with
whom we have to do.

14 As we have then a great high priest who has passed through the
heavens, Jesus the Son of God,
Let us hold to our confession.
15 For we have not a high priest who cannot be touched with compassion
for our weaknesses,
But one who has been tempted in all points like ourselves, apart from sin.
16 Let us draw near then with confidence to the throne of grace,
That we may receive mercy and find grace for timely help.
5 1 For every high priest, being selected from among men, is wont
to be appointed for men Godward, that he may offer both gifts and
2 sacrifices for sins; one who can bear gently with the ignorant and erring,
3 since he too is himself compassed with weakness, and needs for that
reason to make offering for sins, as for the people so also for himself.
4 And no one takes the office to himself, but takes it when called by
5 God, exactly like Aaron. So Christ also did not exalt himself to the
high priesthood; nay it was he who spoke to him,
My Son thou art, to-day have I begotten thee:
6 as he says also in another place,
Thou art priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.
7 He who in the days of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications
with strong crying and tears to him who was able to save him from
8 death, and owing to his reverence was heard; he learned obedience—
9 though he was a Son—by what he suffered; and after being made perfect,
10 he became the author of *eternal salvation* to all who obey him, styled by
God a high priest *after the order of Melchizedek.*
11 In regard to him we have much to say, and it is difficult to explain,
12 since you have become dull. For while you ought to be teachers
(considering the length of time), you again require someone to teach
you the elementary principles of the oracles of God, and you have
13 come to require milk and not solid food. For anyone who partakes
of milk is inexperienced in the word of uprightness, he is an infant.
14 But solid food is for the full-grown, for those who by virtue of
6 1 practice have their faculties trained to discern good and evil. Let
us therefore leave the elementary Christian instruction and pass on to
what is full-grown, instead of laying a foundation over again with
2 repentance from dead actions and with faith towards God, with the
doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands, of resurrection of the
3 dead and of judgment eternal. And this we will do, if God permit.
4 For in regard to those who were once enlightened,
Who tasted the heavenly gift and became partakers of the
holy Spirit,
5 And tasted the goodness of God's word and the powers of
the age to come,
6 And then fell away—
It is impossible to be renewing them over again to repentance,
While they are crucifying the Son of God afresh for them-
selves
And making him a public spectacle.

7 For the *land* which drinks in the rain that falls often upon it,
And bears *plants* suited for those for whose sake it is also tilled,
partakes of blessing from God:
8 But if it *produces thorns and thistles*,
it is reprobate and on the verge of *a curse;*
its fate is to be burned.
9 But we are persuaded better things of you, beloved, and things con-
10 nected with salvation, although we speak in this way. For God is
not unjust, so as to forget your work and the love you showed toward
his name in that you ministered to the saints and minister still.
11 And our desire is that each one of you may show to the very end
12 the same earnestness for the fulness of your hope; that you may not
become dull, but imitators of those who through faith and patience
13 inherit the promises. For when God made a promise to
Abraham, *he swore by himself*, since he could swear by none greater,
14, 15 saying, *Richly will I bless thee: richly will I multiply thee.* And
16 so he obtained the promise, after enduring patiently. For men
swear by the greater one, and in every dispute of theirs the oath is
17 final and settles it. Wherefore, as God meant to demonstrate to
the heirs of the promise more and more the immutability of his
18 counsel, he intervened with an oath; so that by two immutable
things in which it is impossible for God to lie, we who have fled
for refuge may have strong encouragement to hold to the hope set
19 before us, which we possess as an anchor of the soul, both sure and
20 firm, *that enters* also *into what is within the veil*, where Jesus entered
as a pioneer for us when he became *for ever* a high priest *after the
order of Melchizedek.*

7 1 For this *Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the Most High God*, who *met*
2 *Abraham on his return from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him*, and
to whom *Abraham* assigned *a tenth part of all*—being first of all by inter-
pretation "King of uprightness," and then also *King of Salem*, which is
3 "King of peace"; with no father, with no mother, with no genealogy,
without beginning of days or end of life, but made like to the Son of God
4 —he remains a *priest* for all time. Now observe how great this
man was, a man to whom the patriarch *Abraham gave a tenth* from the best
5 of the spoils. Also, while those of Levi's sons who receive the priesthood
have a commandment to receive tithes from the people according to the law
(that is, from their brothers), although these people have come out of the
6 loins of Abraham, he who can trace no descent from them received tithes
7 from Abraham and *blessed* the possessor of the promises. Now it is quite
8 indisputable that the inferior is blessed by the superior. Also, while
here it is mortal men who receive tithes, there it is one of whom the
9 witness is, "he lives." And, one might almost say, even Levi the receiver of
10 tithes paid tithes through Abraham; for he was yet in the loins of his father
11 when *Melchizedek met him.* Now again, had there been perfection
by the Levitical priesthood (for it was on the basis of that priesthood that
the law was established for the people), what further need was there for
another priest arising *after the order of Melchizedek* and not being spoken
12 of as not *after the order* of Aaron?—for when the priesthood is changed,
13 a change of the law necessarily takes place as well. For he who is thus
spoken of belongs to another tribe, no man of which devoted himself to
14 the altar. For it is evident that our Lord has sprung from Judah, and
15 Moses said nothing about priests in connection with that tribe. And all
this is more plainly evident than ever, if another *priest* arises *after the*

16 likeness *of Melchizedek*, one who has become priest not after the law of a
17 material commandment but after the power of a life indissoluble; for
the witness to him is,

Thou art priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.

18 For while a previous commandment is set aside on account of its weakness
19 and uselessness (for the law made nothing perfect), there is introduced
20 a better hope, through which we draw near to God. And
21 inasmuch as this was not done without an oath (for while they have
become priests without an oath, he became priest with an oath, through
him who said to him, *The Lord swore and he will not repent, thou art priest*
22 *for ever*), by so much also has Jesus become the surety of a better
covenant.
23 Also, while they have become priests in numbers,
Since they are prevented by death from living on,
24 He has his priesthood inviolate,
Since he abides *for ever*.
25 Hence also he is able to save to the uttermost those who draw near to
God through him,
Seeing that he ever lives to plead for them.
26 For[1] such was the proper high priest for us, holy, guileless, undefiled,
27 separated from sinners and made higher than the heavens, who does not
require to offer sacrifices day by day, like the high priest, first for his own
sins and then for those of the people; he did this once for all by offering
himself.
28 For the law appoints to the high priesthood men who have weakness,
But the word of the oath which is after the law appoints *a Son* who
is made perfect *for ever*.

8 1 Now, to crown what we are saying; such a high priest we have,
one who *sat down at the right hand* of the throne of the Sovereignty
2 in the heavens, a minister of the holy place and of *the* real *tabernacle*
3 *which the Lord pitched*, not man. For every high priest is appointed to
offer both gifts and sacrifices; hence it is necessary that this high
4 priest also should have somewhat to offer. While then he would not be
a priest at all if he were on earth, since there are those who offer the
5 gifts according to the law (men who serve what is an outline and a shadow
of the heavenly things—as Moses was divinely instructed when he was
about to execute the building of the tabernacle; *for see*, it is said, *that*
thou make all things according to the pattern shown thee on the mountain—),
6 as it is, he has obtained a sacred service the more excellent inasmuch as
he is also the mediator of a better covenant, which has been established
7 by law upon better promises. For had not that first covenant been
8 defective, no occasion would have been required for a second. Finding
fault with them he says,

Lo, days are coming, saith the Lord,
When I will conclude a new covenant with the house of Israel and
with the house of Judah;
9 *Not according to the covenant I made with their fathers*
In the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of
Egypt's land;
For they did not abide by my covenant,
And I paid no heed to them, saith the Lord.
10 *For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel*
After those days, saith the Lord:

[1] Omitting [[καί]].

I will put my laws into their mind,
And upon their heart I will inscribe them;
And I will be to them a God,
And they shall be to me a people;
11 *And they shall not teach every man his fellow-citizen,*
And every man his brother, saying, "Know the Lord";
Because all shall know me,
From the least to the greatest of them.
12 *For I will be merciful to their iniquities,*
And their sins I will remember no more.

13 In saying a *new* covenant, he has antiquated the first; and what is
being antiquated and failing for age, is on the point of disappearing.
9 1 Now even the first covenant indeed had ordinances of sacred service
2 and its sanctuary of this world. For the first part of the tabernacle was
constructed to contain the lampstand and the table and the showbread;
3 this part is called "holy." And behind the second veil is the tabernacle
4 called "holy of holies," with a golden altar of incense and the ark of the
covenant covered all over with gold and containing a golden pot with the
manna and the rod of Aaron that sprouted and the tablets of the
5 covenant, and above it cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat
6 —things of which one cannot speak now in detail. Now with these things
thus constructed, the priests are continually going into the first tabernacle
7 performing the services of worship; but the high priest alone goes
once a year into the second—not without blood, which he offers for
8 himself and for the people's sins of ignorance. By this the holy Spirit
points out that the way into the holy place has not yet been opened, so
9 long as the first tabernacle is still in existence—a symbol as it is for the
present time, according to which both gifts and sacrifices are being offered
that cannot make the worshipper perfect as regards his conscience,
10 since they merely consist of food and drink and various ablutions, ordi-
11 nances of the flesh imposed until a time of reformation. But Christ,
on arriving as high priest of the good things to come, through the greater
and more perfect tabernacle which is not made by hands (that is to say,
12 not belonging to this creation), nor yet through blood of goats and oxen
but through his own blood, entered into the holy place once for all, and
obtained eternal redemption.

13 For if the blood of goats and oxen and the ashes of a heifer
Sanctify to make the flesh clean, by sprinkling the defiled,
14 How much more shall the blood of Christ who offered himself
through an eternal spirit faultless to God,
Cleanse our [1] conscience from dead actions to serve the living God?

15 And hereby he is mediator of a new covenant, so that those who have
been called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, seeing that a
death has taken place to secure redemption from the transgressions under
16 the first covenant. For wherever a will is produced, the death of the
17 testator must be announced. A will holds good only in the case of the
dead; since it never has any effect during the life-time of the testator.
18 Hence even the first covenant was not inaugurated apart from blood.
19 For after every commandment had been spoken to all the people by
Moses according to the law, he took the blood of the calves and the goats,
with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled the book itself
20 and also all the people, saying, *This is the blood of the covenant which*
21 *God has ordained with you.* In the same way also he sprinkled with the

[1] Reading ἡμῶν.

22 blood the tabernacle and all the vessels of the sacred service. Indeed we
may almost say that according to the law all things are cleansed in
blood, and that no remission takes place apart from the shedding of blood.
23 It was needful then that what were outlines of the things in the heavens
should thus be cleansed,
But that the heavenly things themselves should be cleansed with
better sacrifices.
24 For Christ did not enter into a holy place made by hands (mere anti-type
of the real),
But into heaven itself, to appear now before the face of God for us ;
25 Nor was it to offer himself many times,
As the high priest enters year by year into the holy place with blood that
is not his own
26 (Since in that case he must have suffered many times, from the founda-
tion of the world),
But, as it is, he has been disclosed once for all at the close of the
ages to set sin aside through his sacrifice.
27 And inasmuch as it is appointed for men
to die once for all,
and thereafter to be judged ;
28 So also shall Christ,
offered once for all *to bear the sins of many*,
be seen a second time for salvation apart from sin, by those who
wait for him.

10 1 For as the law has merely a shadow of the good things to come, not
the very image of the things, it is impossible to make those who draw
near perfect with the same sacrifices which they are perpetually offering
2 year by year. For in that case would they not have ceased to be offered,
because the worshippers would have been no longer conscious of sin after
3 being purified once for all ? Whereas in those sacrifices there is year by
4 year a memory of sins. For it is impossible that the blood of oxen and
5 goats should take away sins ; therefore in coming into the world he says,
For sacrifice and offering thou didst not care,
But a body thou didst fashion for me ;
6 *In holocausts and offerings for sin thou hadst no delight.*
7 *Then I said, "Lo, I have come*
(In the roll of the book it is written of me)
To do thy will, O God."
8 After saying at the outset, *For sacrifices and offerings* and *holocausts*
and offerings for sin thou didst not care, and hadst no delight in them (in
9 things which are offered according to the law), he then said, *Lo, I have*
come to do thy will. He repeals the first, that he may set up the second.
10 And by this *will* we have been sanctified through the *offering* of the *body*
of Jesus Christ once for all.
11 Also, while every priest stands ministering day by day
And offering the same sacrifices many times,
Sacrifices that never can take sins away,
12 He offered one sacrifice for sins,
And *sat down at the right hand of God* for all time,
13 Waiting henceforth *till his enemies are made a footstool for his feet* ;
14 For by one offering he has made those who are sanctified, perfect for
all time.
15 And the holy Spirit also bears witness to us. For after saying,
16 *This is the covenant which I will make* with them

After those days, saith the Lord:
I will put my laws upon their heart,
And upon their mind I will inscribe them,
he adds
17 *And their sins and their iniquities I will remember no more.*
18 Now where there is remission of these,
There is no longer any offering for sin.
19 As we have confidence then, brothers, to enter the holy place
through the blood of Jesus,
20 By the fresh and living way which he inaugurated for us through
the veil (that is to say, through his flesh),
21 And as we have *a great priest over the household of God,*
22 Let us draw near with a true heart in fulness of trust,
Our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience,
And our body washed with pure water:
23 Let us hold fast and unwavering the confession of our hope—
For he is faithful who promised—
24 And let us consider and incite one another to love and good deeds,
25 Not forsaking our way of gathering together—
as is the habit of some—
But exhorting one another;
and the more so, as you see the Day drawing nigh.
26 For if we are sinning wilfully after receiving the full knowledge of
27 the truth, there is reserved for us no longer a sacrifice for sins, but a
dreadful prospect of judgment and *a fury of fire* which is *to devour the*
adversaries.
28 A man who has set aside the law of Moses,
Dies on the evidence of two or three witnesses without mercy;
29 Of how much sorer punishment, think you, shall a man be held
worthy,
Who has trampled underfoot the Son of God,
And reckoned the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified,
an unclean thing,
And outraged the Spirit of grace?
30 For we know him who said,
Vengeance is mine, I will repay:
and again,
The Lord shall judge his people.
31 It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.
32 But recall the former days, when you endured a hard struggle with
33 sufferings after you were enlightened, partly as you were exposed to con-
tempt both by reproaches and by distresses, partly as you became com-
34 panions of those who had such an experience. For you were touched with
compassion for those who were in fetters, and you also accepted with joy
the spoiling of your goods, knowing that you have in yourselves better
35 and lasting goods. Throw not away then your confidence, for it brings
36 great recompense of reward. For you have need of endurance, that you
37 may do the will of God and so obtain the promise. For *a little while,* yet
a very little, and
The coming One shall come and shall not delay:
38 *Now my upright one shall live by faith;*
Yet *if he shrink back, my soul takes no delight in him.*
39 But we belong, not to *those who shrink back* and are lost, but to *those*
who have faith and so preserve the soul.

11 1 Now faith is to be confident of what we hope for,
to be convinced of what we do not see.
2 It was in this that witness was borne to the men of old.
3 By faith we understand that the worlds have been fashioned by the word of God,
So that what is visible has not been made out of things that appear.
4 By faith Abel offered to God a better sacrifice than Kain,
Through which he had witness borne him that he was upright
(As *God* bore witness *in respect of his gifts*);
And thereby it he still speaks in death.
5 By faith Enoch was removed, so that he saw not death:
Yea *he was not to be found, for God had removed him.*
For before his removal the witness borne to him was, that *he had pleased God well:*
6 Now apart from faith it is impossible to *please him well,*
For he who draws near to God must believe that he exists, and that he proves a rewarder of those who seek after him.
7 By faith Noah, on being divinely instructed concerning what he did not see as yet,
Constructed reverently an ark to save his household:
Whereby he condemned the world,
And became heir of the uprightness that proceeds from faith.
8 By faith Abraham obeyed his call to *go out* into a place which he was to receive as an inheritance,
And *he went out* knowing not where he was going.
9 By faith he *became a sojourner* in the promised land, as in a foreign land,
Dwelling in tents with Isaac and Jacob, fellow-heirs with him of the same promise;
10 For he was waiting for that city with foundations,
Whose architect and builder is God.
11 By faith also Sarah herself received power to conceive offspring even when she was past the proper age,
Since she reckoned him faithful who had promised.
12 Therefore even of one (and him as good as dead) there was begotten issue
Like the stars of the sky in multitude,
And *like the sand which is by the seashore, innumerable.*
13 In faith these all died, without obtaining the promises,
But after seeing and hailing them afar off,
And after confessing that they were "*strangers and pilgrims* on the earth."
14 For those who speak thus make it evident that they are seeking for a fatherland.
15 Yea, had they been mindful indeed of that country from which they went out,
They would have had opportunity to return:
16 But as it is they aspire to a better, that is, a heavenly country;
Therefore God is not ashamed of them, of being called their God,
For he has prepared a city for them.—
17 By faith *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac:*
Yea, he who had welcomed the promises was about to offer up *his only son,*
18 (He to whom it had been said, *Thy offspring shall be reckoned through Isaac*),

19 Since he considered God was able to raise up even from the dead :
And from the dead (in a symbol) he did receive him back.
20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, even concerning things to come.
21 By faith Jacob, when he was dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph,
And *bowed over the top of his staff in worship.*
22 By faith Joseph at his death made mention of the exodus of the sons of Israel,
And gave charge concerning his bones.
23 By faith Moses after birth *was hid for three months* by his parents,
Because they saw he was a comely child ;
And they feared not the mandate of the king.
24 By faith, *when Moses had grown up*, he refused to be called the son of a daughter of Pharaoh,
25 Preferring maltreatment with the people of God to the enjoyment of sin for a time ;
26 Since he reckoned *the reproach of Christ* greater riches than the treasures of Egypt—
For he was looking to the recompense of reward.
27 By faith he left Egypt, through no fear of the king's rage :
For he bore up as one who saw Him who is invisible.
28 By faith he observed *the passover* and the sprinkling of blood,
So that *the destroyer* might not touch their first-born.
29 By faith they crossed the Red Sea as on dry land,
Which the Egyptians attempted to do and were swallowed up.
30 By faith the walls of Jericho fell,
After being surrounded for seven days.
31 By faith Rahab the harlot did not perish along with the disobedient,
Because she had received the spies in peace.
32 And what more am I to say ?
The time will fail me if I narrate
About Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah,
About David and Samuel and the prophets :
33 Who through faith subdued realms, wrought upright deeds, obtained promises,
34 Stopped the jaws of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword,
Out of weakness became strong, waxed mighty in war, routed armies of foreigners.
35 Women received their dead by a resurrection ;
Others were broken on the wheel, refusing to accept their release,
That they might obtain a better resurrection.
36 Others had experience of many a scoff and scourge,
Aye of fetters and imprisonment :
37 They were stoned,[1] sawn asunder, slain with the sword,
They went about in sheepskins, in goatskins,
Destitute, distressed, maltreated
38 (Of whom the world was not worthy),
Wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and holes of the earth.
39 And though all these had witness borne them through their faith,
Yet they obtained not the promise :
40 Since God had something better in view for us,
That apart from us they should not be made perfect.

[1] Omitting ἐπειράσθησαν.

12 1 Therefore as we have round us so great a cloud of witnesses,
Let us too put away every encumbrance and the sin that clings so close,
And let us run patiently the course set before us,
2 Looking to Jesus the leader and perfecter of the faith,
Who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising the shame,
And *is seated at the right hand* of the throne of God.
3 Yes, consider him who has endured such opposition from men who were *sinners against themselves*,[1]
That you may not grow wearied and faint in your souls.
4 You have not yet resisted to blood in your struggle against sin:
5 And you have forgotten the appeal—one that reasons with you as with sons—
My son, regard not the Lord's chastening lightly,
Nor faint, when reproved by him;
6 *For whom the Lord loves, he chastens,*
And scourges every son whom he receives.
7 It is for chastening that you endure. God is dealing with you as with *sons;*
For what *son* is there whom his father does not *chasten?*
8 If you are without *chastening*, in which all come to partake,
Then you are bastards, and not sons.
9 Furthermore, we used to have the fathers of our flesh to chasten us, and them we reverenced:
Shall we not much rather be subject to the Father of spirits, and so live?
10 For while they chastened us after their good pleasure for a few days,
He chastens for our profit, that we may partake of his holiness.
11 For the moment indeed, all chastening seems to be matter not of joy but of sorrow;
Yet afterwards it yields peaceable fruit to those who have been trained by it, fruit of uprightness.
12, 13 Therefore *lift up the nerveless hands and the paralysed knees*, and *make even tracks for* your *feet*, so that what is lame may not be dislocated but
14 rather cured. *Aim at peace* with all men, and at that sanctification
15 without which no one shall see the Lord; watchful lest anyone be falling short of the grace of God—*lest any bitter root spring up to vex*
16 *you*, and the many be defiled by it; lest there be any fornicator or worldly person like *Esau*, who for a single meal *sold his* own *birth-right*.
17 For you know that even when he afterwards desired to inherit the blessing, though he sought for it with tears, he was rejected—for he got no chance of repentance.
18 For you have not drawn near to *a fire* that is felt and *flaming*, and to
19 *blackness* and to *darkness* and to *storm and to the sound of trumpet and to the sound of words* (at which the hearers begged to have not a word more
20 added, for they could not bear the charge: *If even a beast touch the*
21 *mountain, it shall be stoned*)—and so dreadful was the appearance that
22 Moses said, "*I am frightened* and terrified." Nay, you have drawn near to Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,
23 and to thousands of angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born registered in the heavens, and to the God of all, as judge, and
24 to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, mediator of a fresh covenant, and to that blood of sprinkling which speaks better than Abel's.

[1] Reading ἑαυτοὺς.

25 See that you refuse not him who speaks :
For if they did not escape,
When they refused him who divinely instructed them on earth,
Much less shall we,
Who turn away from him who speaks from the heavens.
26 At that time his voice shook the earth :
But now he has promised, saying,
Once again will I make not only *the earth* but *the sky* also to quake.
27 Now this word "*once again*" points to the removal of what is shaken,
as of what has been created, so that what is not shaken may be lasting.
28 Therefore, as we receive a realm that is not to be shaken, let us give
thanks, and let us thereby render service that is well-pleasing to God,
29 with reverence and awe. For indeed our *God* is *a consuming fire.*

13 1 Let brotherly love continue.
2 Forget not to be hospitable,
For thereby some have entertained angels unawares.
3 Remember those in bonds, as bound with them :
Those who are maltreated, as being also in the body yourselves.
4 Let marriage be honoured among all, and let the bed be undefiled :
For God will judge fornicators and adulterers.
5 Let your character be free from the love of money,
Be content with what you have :
For He has said, "Never will I fail thee, never will I forsake thee";
6 So that we have confidence to say,
The Lord is my helper, I will not fear.
What shall man do to me?
7 Remember your chief men, those who spoke God's word to you :
Look back upon the close of their career, and imitate their faith.

8 Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever.
9 Be not carried away by doctrines manifold and foreign;
For it is good to have the heart confirmed by grace,
Not by foods, which were of no avail to those who had recourse to them.
10 We have an altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle.
11 For the bodies of those animals, whose *blood is brought into the holy place*
by the high priest *as an offering for sin,*
Are burned outside the camp.
12 Therefore, to sanctify the people through his own blood,
Jesus also suffered outside the gate.
13 Then let us go out to him *outside the camp*, bearing his reproach.
14 (For we have no lasting city here,
We seek for one which is to come.)
15 Through him then *let us offer* continually *to God a sacrifice of praise,*
That is, *the fruit of lips* confessing to his name.
16 And forget not beneficence and contributions;
For God is well pleased with sacrifices like these.

17 Obey your chief men and be submissive to them, for they watch on behalf of your souls as those who are to render an account. Let them watch thus with joy instead of with grief—that would be to your own loss.

18 Pray for us: for we are persuaded we have a good conscience,
19 desiring to conduct ourselves aright in all points. And I appeal to you
more and more to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.
20 Now the God of peace, *who brought up* from the dead *the* great *shepherd of*
21 *the sheep by the blood of the eternal covenant*, even our Lord Jesus, equip you
with all good for obedience to his will, working in us what is well-
pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ—to whom be the honour for
ever and ever: Amen.

22 Now I appeal to you, brothers, bear with the word of appeal; for
23 indeed I have written to you briefly. Know that our brother Timotheus
has been released: in company with him I will see you, if he is coming
24 soon. Salute all your chief men, and all the saints. Those of Italy
salute you.
25 Grace be with you all.

LUKE

For the writers of the gospels the religious interest is supreme. Their main concern is not to give scrupulously exact accounts of facts, but to make the moral and religious significance of the facts apparent. . . . One very marked feature of this gospel is what may be called the *idealisation* of the characters of Jesus and the disciples. These are contemplated not in the light of memory, as in Mark, but through the brightly-coloured medium of faith. The evangelist does not forget that the personages of whom he writes are now the risen Lord and the apostles of the church. Jesus appears with an aureole round his head, and the faults of the disciples are very tenderly handled. . . . The author of the third gospel avowedly had a didactic aim. But there is no trace of a dominant theological or controversial aim. He appears to be an eclectic, rather than a man whose mind is dominated by a great ruling idea. Distinct if not conflicting tendencies or religious types find house-room in his pages: Pauline universalism, Jewish particularism, Ebionitic social ideals.

A. B. Bruce.

1[1-4] Preface.

1[5]–4[13] **John and Jesus:** the birth-narratives.
the boyhood of Jesus.
3[1-22] the career of John: the baptism of Jesus.
3[23-38] the genealogy of Jesus.
4[1-13] the temptation of Jesus.

4[14]–9[50] **The Galilaean ministry:**
4[14]–5[11] Nazareth,—Kapharnahum,—the lake of Gennesaret—miracles and teaching.
5[12]–6[49] Choice of the twelve—"sermon on mount."
7–9[27] Jesus and John—miracles and teaching.
9[28-50] The transfiguration: predictions of the Passion.

9[51]–19[27] **The ministry outside Galilee:** towards Jerusalem.
Samaria—mission of the Seventy-two:
11–17[10] teaching: cycle of sayings on prayer, Satan, signs, current religion, providence, the coming of the Son of man, repentance, the Sabbath.
miracles and parables.
17[11]–18[30] teaching: cycle of sayings on "days of Son of man," prayer, humility, etc.
18[30-34] prediction of Passion.
18[35]–19[27] Jericho.

19[28]–21[38] **The ministry in Jerusalem:**
19[28]–20[47] entrance—in the temple—discussion and teaching.
21 the apocalypse of Jesus.

22–23 **The Passion of Jesus:**
Judas—the supper—in the garden.
the trial, sentence, crucifixion, and death.
the burial.

24 **After death:** appearances of Jesus—his charges and departure.

LUKE

1 1 Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compose a narrative upon the
2 subject of what are matters of conviction among us, even as they were
handed on to us by those who were eye-witnesses and servants of the word
3 from the beginning; I also determined, as I have accurately investigated
all from the very first, that I would write them for thee in order, most
4 excellent Theophilus, to let thee understand the reliable truth about the
affairs of which thou hast been informed.

5 In the days of Herod, king of Judaea, there was a priest named
Zachariah, belonging to the course of Abijah; and he had a wife belong-
6 ing to the daughters of Aaron, whose name was Elizabeth. They
were both upright before God, walking in all the commandments and
7 ordinances of the Lord blameless. But they had no child, because
Elizabeth was barren; and they were both advanced in years.
8 Now it came to pass while he was officiating as priest before God in his
9 usual course, it fell to him by lot (after the custom of the priesthood) to
10 enter the sanctuary of the Lord and burn incense. And all the multitude
11 of the people were praying outside at the hour of incense. And an
angel of the Lord was seen by him, standing on the right side of the
12 altar of incense. And Zachariah was troubled at the sight, and fear fell
13 upon him. But the angel said to him,

"Fear not, Zachariah! for thy prayer has been heard,
And thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call
his name John.
14 And joy shall be thine and rejoicing,
Yea many shall joy over his birth.
15 For he shall be great before the Lord,
And *shall drink no wine or strong drink*,
And with the holy Spirit shall he be filled even from his mother's
womb;
16 And many of the sons of Israel shall he turn back to the Lord
their God.
17 Yea, he shall go in front before His face in the spirit and power of
Elijah,
To turn back the hearts of fathers to children, and the disobedient to
the thoughtfulness of the upright—
To make ready for the Lord a prepared people."

18 And Zachariah said to the angel, "How shall I be sure of this? for I am
19 an aged man, and my wife is advanced in years." And in reply the angel
said to him,

"I am Gabriel who stands before God,
And I was sent to speak to thee and bring thee these glad tidings.
20 And lo, thou shalt be silent and unable to speak
Until the day when this comes to pass,

Because thou hast not believed my words,
Words that shall be fulfilled at their due time."
21 And the people were waiting for Zachariah; and as he delayed in the
22 sanctuary, they wondered. When he did come out, he could not speak to
them, and they realised that he had seen a vision in the sanctuary; then
23 he went on making signs to them, and continued dumb. And it came to
24 pass, when the days of his service had elapsed, he went away home. Now
after these days Elizabeth his wife conceived. And she concealed herself
25 for five months, saying, "Thus the Lord has dealt with me, in the days
when he has deigned to remove my reproach among men!"
26 Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a
27 city of Galilee named Nazaret, to a maiden who was betrothed to a man
named Joseph, belonging to the house of David; and the maiden's name
28 was Mary. And he came in to her and said, "Hail, O highly favoured!
29 The Lord be with thee!" Startled at the saying, she began to reflect
30 what such a salutation as this could mean. But the angel said to her,
"Fear not, Mary! thou hast found favour with God.
31 And lo, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bear a son and call
his name Jesus!
32 He shall be great, and shall be called 'Son of the most High,'
And the Lord God shall give him *the throne of David* his father;
33 *And he shall reign* over the house of Jacob *for ever*,
And of his reign there shall be no end."
34 And Mary said to the angel, "How shall this be, since I know not a
35 man?" And in reply the angel said to her,
"The holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
And the power of the most High shall overshadow thee,
Therefore also what is born *shall be called holy*, 'Son of God.'
36 And lo, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she too has conceived a son in
her old age,
And she who was called 'barren' is now in her sixth month;
37 For *with God nothing shall be impossible.*"
38 And Mary said, "Here am I, the handmaid of the Lord! Be it to me
according to thy word." Then the angel went away from her.
39 Now in these days Mary rose and journeyed into the hill-country with haste
40 to a city of Judah, and she entered the house of Zachariah and saluted
41 Elizabeth. And it came to pass, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of
Mary, the infant leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the
42 holy Spirit, and she called out with a loud cry and said,
"Blessed art thou among women!
And blessed the fruit of thy womb!
43 And what have I done that the mother of my Lord should come to me?
44 For lo, when the sound of thy salutation reached my ears,
The infant leaped in my womb with rejoicing.
45 And happy is she who believed there should be fulfilment of what
had been told her from the Lord!"
46 And Mary said,
"*My soul* magnifies *the Lord*,
47 And my spirit *has rejoiced in God my Saviour*,
48 Because *with favour has he looked on the humiliation of his handmaid*—
For lo, from this time all generations shall call me happy—

49 Because the mighty One has done for me great things;
And *holy is his name.*

And *his mercy is to generations and generations,*
For those who fear him.

A deed of might has he done *with* his *arm,*
He has scattered the haughty with their heart's device ;
He has cast princes down from thrones and *raised the humble,*
The hungry he has satisfied with good things, and *the rich he has sent away empty.*

He has given succour to Israel his servant,
That he might remember mercy—
Even as he spoke *to our fathers—*
For Abraham and *for* his *offspring* for ever."
So Mary stayed with her about three months, and returned to her own house.
Now the time for Elizabeth's delivery had elapsed, and she bore a son.
And her neighbours and kinsfolk heard that the Lord had shown supreme mercy to her, and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass on the eighth day that they came to circumcise the child ; and they were going to call him after the name of his father, Zachariah. But his mother answered and said, "No ! he shall be called John." And they said to her, "There is no one belonging to thy kinsfolk who is called by this name." So they proceeded to make signs to his father, to find out what he would have him called. And he demanded a writing-tablet, and wrote the words, "His name is John." And they all wondered. And instantly his mouth was opened, and his tongue ; and he began to speak, blessing God. And fear came on all their neighbours ; and all these events were talked of throughout the whole hill-country of Judaea. And all who heard them laid them up in their heart, saying, "What ever is this child to be?" For the hand of the Lord also was with him.
And Zachariah, his father, was filled with the holy Spirit and prophesied, saying :
"*Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,*
Because he has visited and wrought *redemption for his people,*
And *raised up a horn of salvation for us*
In the house of *David* his servant—

Even as he spoke through the lips of his holy prophets from of old—
Safety from our enemies and from the hand of all *who hate us ;*
To deal *mercifully with our fathers,*
And *to remember his* holy *covenant,*

The oath which *he swore to Abraham* our father,
To grant that unafraid, rescued from the hand of our enemies,
We should serve him in holiness and uprightness
In his presence all our days.

Yea and thou, child, shalt be called, 'prophet of the most High' ;
For thou shalt precede *the face of the Lord to make ready his ways,*
To give knowledge of salvation to his people
Through remission of their sins,

78 Because of our God's heart of mercy,
Whereby the dawn shall visit us from on high,
79 *To shine upon those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death,*
To direct our feet into the way of peace."
80 And the child grew and became strong in spirit, and he lived in the deserts till the day of his commission to Israel.

2 1 Now it came to pass in those days that a decree was issued from Caesar
2 Augustus for a census to be taken of the whole world. (This was the first
3 census taken when Quirinius was governor of Syria.) And all went to
4 have themselves registered, every one at his own city. Now Joseph also went up from the city of Nazaret in Galilee into Judaea, to the city of David which is called Bethlehem—because he belonged to the house and
5 family of David—to have himself registered, accompanied by Mary his
6 betrothed, who was pregnant. And while they were there, it came to
7 pass that the days elapsed for her delivery. And she bore her firstborn son; and as there was no room for them in the khan, she wrapped him in
8 swaddling clothes and laid him in a cattle-stall. And there were shepherds in the same district who were out in the fields, keeping guard
9 by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord came upon them, and the brightness of the Lord shone round them; and they were terribly
10 afraid. And the angel said to them,
"Fear not; for lo, I bring you glad tidings of great joy which shall be for all the people;
11 For this day there is born to you in David's city a Saviour who is Christ the Lord.
12 And here is a[1] sign for you:
You shall find an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes[2] within a cattle-stall."
13 And suddenly there was along with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host extolling God and saying,
14 "Honour to God in the highest!
And on earth peace—among men of his pleasure!"
15 And it came to pass when the angels had gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said to one another, "Come now! let us go as far as Bethlehem and see this affair that has come to pass, which the Lord
16 has made known to us." So they went with haste and found out Mary
17 and Joseph, and also the infant lying in the cattle-stall. And when they saw it, they made known all about what had been told them with regard
18 to this child. And all who heard it wondered at what the shepherds
19 told them. But Mary pondered all these things, musing over them in
20 her heart. Then the shepherds went back, magnifying and extolling God for all they had heard and seen, just as it had been told them.
21 And when eight days had elapsed for circumcising him, his name was called "Jesus"—the name given him by the angel before he had been conceived in the womb.
22 And when *the days of their purification* according to the law of Moses had elapsed, they brought him up to Jerusalem to present him to the
23 Lord—even as it is written in the law of the Lord, *every male that opens*
24 *the womb shall be called "holy to the Lord,"*—and to offer a sacrifice according to what is said in the law of the Lord, *a pair of turtledoves or two*
25 *young pigeons.* And behold there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Symeon. And this man was upright and devout, waiting for the
26 consolation of Israel. And the holy Spirit was upon him, and he had

[1] Omitting τό. [2] Omitting καὶ κείμενον.

been divinely instructed by the holy Spirit, that he was not to see death
27 before he had seen the Christ of the Lord. And he came in the Spirit
into the temple; and when the parents had brought in the child Jesus to
28 do for him after the usage of the law, then he took him up in his arms
and blessed God, and said:
29 "Now, Master, thou art releasing thy slave,
According to thy word, in peace;
30 For mine eyes *have seen thy salvation*,
31 Which thou hast made ready *before the face of all peoples*,
32 *A light for revelation to the Gentiles*
And *the glory of* thy people *Israel*."
33 And his father and mother were in wonder at what was being said about
34 him. And Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother,
"Lo, this child is destined to be the downfall and rise of many in Israel,
And a sign that is objected to—
35 Yea and through thine own soul a spear shall pierce—
That thoughts from many a heart may be disclosed."
36 And there was a prophetess Hannah, the daughter of Phanuel, belonging
to the tribe of Asher. She was far advanced in years, as she had lived
37 with her husband for seven years from her maidenhood, and had been a
widow now for eighty-four years. She was never away from the temple,
38 but worshipped, fasting and praying, night and day. And at that very
hour she came up to them; and she offered praise to God and proceeded
to speak about him to all who were waiting for the redemption of Israel.
39 And when they had finished all that was prescribed by the
law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to their own city Nazaret.
40 And the child grew and became strong, being filled with wisdom; and
God's favour was upon him.
41 And his parents used to journey every year to Jerusalem at the
42 festival of the passover. And when he was twelve years old they went
43 up as usual to the festival. And after the days had been completed, they
were on their way back, when the boy Jesus remained behind in
44 Jerusalem. But his parents did not know of it; supposing he was in the
caravan, they went on their way for a day, and meanwhile searched for
45 him among their kinsfolk and acquaintances. And when they could
46 not find him, they went back to Jerusalem in search of him. And it
came to pass after three days they found him in the temple sitting
among the teachers, listening to them and also putting questions to them;
47 and all who heard him were amazed at his intelligence and replies.
48 And when they saw him, they were astonished; and his mother said to
him, "Child, why hast thou treated us in this way? Lo, thy father and
49 I were seeking thee in anguish!" And he said to them, "Why was it
that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be within my Father's
50 house?" But they did not understand the word that he spake to
51 them. And he went down with them and came to Nazaret, and was
subject to them. And his mother kept all the sayings carefully in her
52 heart. And Jesus *went on advancing* in wisdom and stature, *and in favour with God and man.*

3 1 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when
Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee,
Philip his brother tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonîtis, and
2 Lysias tetrarch of Abilenê—during the highpriesthood of Annas and
Kaiaphas, God's word came to John the son of Zachariah in the wilder-

3 ness. And he went into all the country surrounding the Jordan,
preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—as it is
4 written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet,

The voice of one crying in the wilderness:
"*Make ready the way of the Lord,*
Make level his paths!
5 *Every valley shall be filled up,*
And every mountain and mound laid low,
And the crooked shall be made straight,
And the rough ways smooth;
6 *And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.*"

7 He said therefore to the crowds who journeyed out to get baptized by him,
"You offspring of vipers, who has directed you to flee from the
wrath to come?
8 Bear fruits, then, befitting your repentance:
And do not attempt to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham as
our father';
9 For I tell you, God can raise up children for Abraham from these
stones!
Even already is the axe laid at the root of the trees:
So shall each tree be hewn and thrown into the fire, unless it
bear sound fruit."

10 And the crowds plied him with questions, saying, "What are we to do,
11 then?" And in reply he said to them,
"He who has two tunics, let him share with him who has none,
And let him who has food do likewise."
12 Tax-gatherers also came to get baptized; and they said to him, "Teacher,
13 what are we to do?" He said to them, "Exact no more than your
14 instructions." Men on military service also questioned him, saying,
"And what are we to do?" And he told them, "Use no violence to
anyone, nor defraud by false charges, but be satisfied with your
pay."

15 Now as the people were in expectation and all were arguing in their
16 hearts about John, "Could this be the Christ?"—John answered, saying
to them all,
"With water I baptize you;
But one is coming mightier than I,
The thong of whose sandals I am not fit to untie,
He shall baptize you with the holy Spirit and fire—
17 Whose winnowing fan is in his hand for cleansing out his
threshing-floor,
To gather the corn into his granary,
But the straw he will burn up with fire unquenchable."

18 Thus, with many other appeals as well, he preached glad tidings to
19 the people. But Herod the tetrarch, who had been reproved by him for
Herodias the wife of his brother, and for all the wickedness that he,
20 Herod, had done, crowned it all by shutting up John in prison.

21 Now it came to pass, when all the people had been baptized, and
Jesus also had been baptized and was at prayer, the skies were opened
22 and the holy Spirit came down in bodily form, like a dove, upon him;
and a voice came out of the sky,
"*My Son thou art:*
To-day have I begotten thee."[1]

[1] Reading υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

23 And Jesus himself, at the outset, was about thirty years old, being
24 the son (as it was supposed) of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of
Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Melchi, the son of Jannai, the son of
25 Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Nahum, the
26 son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias,
27 the son of Semein, the son of Josech, the son of Joda, the son of Joanan,
the son of Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of
28 Neri, the son of Melchi, the son of Addi, the son of Kosam, the son of
29 Elmadam, the son of Er, the son of Jesus, the son of Eliezer, the son of
30 Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Symeon, the son of
31 Judas, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son of
Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattatha, the son of Natham, the son
32 of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Boaz, the son of
33 Sala, the son of Nahshon, the son of Aminadab, the son of Admim, the son
34 of Arni, the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of
Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of
35 Nachor, the son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Pelag, the son of
36 Eber, the son of Sala, the son of Kainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of
37 Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the
son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Maleleel, the son of Kainan,
38 the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.

4 1 Now Jesus, full of the holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and in
2 the Spirit he was led for forty days within the wilderness, tempted by
the devil. And he ate nothing during those days; and when they were
3 concluded, he was hungry. The devil said to him, "If thou art God's
4 Son, order this stone to become bread." But Jesus answered him,
5 It is written: "*Not on bread alone is man to live.*" Then he brought him
up and showed him all the realms of the world in a single instant.
6 And the devil said to him, "To thee will I give all the jurisdiction and
the grandeur of these; for to me has it been delivered, and I give it to
7 whomsoever I choose. If thou wilt do reverence before me, then shall it
8 all be thine." Jesus said to him in reply, "It is written: *Thou shalt do*
9 *reverence to the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou worship.*" Then he
brought him to Jerusalem; and setting him on the pinnacle of the
temple, he said to him, "If thou art God's Son, throw thyself down
10 from here; for it is written:

He shall charge his angels concerning thee, to guard thee safe:

11 and,

On their hands they shall bear thee,
Lest ever thou strike thy foot against a stone.'

12 But Jesus said to him in reply, "It is said: *Thou shalt not make trial of*
13 *the Lord thy God.*" And after exhausting every kind of temptation, the
devil left him till a fit opportunity.

14 And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee. And a
report about him went out through the whole of the surrounding
15 district. And he taught in their synagogues, while all magnified him.

16 And he came to Nazara where he had been brought up; and as his
custom was, he entered the synagogue on the sabbath-day. And he
17 stood up to read, and was handed the book of the prophet Isaiah.
Then opening the book, he came upon the place where it was written:

18 "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,*
Therefore he has anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor,
He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight
to the blind,

To set the oppressed at liberty,
19 *To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.*"
20 And he folded up the book, handed it back to the attendant, and sat
21 down. And the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. And
he began to say to them, "To-day this scripture has been fulfilled in
22 your ears." And all spoke well of him and marvelled at the winsome
words that issued from his mouth; and they kept saying, "Is not this
23 Joseph's son?" And he said to them, "No doubt you will tell me this
proverb: 'Physician, heal thyself. All that we have heard was done
24 at Kapharnahum, do here as well in thine own country.' I tell you
truly," said he, "no prophet is acceptable in his own native place.
25 I tell you for a fact,
In Israel there were many widows in the days of Elijah,
When the sky was closed for three years and six months,
When a great famine came over the land;
26 Yet Elijah was sent to none of them,
But only *to Zarephath in the land of Sidon, to a woman who was a widow.*
27 And in Israel there were many lepers in the time of Elijah the prophet;
Yet none of them were cleansed,
But only Naaman the Syrian."
28 And all in the synagogue were filled with rage when they heard this.
29 And they rose up and threw him outside the city, and brought him to
the brow of the hill on which their city was built, in order to hurl him
30 down. But he passed through the midst of them and went on his way.
31 And he went down to Kapharnahum, a city of Galilee. And he was
32 teaching them on the sabbath-day; and they were astonished at his
33 teaching, because his word was invested with authority. And in the
34 synagogue there was a man with the spirit of an unclean daemon, and it
shrieked with a loud voice, "Ha! what have we to do with thee, Jesus of
Nazaret? Hast thou come to destroy us? I know who thou art, the
35 holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked it. "Silence!" said he, "leave
him!" And after throwing him down in the midst, the daemon left him
36 without having done him any injury. And wonder came upon all, and
they talked together with one another, saying, "What does this mean?
For with authority and power he commands the unclean spirits, and
37 they leave!" And a rumour about him spread to every place in the
38 surrounding country. Rising up, he went from the synagogue
into the house of Simon. Now the mother of Simon's wife was laid up
39 with a severe fever, and they asked him about her. And he stood over
her and rebuked the fever, and it left her; and instantly she rose up and
40 ministered to them. Now when the sun was setting, all who had
any people sick with manifold diseases brought them to him, and he laid
41 his hands on every one of them and healed them. And daemons also
left many people, clamouring, "Thou art the Son of God!" And rebuking them he would not allow them to speak, because they knew he was
42 the Christ. Now when day broke, he went out and made his
way to a desert place. And the crowds searched for him and came to
him, and they would have detained him to prevent him leaving them.
43 But he said to them, "I must preach the glad tidings of God's reign to
44 the other cities as well, for that is what I was sent to do." Then he
continued preaching throughout the synagogues of Judaea.[1]

[1] Reading Ἰουδαίας.

5 1 Now it came to pass, while the crowd were pressing on him and
listening to the word of God, that he was standing beside the lake of
2 Gennesaret; and he saw two boats lying beside the lake, but the fisher-
3 men had disembarked from them, and were washing their nets. And he
entered one of the boats, which belonged to Simon, and asked him to
push out a short distance from the land. And he sat down and proceeded
4 to teach the crowds out of the boat. And when he stopped speaking, he
said to Simon, "Push out into the deep water, and lower your nets for a
5 take." And Simon answered and said, "Chief, we have toiled the whole
night long, and got nothing!—still, at thy word I will lower the nets."
6 And when they did so, they enclosed a huge shoal of fish. And their
7 nets began to break, and they made signs to their comrades in the other
boat to come and assist them. And they came and filled both the boats,
8 so that they began to sink. Now when Simon Peter saw it, he fell down
9 at the knees of Jesus, saying, "Lord, leave me; I am a sinful man!" For
wonder had seized him and all his companions at the take of fish which
10 they had caught; and this was the case also with James and John,
Zebedee's sons, whom Simon had as partners. And Jesus said to Simon,
11 "Fear not, from this time thy captures shall be men." And when they
had brought their boats to land, they left all, and followed him.
12 And it came to pass, when he was in one of the cities, a man was there full of
leprosy. And when he saw Jesus, he fell on his face and entreated him,
13 saying, "Sir, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." And stretching
out his hand he touched him, saying, "I will: be clean." And im-
14 mediately the leprosy left him. And he charged him to tell no one;
"Go away," said he, "*show* thyself *to the priest*, and offer for thy cleansing
15 as Moses commanded—as a proof to men." But the news about him
spread all the more, and large crowds kept gathering to hear and to be
16 healed of their illnesses. But he used to withdraw into the deserts and
17 pray. And it came to pass on one of those days that he was teaching,
while Pharisees and doctors of the law were sitting near who had come
out of every village of Galilee and Judaea and Jerusalem; and the power
18 of the Lord was there, so that he could cure. And behold some men
bring on a bed a man who was paralysed; and they tried to bring him
19 in and lay him before him. And as on account of the crowd they could
not find any way of bringing him in, they got up on the house-top, and
let him down through the tiles of the roof, couch and all, into the midst in
20 front of Jesus. And on seeing their faith, he said, "Man, thy sins are
21 forgiven thee." And the scribes and the Pharisees began to argue, "Who
is this fellow that talks blasphemy? Who can forgive sins, except God
22 only?" Now on understanding their thoughts, Jesus answered and said
23 to them, "What are you arguing about in your hearts? Which is easier,
24 to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' or to say, 'Rise and walk'? But,
to let you know that the Son of man has authority on earth to forgive
sins"—he said to the paralysed man—"I say to thee, 'Rise, and take up
25 thy couch and go home.'" And instantly he rose before them, took up
26 what he was lying on, and went away home magnifying God. And
amazement took hold of them all, and they continued to magnify God,
and were filled with awe, saying, "We have seen incredible things
27 to-day." And after this he went out, and observing a tax-gatherer,
named Levi, who sat at the tax-office, he said to him, "Follow me."
28, 29 And leaving all, he rose and followed him. And Levi gave a great
banquet for him in his house; and there was a large throng of tax-
30 gatherers and of others who were reclining at table with them. And the

Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples, saying, "Why
31 are you eating and drinking with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" And
in answer Jesus said to them,
"The healthy need not a physician, but those who are ill:
32 I have not come to call upright men but sinners to repentance."
33 And they said to him, "The disciples of John fast frequently and offer
prayers, as also do the disciples of the Pharisees; but thy disciples eat and
34 drink." And Jesus said to them,
"Can you make the sons of the bride-chamber fast,
While the bridegroom is with them?
35 But days will come, days when the bridegroom shall be taken away
from them,
Then will they fast in those days."
36 Also he told them a parable:
"No man tears a piece from a new cloak and sews it on an old cloak:
Otherwise, he will tear the new,
Nor will the new piece match with the old.
37 And no man pours fresh wine into old wine-skins:
Otherwise, the fresh wine will burst the wine-skins,
It will be spilt itself, and the wine-skins lost.
38 No, fresh wine must be poured into new wine-skins.
39 Besides, no man who has drunk old wine wants fresh.
[['The old,' says he, 'is excellent.']]"

6 1 Now it came to pass on a sabbath-day[1] that he was passing through
the cornfields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn and ate them,
2 rubbing them in their hands. But some of the Pharisees said, "Why are
3 you doing what it is wrong to do upon the sabbath?" And in answer
Jesus said to them, "Have you not read even this deed of David when he
4 was hungry, he and his companions? How he went into the house of God
and took and ate *the show-bread*, and gave it to his companions—bread
5 which no one except the priests has any right to eat?" And he said to
them, "The Son of man is lord even of the sabbath." [[On the same
day, observing a man at work on the sabbath, he said to him, "Man, if
thou knowest what thou art doing, happy art thou; but if thou knowest
6 not, thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law."]][2] And it came
to pass on another sabbath-day that he entered the synagogue and taught.
7 And a man was there, and his right hand was withered. And the scribes
and the Pharisees were watching him narrowly to see if he would heal on
8 the sabbath, that they might discover something to accuse him of. But,
aware of their thoughts, he said to the man who had the withered hand,
9 "Rise and stand forward." And he got up and stood forward. And
Jesus said to them, "I ask you, is it right to help or to harm upon the
10 sabbath-day? to save life or to destroy it?" And after looking round
upon them all, he said to him, "Stretch out thy hand." He did so, and
11 his hand was restored. But they became filled with rage, and began to
confer with one another about what they should do to Jesus.
12 Now it came to pass in these days that he went out to the mountain to
13 pray; and he spent the whole night in prayer to God. And when day
broke he summoned his disciples, and from them he chose twelve, whom
14 he also named "apostles": Simon (whom he also named Peter) and Andrew
15 his brother, and James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and

[1] Omitting [[δευτεροπρώτῳ]].

[2] Adding [[τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, κατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου·]].

Matthew and Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus and Simon (who was
16 called "the Zealot"), and Judas the son of James and Judas of Kerioth
17 (who turned traitor). And he went down with them and stood on a level
spot, with a large throng of his disciples and a large multitude of the
people from all Judaea and Jerusalem and the sea-coast of Tyre and
18 Sidon, who had come to hear him and to be cured of their diseases. And
19 those who were vexed with unclean spirits were healed. And all the
crowd made efforts to touch him, because power kept issuing from him
20 and curing all. Then, lifting up his eyes on his disciples, he said:

"Happy ye who are poor!
For yours is the reign of God.
21 Happy ye who are hungry now!
For you shall be filled.
Happy ye who are weeping now!
For you shall laugh.
22 Happy are you when men shall hate you, and when they shall expel
you and denounce you and reject your name as evil, for the
sake of the Son of man.
23 Rejoice in that day and leap! for behold, great is your reward
in heaven.
For even so dealt their fathers with the prophets.
24 But woe to you who are rich!
For you are getting all your comfort.
25 Woe to you who are satisfied now!
For you shall hunger.
Woe, you who are laughing now!
For you shall mourn and weep.
26 Woe, when all men shall speak well of you!
For even so dealt their fathers with the false prophets.

27 But I tell you who are listening:
Love your enemies, do good to these who hate you,
28 Bless those who curse you, pray for those who ill-treat you.
29 To him who strikes thee on the one cheek,
Offer the other also;
And from him who takes thy cloak away,
Keep not back thy tunic also.
30 Give to every one who asks thee;
And from him who takes away thy goods, ask them not again.
31 Yes, even as you would have men to do to you,
So do to them also, yourselves.
32 And if you love those who love you, what recompense is yours?
Why, even sinners love those who love them.
33 And if you help those who help you, what recompense is yours?
Why, even sinners do that.
34 And if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what
recompense is yours?
Even sinners lend to sinners, to get back as much in return.
35 Rather, love your enemies and help and lend, looking for no return,
Then shall your reward be great,
And you shall be sons of the most High,
For he is kind to the ungrateful and evil.
36 Be pitiful,
Even as your Father is pitiful.

37 Also: judge not, and you shall not be judged;
Condemn not, and you shall not be condemned;
Release, and you shall be released;
38 Give, and it shall be given you—
Ample measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over,
shall they pour into your bosom.
For with what measure you measure,
It shall be measured to you in return."
39 Now he also told them a parable:
"Can a blind man guide a blind man?
Shall they not both fall into a ditch?
40 A pupil is not above his teacher:
Yet every finished pupil shall be like his teacher.
41 Why look at the splinter in thy brother's eye,
And mark not the beam in thine own eye?
42 How canst thou say to thy brother, 'Come, brother! let me pull out
the splinter in thine eye,'
When thou thyself dost not look at the beam in thine eye?
Hypocrite! pull the beam out of thine own eye first,
Then indeed shalt thou see clearly to pull out the splinter in thy
brother's eye.
43 For there is no sound tree that brings forth rotten fruit,
Nor again is there a rotten tree that brings forth sound fruit:
44 Each tree is known by its own fruit.
Men do not gather figs from thorns,
Nor do they pluck grapes from a bramble-bush.
45 The good man from the good storehouse of his heart brings out what
is good,
And the bad man from the bad storehouse brings out what is bad:
For out of the heart's abundance the mouth of man speaks.—

46 Why call me 'Lord, Lord!' and do not what I say?
47 Everyone who comes to me and hears my words and obeys them,
48 I will let you know whom he is like.
He is like a man building a house, who dug and deepened and laid a
foundation upon the rock;
And when a flood came, the stream broke against that house and had
no power to shake it, because it was well built.
49 But he who hears and obeys not,
Is like a man who built a house upon the earth without a foundation,
Against which the stream broke, and immediately it collapsed;
and the ruin of that house was great."

7 1 When he had ended all his sayings in the hearing of the people, he
2 entered Kapharnahum. Now a centurion's slave, whom he
3 greatly valued, was ill and at the point of death. So when he heard
about Jesus, he despatched some elders of the Jews to him asking him to
4 come and restore his slave. And on reaching Jesus they earnestly
5 besought him, saying, "He is worthy to have this boon from thee, for he
6 loves our nation, and has built the synagogue for us, himself." So Jesus
went with them. And when he was by this time not far from the house,
the centurion sent some friends to tell him, "Do not trouble thyself, sir.
7 I am not fit to have thee come under my roof; hence I did not even
consider myself worthy to come to thee. Say but the word, and let my
8 servant be cured. For indeed I am myself a man placed under authority,

with soldiers under me: and I say to this man, 'Go,' and he goes; to another, 'Come,' and he comes; to my slave, 'Do this,' and he does it."
9 Now when Jesus heard this, he marvelled at him; and turning to the crowd that followed him, he said, "I tell you, not even in Israel have I
10 found such faith as this!" And when the messengers went back to the
11 house, they found the slave in sound health. And it came to pass shortly afterwards that he journeyed to a city called Nain; and his dis-
12 ciples journeyed with him, and a large crowd. Now when he came near to the gate of the city, behold a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother—and she was a widow. And a considerable crowd from
13 the city accompanied her. So when the Lord saw her, he was moved with
14 compassion for her, and said to her, "Weep not." Then he went up and touched the bier; and the bearers stood still. And he said, "Young man,
15 I say to thee, Rise!" And the corpse sat up and began to speak. And
16 he gave him to his mother. And fear took hold of all, and they began to magnify God, saying, "A great prophet has risen among us!" and "God
17 has visited his people!" And this story about him spread through the whole of Judaea and all the surrounding country.
18, 19 And John had all this reported to him by his disciples. So calling two of his disciples to him, he sent them to the Lord with the question,
20 "Art thou he 'who is to come'? or are we to expect another?" And when the men reached him, they said, "John the baptizer has sent us to thee with the question, 'Art thou he "who is to come"? or are we to
21 expect another?'" At that hour he healed many people of diseases and plagues and hurtful spirits, and bestowed sight on many blind people.
22 And in answer he said to them, "Go and report to John what you have seen and heard:

The blind regain their sight, the lame walk,
The lepers are cleansed, the deaf[1] hear,
The dead are raised, *the poor have glad tidings preached to them.*

23 And happy is he who is repelled by nothing in me."
24 Now when the messengers had gone away, he began to speak about John to the crowds:

"What did you go out into the wilderness to view? A reed being shaken by the wind?
25 Nay, what did you go out to see? A man clothed in soft robes?
Lo, those who live in splendid apparel and luxury are in king's palaces.
26 Nay, what did you go out to see? A prophet?
Yes, I tell you, and far more than a prophet.
27 This is he of whom it is written,
Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.
28 I tell you, among those born of women, none is greater than John;
Yet he who is least in the realm of God is greater than he."
29 (And on hearing it all the people and the tax-gatherers acknowledged God was right,
As they had received the baptism of John.
30 But the Pharisees and the lawyers frustrated God's purpose for themselves,
As they did not get baptized by him.)
31 "To what then shall I compare the men of this generation?
And to what are they like?

[1] Omitting [[καί]].

32 They are like children who sit in the marketplace and address one
another, saying,
'We piped to you, and you did not dance:
We lamented, and you did not weep.'
33 For John the baptizer has come, eating no bread and drinking no
wine,
And you say, 'He has a daemon':
34 The Son of man has come, eating and drinking,
And you say, 'Here is a man of gluttony and wine, a friend of
tax-gatherers and sinners.'
35 (Yet wisdom is vindicated by all her children.)"
36 Now one of the Pharisees asked him to eat with him. And he entered
37 the Pharisee's house and reclined at table. And lo, a woman who was
a sinner in the city ascertained that he was reclining at table in the
38 Pharisee's house; and she brought an alabaster flask of ointment, and as
she stood behind at his feet and wept, she began to wet his feet with her
tears and wipe them with the hair of her head. And she continued to
39 fondly kiss his feet and to anoint them with the ointment. Now when the
Pharisee who had invited him saw it, he said to himself, "Were this man
a prophet, he would know who this woman is that is touching him, and
40 what is her character; for she is a sinner." And in answer Jesus said to
him, "Simon, I have something to say to thee." And he says, "Say it,
41 teacher." "A moneylender had two debtors, one owed him five hundred
42 shillings and the other fifty. As they were unable to pay, he forgave
43 them both. Which of them therefore will love him most?" Simon
answered and said, "The man, I suppose, to whom he forgave the most."
44 And he said to him, "Thou hast judged correctly." And turning to the
woman, he said to Simon, "Seest thou this woman? I came into thy
house;
Thou gavest me no water for my feet,
But she has wet my feet with her tears and wiped them with her
hair:
45 Thou gavest me no kiss,
But she, from the time that I came in, has not ceased to fondly
kiss my feet:
46 Thou didst not anoint my feet with oil,
But she has anointed my feet with ointment.
47 Therefore I tell you; many as her sins are, they are forgiven, because
she has loved much:
But he to whom little is forgiven has little love."
48, 49 And he said to her, "Thy sins are forgiven." And his fellow-guests
50 began to say to themselves, "Who is this, that even forgives sins?" But
he said to the woman, "Thy faith has restored thee, go in peace."
8 1 And it came to pass shortly afterwards that he travelled about from
city to city and village to village, preaching and bringing the glad tidings
2 of God's reign, accompanied by the twelve and by some women who had
been healed of hurtful spirits and illnesses, Mary (who was called "of
3 Magdala") from whom seven daemons had gone out, and Joanna the wife
of Chuzas (Herod's manager), and Susanna, and many others—women who
4 were ministering to them out of their goods. Now as a large crowd was
mustering and people from every city were resorting to him, he spoke by
means of a parable:
5 "A sower went out to sow his seed.
And as he sowed

Some seed fell along the path and was trampled under foot,
And the birds of the air ate it up.
6 And other seed dropped on the rock,
And springing up it withered away, because it had no moisture.
7 And other seed fell in the midst of the thorns,
And the thorns sprang up along with it, and completely choked it.
8 And other seed fell into the honest soil,
And springing up it produced a crop one hundredfold."

As he said this he cried aloud, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear."
9 Now his disciples plied him with questions about what this parable
10 could mean. And he said,

"To you it is given to know the secrets of God's reign;
But for the rest it is by way of parables,
That for all their sight they may not see,
And for all their hearing they may not understand.

11, 12 This is the parable. The seed is the word of God. Those 'along the path' are people who have heard; then comes the devil and takes away the word from their heart, that they may not believe and be saved.
13 Those 'on the rock' are people who, when they have heard, welcome the word with joy; yet these have no root, they believe for a time, and
14 in time of trial fall away. As for the seed that fell among the thorns, that means people who have heard; yet they come to be choked with
15 anxieties and riches and life's pleasures, and so they never ripen. But as for the seed in the good ground—those are the people who in a good and honest heart have heard the word and hold it fast; and so, enduring patiently, they bear fruit.

16 No man, after setting light to a lamp, covers it with a vessel or puts it below a bed.
Nay, he puts it on a lampstand, that those who enter may see the light.
17 For nothing is hidden that shall not be disclosed,
Nor concealed, that shall not be known and come to view.
18 Take heed then how you hear:
For whosoever has,
To him shall be given;
But whosoever has not,
From him shall be taken even what he thinks he has."

19 Now his mother and brothers arrived where he was, and could not
20 join him for the crowd. And word was brought him, "Thy mother and
21 thy brothers are standing outside, wishing to see thee." But in answer he said to them, "My mother and my brothers are those who hear and obey the word of God."

22 Now it came to pass, one day, that he entered a boat with his disciples;
23 and he said to them, "Let us cross to the opposite side of the lake." So they set sail; and during the voyage he fell asleep. And down came a squall of wind upon the lake, and they were being swamped and were
24 in danger. So they went to him and woke him up, saying, "Chief! chief! we are perishing!" Then wakening up he rebuked the wind and the surge of the water; and they ceased, and there was a calm.
25 Then he said to them, "Where is your faith?" And they feared and marvelled, saying to one another, "Whoever is this? he orders even the
26 winds and the water, and they obey him!" And they put in at
27 the country of the Gerasenes, which is on the shore opposite Galilee. And when he stepped out upon the land, he was met by a man from the city,

who had daemons; for a considerable time he had worn no clothing, and
28 he stayed not in a house but among the tombs. And on seeing Jesus he
shrieked, and dropping down before him said with a loud voice, "What
have I to do with thee, Jesus, Son of the most High God? I entreat thee,
29 torment me not!" (For he was charging the unclean spirit to leave the
man.) For many a time when it had gripped him, he had been fastened
and secured with chains and fetters; yet he would break the bonds and
30 be driven by the daemon into the deserts. Then Jesus questioned
him,[1] "What is thy name?" "Legion," said he (because many daemons
31 had entered him). And they besought him not to order them to depart
32 into the abyss. Now a drove of a good many swine was there, grazing
on the mountain; and they besought him to permit them to enter these.
33 And he permitted them. Then the daemons left the man and entered
the swine, and the drove rushed down the steep slope into the lake and
34 was suffocated. Now when the herdsmen saw what had happened, they
35 fled and brought word of it to the city and the hamlets. And the people
came out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus and found,
seated at the feet of Jesus, the man whom the daemons had left, clothed
36 and sensible. And they were afraid. And those who had seen it told
them how he who had been possessed by daemons had been restored.
37 And all the multitude belonging to the surrounding country of the
Gerasenes asked him to depart from them, for they were possessed with
38 great fear. And he embarked in a boat and returned. Now the man
whom the daemons had left, entreated him that he might accompany
39 him; but he sent him away, saying, "Return home and describe all that
God has done for thee." And he departed to preach throughout the
whole city all that Jesus had done for him.
40 Now it came to pass at the return of Jesus, that the crowd welcomed
41 him; for they were all looking out for him. And behold, a man named
Jaeiros came (and he was a president of the synagogue) and fell down at
42 the feet of Jesus and besought him to come to his house, because he had
an only daughter about twelve years old, and she was dying. Now as he
43 went, the crowds were crushing him. And there was a woman who had
had an issue of blood for twelve years, who [[had besides spent the whole
of her livelihood upon physicians and]] could not be healed by anyone.
44 She came behind him and touched the tassel of his cloak; and instantly
45 the issue of her blood stopped. Then said Jesus, "Who was it that touched
me?" And as everyone was denying it, Peter and his companions said,
46 "Master, the crowds are close to thee and pressing hard!" But Jesus
said, "Someone did touch me, for I was conscious of power having issued
47 from me." So when the woman saw she had not escaped notice, she
came trembling and fell down before him and declared in the presence of
all the people her reason for touching him, and how she had been instantly
48 cured. And he said to her, "Daughter, thy faith has restored thee.
49 Go in peace." While he was still speaking, someone comes
from the house of the president of the synagogue, saying, "Thy daughter
50 has died: do not trouble the teacher any further." But on hearing it
Jesus answered him, "Fear not: only believe, and she shall be restored."
51 And when he came to the house, he would not let anyone enter with him,
except Peter and John and James, also the father of the girl and her
52 mother. And everyone was weeping and bewailing her, but he said,
53 "Weep not; she is not dead, but asleep." And they laughed him to
54 scorn, knowing that she was dead. But he took her hand and cried

[1] Omitting [[λέγων]].

55 aloud, "Rise, girl." And her spirit came back, and she rose up instantly.
56 And he instructed them to give her something to eat. And her parents
were amazed; but he charged them to tell no one what had happened.
9 1 Now after calling the twelve together he gave them power and
authority over all the daemons, as well as for the healing of diseases.
2 And he sent them to preach the reign of God and to cure the infirm.[1]
3 And he said to them, "Take nothing for your journey, neither staff nor
4 wallet nor bread nor silver, nor have two tunics. And whatever house
5 you enter, stay there, and leave from there. And whoever do not wel-
come you, when you are leaving that city, shake off the dust from your
6 feet, for a witness against them." And they went out and proceeded to
go through the villages, preaching the glad tidings and healing every-
7 where. Now when Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was
taking place, he was completely bewildered; for some said, "John has
8 risen from the dead"; some, "Elijah has appeared"; and others, "One
9 of the ancient prophets has risen up." Herod said, "John I beheaded.
But who is this, of whom I hear such tales?" So he made efforts to see
10 him. And the apostles returned and described to him all that
they had done. And he took them and withdrew in private to a city
11 called Bethsaida. But when the crowds perceived it, they followed him;
and he welcomed them and proceeded to speak to them of God's reign,
12 and to cure those who were in need of healing. Now the day began to
decline; and the twelve came and said to him, "Dismiss the crowd, that
they may go and lodge in the surrounding villages and hamlets and get
13 provisions; for we are in a desert place here." He said to them, "Give
them something to eat, yourselves." They said, "We have no more than
five loaves and two fish!—unless indeed we are to go and buy food for
14 all this people." (For they numbered about five thousand men.) And
15 he said to his disciples, "Make them recline in rows of about fifty. And
16 they did so, and made them all recline. Then he took the five loaves
and the two fish, and after looking up to heaven he blessed and broke
them in pieces, and went on giving them to the disciples to set before the
17 crowd. And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up twelve
baskets of fragments which they had left over.
18 And it came to pass, while he was praying alone, that the disciples
were with him. And he questioned them, saying, "Who do the crowds
19 say that I am?" They replied, "John the baptizer; but others say
20 Elijah, and others that 'One of the ancient prophets has risen up.'" And
he said to them, "But you—who do you say that I am?" So Peter
21 answered, "The Christ of God." But he charged and commanded them
22 to tell this to no one, saying: "The Son of man must suffer much, and be
rejected by the elders and high priests and scribes, and be killed, and on
23 the third day rise." And he said to all,

"If any man would come after me,
Let him deny himself, take up his cross day by day, and follow me.
24 For whoever would save his life
Shall lose it:
And whoever loses his life for my sake,
He shall save it.
25 What use will it be for a man to gain the whole world and lose
or forfeit himself?
26 For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words,
Of him shall the Son of man be ashamed

[1] Adding τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς.

When he comes in his majesty and in the majesty of the Father
and of the holy angels.
27 I tell you distinctly, there are some of those standing here who shall not
taste death, until they see God's reign."
28 Now it came to pass about eight days after this had been said, he took
Peter and John and James aside, and went up the mountain to pray.
29 And it came to pass while he was praying, the appearance of his face
30 altered and his clothing turned dazzling white. And behold, two men
31 (who were Moses and Elijah) were talking with him: they appeared in
splendour and spoke of his departure which he was to effect at Jerusalem.
32 Now Peter and his companions were heavy with sleep; but as they kept
wide-awake, they saw his splendour and also the two men who stood
33 beside him. And it came to pass, when they were parting from him,
Peter said to Jesus, "Chief, it is fine for us to be here. Now, let us
make three booths, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah"
34 (for he did not know what he was saying). But while he was saying
this, a cloud came and overshadowed them: and they feared as they
35 passed into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, "This
36 is my Son, the chosen one: listen to him." Then, after the voice had
passed, they found that Jesus was alone. And they kept silence and told
no one during those days anything of what they had seen.
37 Now it came to pass on the next day when they had descended from
38 the mountain, a large crowd met him. And behold, a man from the
crowd cried, saying, "Teacher, I entreat thee to look with favour on my
39 son! for he is my only child; and behold, a spirit catches him! Then
suddenly he shrieks out. But it convulses him till he foams; indeed it
40 will scarcely leave off bruising him. And I entreated thy disciples to
41 cast it out; but they could not." Jesus answered and said, "O in-
credulous and perverse generation! how long am I to be with you and
42 bear with you? Fetch thy son here." But while he was still approach-
ing, the daemon hurled him down and convulsed him terribly. So Jesus
rebuked the unclean spirit, cured the boy, and gave him back to his
43 father. And all were astonished at the grandeur of God.
Now while all marvelled at all he was doing, he said to his disciples,
44 "Lay up these words in your ears: the Son of man is to be delivered
45 into the hands of men." But they did not understand this saying; and
it was kept a secret from them, so that they could not fathom it.
46 Also, they were afraid to ask him about this saying. Now an
argument rose among them as to which of them would be the greatest.
47 But as Jesus knew their secret argument, he took hold of a little child
48 and set it beside himself; then he said to them,
"Whosoever shall receive such a little child as this in my name, re-
ceives me;
And whoever shall receive me, receives him who sent me.
For he who is least among you all, he is great."
49 John answered and said, "Chief, we saw a man casting out daemons
in thy name; and we tried to prevent him, because he is not a follower
50 of ours." But Jesus said to him, "Prevent him not: he who is not
against you is for you."

51 Now it came to pass, when the days for him to be taken up were
52 coming to a close, he set his face stedfastly to go to Jerusalem, and
despatched messengers in front of him. And on their way they entered
53 a village of the Samaritans, in order to make ready for him; but the

people would not receive him, because his face was turned in the
54 direction of Jerusalem. When his disciples James and John saw it,
they said, "Lord, wilt thou have us bid *fire come down from the sky and*
55, 56 *consume* them?" But he turned and rebuked them. And they journeyed
to another village.
57 And as they journeyed on the road, a man said to him, "I will follow
58 thee wherever thou goest." Then said Jesus to him,
"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have shelters:
But the Son of man has no place to lay his head."
59 He said to another, "Follow me." And he said, "Let me go first and
60 bury my father." But he said to him,
"Let the dead bury their own dead:
Go thou and publish abroad the reign of God."
61 Also another said, "I will follow thee, Lord; but first let me take leave
62 of those at home." But Jesus said to him, "No man who looks back,
after putting his hand to the plough, is fit for the reign of God."
10 1 Now after this the Lord[1] appointed seventy-two[2] others, and
despatched them two and two in front of him into every city and place
2 where he intended to come himself. And he said to them,
"The harvest is ample, but the labourers are few:
Entreat then the owner of the harvest to thrust out labourers
into his harvest.
3 Go on your way:
Lo, I despatch you like lambs amid wolves.
4 Carry no purse, no wallet, no sandals,
And salute no one on the road.
5 Whatever household you enter first,
Say, 'Peace be to this household!'
6 Then, if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it:
Otherwise, it shall return to you again.
7 Stay in the same house—
Eating and drinking what they provide,
For the labourer is worthy of his wages—
Shift not from house to house.
8 Also, whatever city you enter, and the people receive you,
Eat what is set before you,
9 And heal the infirm in it, telling them, 'The reign of God is
near you.'
10 But whatever city you shall enter and the people receive you not,
Go out into its streets and say,
11 'Even the dust from your city which clings to our feet, we wipe
off against you.
But know this; the reign of God is near.'
12 I tell you, on that Day Sodom shall find it more bearable than
that city.
13 Woe to thee, Khorazin! Woe to thee, Bethsaida!
For had the miracles wrought in you been wrought in Tyre and
Sidon,
They had repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.
14 Yet I tell you, Tyre and Sidon shall find it more bearable in the
judgment than you.
15 And thou, Kapharnahum, *shalt thou be raised to the sky? thou shalt
be thrust down to Hades!*

[1] Omitting [[καί]]. [2] Adding δύο (as in ver. 17).

16 He who listens to you listens to me,
And he who rejects you rejects me:
And he who rejects me rejects him who sent me."
17 Now the seventy-two returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the
18 daemons are subject to us in thy name!" And he said to them, "I saw
Satan like lightning fall from heaven.
19 Lo, I have given you the power of *treading on serpents* and scorpions,
and over all the enemy's power,
And nothing shall injure you at all.
20 Yet joy not over this, that the spirits are subject to you,
But joy that your names are enrolled in the heavens."
21 At the same hour Jesus rejoiced in the holy Spirit, and said,
"I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
That thou didst conceal these things from wise and clever men,
revealing them to babes.
Even so, Father!—
That thus it pleased thee.
22 All things have been delivered to me by my Father,
And no one knows who the Son is, but the Father,
And who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son may
choose to reveal him."
23 Then turning to the disciples he said privately,
"Happy the eyes that see what you see!
24 For I tell you, many prophets and kings desired to see what you
see, yet they saw not;
And to hear what you hear, yet they heard not."
25 And behold, a lawyer stood up to make trial of him. "Teacher,"
26 said he, "What shall I do to inherit life eternal?" He said to him,
27 "What is written in the law? How readest thou?" He replied, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy whole soul, with thy whole strength, with thy whole mind;* also *thy neighbour as thyself.*"
28 And he said to him, "Thou hast answered correctly. *Do this and thou*
29 *shalt live.*" But as he wished to put himself in the right, he said to
30 Jesus, "And who is my neighbour?" Jesus said in reply: "A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell in with robbers, who actually stripped him, and after showering stripes on him
31 went off, leaving him half-dead. Now it so happened that a priest was going down by that road; but on seeing him he went past, upon the
32 opposite side. Similarly too a Levite, on coming up to the spot and seeing
33 him, went past upon the opposite side. But a Samaritan traveller came
34 to where he was, and on seeing him was moved with compassion; and going to him, he bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine. And mounting him on his own beast, he brought him to an inn and took
35 care of him. And on the following day he took out two shillings and gave them to the inn-keeper, saying, 'Take care of him; and any extra
36 expense I will refund thee on my way back.' Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved himself a neighbour to him who fell among the
37 robbers?" He said, "The man who dealt mercifully with him." Jesus said to him, "Go thou also, do likewise."
38 Now in the course of their journey he entered a village; and a woman
39 named Martha welcomed him to her house. And she had a sister called Mary, who for her part seated herself at the Lord's feet and
40 listened to his talk. But Martha was distracted with serving busily, and she came up and said, "Lord, carest thou not that my sister has left

41 me to serve all by myself? Come, tell her to help me." The Lord
answered and said to her, "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and restless
42 about many things, yet few things are needed—few or only one.[1] Mary
has chosen the good portion, and it shall not be taken away from her."
11 1 And it came to pass while he was at a certain place praying, when he
ceased, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, just as
2 John also taught his disciples." He said to them, "When you pray, say:

Father, thy name be hallowed,
Thy reign come!
3 Our bread for the morrow give us day by day.
4 And forgive us our sins,
For we also forgive every debtor of ours.
And lead us not into temptation."

5 And he said to them, "Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go
to him at midnight and say to him, 'Friend, lend me three loaves;
6 for a friend of mine has arrived at my house from a journey, and I have
7 nothing to set before him';—and he inside shall answer and say,
'Disturb me not: the door is shut by this time, and my children are in
8 bed with me. I cannot get up and give thee anything'? I tell you,
though he will not get up and give him anything because he is a friend
of his, yet on account of his friend's persistence he will rise and give him
9 all that he requires. And I tell you,

Ask and it shall be given you,
Seek and you shall find,
Knock and it shall be opened to you:
10 For everyone who asks receives,
And he who seeks finds,
And to him who knocks it shall be opened.
11 Now what father of you,[2] if his son asks a fish, will hand him
instead of a fish, a serpent?
12 Or if an egg, will hand him a scorpion?
13 If you then, niggardly as you are, know how to give good gifts to
your children,
How much more shall your Father give from heaven the holy
Spirit to those who ask him?"

14 And he was casting out a dumb daemon; and it came to pass, when
the daemon had gone out, that the dumb man spoke. And the crowds
15 marvelled, but some of them said, "It is with the help of Beelzebub the
16 ruler of the daemons, that he is casting out the daemons"; while others—
17 to make trial of him—required from him a sign from the sky. And
aware of what they thought, he said to them:

"Any realm divided against itself comes to ruin,
And house falls upon house.
18 Also, if Satan is divided against himself,
How shall his realm stand?

(Because you say, it is with the help of Beelzebub that I am casting out
the daemons.)

19 If I am casting out the dæmons with the help of Beelzebub, with
whose help do your sons cast them out?
Therefore shall they be your judges.
20 But if I am casting out the dæmons with the finger of God,
Then God's reign has already reached you.

[1] Reading ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός.
[2] Omitting ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καί.

21 When the mighty man, clad in full armour, is guarding his own
homestead,
His goods are undisturbed:
22 But when a mightier man attacks him and conquers him,
He seizes his full armour on which he relied, and divides up his
spoils.
23 Whoever is not with me is against me;
And whoever gathers not with me, is scattering.
24 When the unclean spirit leaves a man,
It passes through waterless places in search of rest,
And unable to find any, it says, 'I will turn back to my house
that I left';
25 And on coming finds it swept clean and in order:
26 Then it goes and fetches other spirits more hurtful than itself, whole
seven of them,
And entering there they dwell—and that man's last state
becomes worse than his first."
27 Now it came to pass, while he was saying this, that a woman raised
her voice out of the crowd and said to him, "Happy the womb that
28 bore thee! and the breasts that thou didst suck!" And he said, "Happy,
29 rather, those who hear the word of God and observe it!" Now
as the crowds thronged together, he began to say:
"This generation is an evil generation—it requires a sign,
Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah:
30 For as Jonah proved a sign to the Ninevites,
So too shall the Son of man be to this generation.
31 The queen of the South shall rise up at the judgment along with
the men of this generation and condemn them;
For she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of
Solomon—
And lo, a greater than Solomon is here!
32 The men of Nineveh shall stand up at the judgment along with this
generation and condemn it;
For they repented at the preaching of Jonah—
And lo, a greater than Jonah is here!
33 No man, after setting light to a lamp, puts it in a cellar or under
the bushel,
But on the lampstand, that those who enter may see the light.
34 The lamp of the body is thine eye.
When thine eye is sound, then thy whole body is lit up:
But so soon as it is diseased, then thy whole body is darkened.
35 See to it then, lest the light that is in thee be not darkness.
36 If then thy whole body be lit up, with no part darkened, it shall
be wholly lit up,
As when the lamp lights thee with its gleam."
37 Now after he had spoken, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him; so
38 he went in and lay down. And when the Pharisee saw it, he was
39 astonished that he had not first washed before dinner. But the Lord said
to him,
"Here now! you Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and the
dish,
40 But your inside is filled with plunder and malice.
Senseless men! did not he who made the outside make the inside
also?

41 [Only, give the contents as alms—and lo, all things are clean
to you!]
42 But woe to you Pharisees!
For you tithe mint and rue and every vegetable,
And disregard justice and the love of God:
Now these you ought to have practised—without neglecting the
former.
43 Woe to you Pharisees! for you like the chief seat in the synagogues
and the salutations in the marketplaces.
44 Woe to you! for you are like unsuspected tombs,
And people who walk over them are unaware of it."
45 One of the lawyers says to him in reply, "Teacher, in saying this thou
46 art insulting even us!" He said:
"Woe even to you lawyers! for you load men with irksome burdens,
Yet you touch not the burdens with one of your own fingers.
47 Woe to you! for you build the tombs of the prophets,
Yet your fathers killed them.
48 So then to your fathers' deeds you bear witness and consent:
For they killed them,
While you build their tombs!
49 Wherefore the Wisdom of God also said, 'I will send to them
prophets and apostles:
And some of them shall they kill and persecute—
50 That the blood of all the prophets shed from the foundation of the
world may be exacted from this generation,
51 From the blood of Abel down to the blood of Zachariah, who
perished between the altar and the House':
Yes, I tell you, from this generation shall it be exacted.
52 Woe to you lawyers! for you have taken away the key of know-
ledge:
You have not entered yourselves, and you have hindered those
who were entering."
53 And after he had gone away from here, the scribes and the Pharisees
began to press him keenly and to cross-examine him on many subjects,
54 lying in ambush to catch some word out of his lips.
12 1 Meanwhile, as the crowd was gathering in its thousands, so that they
were trampling on one another, he began to say to his disciples first of all:
"Take heed to yourselves and avoid the leaven of the Pharisees,
It is hypocrisy.
2 Nothing is covered up that shall not be disclosed,
Or hidden that shall not be known:
3 Since all that you have said in the darkness shall be taught in the
light,
And what you have whispered in the inner chambers shall be
proclaimed upon the housetops.
4 I tell you, my friends,
Fear not those who kill the body,
And after that can do nothing further.
5 I will let you know whom to fear:
Fear him who, after he has killed,
Has power to throw into Gehenna—
Yes, I tell you, fear him.
6 Are not five sparrows sold for twopence?
Yet not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God.

7 Nay, even the hairs of your head are all numbered :
Fear not, you are worth more than many sparrows.
8 I tell you,
Everyone who confesses me before men,
The Son of man also shall confess him before the angels of God :
9 But he who disowns me in the sight of men,
Shall be disowned in the sight of the angels of God.
10 Everyone also who speaks a word against the Son of man,
Shall be forgiven :
But for him who blasphemes against the holy Spirit,
There shall be no forgiveness.
11 Now when they bring you before the synagogues and the magistrates and the authorities,
Be not anxious how or what shall be your defence, or what you shall say :
12 For in that very hour the holy Spirit shall teach you what you ought to say."
13 And a man out of the crowd said to him, "Teacher, tell my brother
14 to share the inheritance with me." But he said to him, "Man, who made
15 me a judge or arbitrator over you?" And he said to them :
"See and keep yourselves clear of every form of covetousness ;
For it is not in a man's wealth—in his goods—that his life consists."
16 And he told them a parable, saying, "A certain rich man's ground
17 bore fertile crops. And he began to argue to himself, 'What am I to do?
18 I have no room to store my crops!' And he said, 'I will do this. I will pull down my granaries and build larger ones ; so shall I store all my
19 produce and my goods. Then I will say to my soul, "Soul, thou hast many goods laid up for many a year ; take a rest, eat, drink, and be
20 merry."' But God said to him, 'Senseless man! this very night thy life is demanded from thee ; and who will get all that thou hast prepared?'
21 So it is with the man who stores treasure for himself, instead of being rich toward God."
22 And he said to his disciples : "Therefore I tell you,
Be not anxious for the life, about what you are to eat,
Nor yet for the body, about what you are to wear :
23 For life is more than food,
And the body than raiment.
24 Mark the ravens :
They neither sow nor reap,
Nor have they storehouse or granary,
Yet God feeds them.
How much more are you worth than birds!
25 Which of you can add an ell to his stature by anxiety?
26 If then you are unable even for a trifle, why be anxious about the rest?
27 Mark how the lilies grow! they toil not, neither do they spin :
Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his grandeur was not robed like one of these.
28 Now if God thus arrays the grass in the field, which lives to-day and is thrown to-morrow into the oven,
O men of little faith, how much more shall he array you?
29 Seek not then what to eat and what to drink, tossed with disquiet.
30 For these things crave all the nations of the world ;
And your Father knows that you require these things.

31 Nay, seek his reign,
And you shall have these things added besides.
32 Fear not, little flock:
For it is your Father's good pleasure to grant you the Reign.
33 Sell your goods and give alms;
Make yourselves purses that will not wear out,
Treasure unfailing in the heavens,
Where no thief draws near and no moth destroys.
34 For where your treasure is,
There shall your heart be also.
35 Let your loins be ready girt and your lamps burning;
36 And be you like men waiting for their lord's return from the marriage-feast;
That when he comes and knocks, they may open to him at once.
37 Happy those slaves whom the lord, when he comes, shall find watching!
I tell you truly, he shall gird himself and make them lie down and come forward to serve them.
38 Be it in the second, be it in the third watch, that he comes and finds them thus,
Happy are they!
39 Now be sure of this; had the master of the house known at what hour the thief was coming,
He would have been on the alert, and would not have let his house be broken into.
40 Be you also ready;
For in an unexpected hour the Son of man is coming."
41 Peter said, "Lord, is it for us thou art speaking this parable, or for
42 all men besides?" And the Lord said, "Well, who is the faithful, shrewd steward, whom his owner shall appoint over his establishment
43 to give out the supplies in due season? Happy that slave whom his
44 owner shall find so doing when he comes! I tell you distinctly, he will
45 appoint him over all he has. But if that slave says in his heart, 'My owner delays to come,' and shall start to beat the slaves and the maid-
46 servants, and to eat and drink and get drunk, the owner of that slave shall come in a day when he does not look for him, and in an hour when he does not know, and shall cut him in two, and assign his part among the faithless.
47 That slave who knew his owner's will, yet did not make ready or do as he willed,
Shall be flogged with many lashes:
48 But he who did not know and did what deserves stripes,
Shall be flogged with few lashes.
Everyone who has much given him
Shall have much required from him:
And he to whom men have entrusted much,
From him shall they demand the more.
49 I came to throw fire upon the earth,
And how I wish it were already kindled!
50 I have a baptism to undergo,
And what distress I suffer till it be accomplished!
51 Do you suppose I am here to give peace on earth?
Nay, I tell you, nothing but dissension.

52 For from this time there shall be five in one household divided,
Three against two and two against three shall be divided,
53 Father against son, and *son against father*,
Mother against daughter, and *daughter against mother*,
Mother-in-law against[1] daughter-in-law, and *daughter-in-law against mother-in-law*."
54 He said also to the crowds,
"When you see a cloud rise in the west, you say at once, 'A shower is coming,' and so it is:
55 And when you see the south wind blow, you say, 'It will be scorching heat,' and heat it is.
56 Hypocrites! you can read the appearance of the earth and of the sky,
But how is it you know not the way to read the present time? . . .
57 And why not decide what is right, even by yourselves?
58 Aye, as thou goest with thine opponent before the magistrate, try hard to get quit of him on the road,
Lest he drag thee to the judge; then the judge will deliver thee to the jailer, and the jailer will throw thee into prison:
59 I tell thee, thou shalt not leave that place, till thou hast paid the very last farthing."
13 1 Now at that very time some people had come and told him about the
2 Galilaeans whose blood Pilate had mixed with their sacrifices. And he answered and said to them,
"Do you think those Galilaeans are shown to have been sinners beyond all the Galilaeans, because they have suffered thus?
3 Not so, I tell you.
Nay, unless you repent, you shall all perish likewise.
4 Or those eighteen men whom the tower at Siloam fell upon and killed?
Do you think they are shown to have been debtors beyond all the men dwelling in Jerusalem?
5 Not so, I tell you.
Nay, unless you repent,[2] you shall all perish in like manner."
6 And he spoke this parable: "A certain man had a fig-tree planted in
7 his vineyard; and he came in search of fruit on it, but found none. So he said to the vinedresser, 'Here have I come three years in search of fruit on this fig-tree and found none! Cut it down. Why should it
8 cumber the ground at all?' He says to him in reply, 'Sir, leave it alone
9 for this year as well, until I dig round it and put in manure. Then if it bears fruit next season, all right. Otherwise, thou shalt have it cut down.'"
10 Now he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath-day.
11 And behold, there was a woman with a spirit of debility for eighteen years; indeed she was bent double and quite unable to raise herself.
12 When Jesus saw her, he addressed her and said, "Woman, thou art
13 released from thy debility." Then he laid his hands upon her, and
14 instantly she was straightened and began to magnify God. Now the president of the synagogue was indignant that Jesus had healed on the sabbath; and in reply he proceeded to say to the crowd, "There are six days on which work ought to be done; come therefore and get healed on
15 them, instead of on the sabbath-day." But the Lord answered him and said, "Hypocrites! does not each of you on the sabbath loose his ox or

[1] Omitting *αὐτῆς*. [2] Reading *μετανοῆτε*.

16 ass from the stall, and lead it away to drink? This woman, a daughter
of Abraham, whom Satan has bound for these eighteen years, ought she
17 not to have been loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?" And as he
said this, all his adversaries were put to shame; but all the crowd rejoiced
18 at all the splendid things he did. So he went on to say:
19 "What is God's reign like? And to what shall I compare it? It is like
a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and put into his garden; then
it grew up and became a tree, and *the birds of the air rested in its branches.*"
20, 21 And again he said, "To what shall I compare God's reign? It is like
leaven, which a woman took and hid in three pecks of wheaten flour, till
the whole was leavened."
22 And he passed through the cities and villages one after another,
23 teaching, as he made his way to Jerusalem. Now a certain man said to
him, "Lord, are the saved few?" And he said to them,
24 "Strive hard to enter by the narrow gate:
For many, I tell you, will seek to enter and be powerless.
25 When once the master of the house has risen up and shut fast the
door,
And you begin to stand outside and knock at the door, saying,
'Open to us, Lord!'
He shall answer and say to you, 'I know not where you come
from.'
26 Then shall you begin to say, 'We ate and drank in thy presence,
and thou hast taught in our streets!'
27 And he shall say, "I tell you, I know not where you come from:
depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.
28 There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth,
When you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets
in God's realm,
And yourselves thrown outside.
29 Yea, they shall come *from east and west* and from north and south,
And recline in God's realm.
30 And lo, there are last who shall be first,
And there are first who shall be last."
31 At that very hour some Pharisees came and said to him, "Away, leave
32 this place! for Herod intends to kill thee." But he said to them, "Go
and tell that fox, 'behold, I cast out daemons and perform cures to-day and
33 to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected!' But to-day and
to-morrow and the day following I must go upon my way; for it cannot
be that a prophet perish outside Jerusalem.
34 Jerusalem, Jerusalem! slayer of the prophets and stoner of those sent
to her!
How often would I have gathered thy children together,
Even as a fowl her brood beneath her wings—and you would not!
35 Lo, *your House is abandoned to yourselves!*
I tell[1] you, you shall not see me till[2] you say,
'*Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.*'"
14 1 And it came to pass when he went into the house of one of the rulers
of the Pharisees to take a meal on a sabbath, that they watched him
2 narrowly. And behold, there was in front of him a man with dropsy.
3 And Jesus addressed the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, "Is it right to
4 heal on the sabbath, or not?" They held their peace. Then Jesus took
5 hold of him, cured him, and sent him away. And he said to them,

[1] Omitting [[δέ]]. [2] Omitting [[ἥξει ὅτε]].

"Which of you, when a son or an ox has fallen into a well, will not
6 immediately draw him up on a sabbath-day?" And they could not
7 dispute this. Now he went on to speak this parable to those who
had been invited, when he observed how they selected the chief seats; he
said to them,
8 "When thou art invited by anyone to a marriage-feast,
Do not recline in the chief seat, lest perhaps he has invited some
one of higher rank than thyself;
9 Then he who invited you both shall come and say to thee,
'Make room for this man,'
And then thou shalt start with shame to take the lowest place.
10 Nay, when thou art invited,
Go and lie down in the lowest place;
That when he who has invited thee comes, he may say to thee,
'Friend, come higher up'—
Then shalt thou have honour in the presence of all thy
fellow-guests.
11 For everyone who raises himself shall be humbled,
And he who humbles himself shall be raised."
12 He also went on to say to the man who had invited him,
"When thou givest a dinner or a supper,
Bid not thy friends or thy brothers or thy kinsfolk or thy rich
neighbours;
Lest perhaps they too invite thee in return,
And so thou be repaid.
13 Nay, when thou givest a banquet,
Invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind,
14 And thou shalt be happy. For they are unable to repay thee;
Thou shalt be repaid at the resurrection of the just."
15 Now on hearing this, one of his fellow-guests said to him, "Happy the
16 man who takes his meal in the realm of God!" But he said to him,
"A certain man was giving a large supper, and had invited many
17 people. And at the hour for the supper, he despatched his slave to bid
18 those who had been invited, 'Come, for things are ready now.' Then all
alike started to decline. The first said to him, 'I have bought a field,
and I require to go and look at it. I pray thee to consider me excused.'
19 And another said, 'I have bought five pair of oxen, and I am on my way
20 to try them. I pray thee to consider me excused.' And another said, 'I
21 have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.' So the slave went
and reported this to his owner. Then in anger the master of the house
said to his slave, 'Go out quickly into the streets and thoroughfares of
the city, and bring in here the poor and disabled and blind and lame.'
22 And the slave said, 'Sir, thy order has been carried out; yet still there is
23 room.' And the owner said to the slave, 'Go out to the roads and hedges,
24 and compel people to come in; that my house may be filled. For I tell
you, not one of those men who were invited shall taste my supper.'"
25 Now large crowds were journeying along with him; and he turned
and said to them,
26 "If anyone comes to me and hates not his father and mother and
wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes and his own
life also,
He cannot be my disciple.
27 And he who does not carry his own cross and come after me,
Cannot be my disciple.

28 For which of you, wishing to build a tower, does not sit down first
and count up the expense,
To see if he has money to complete it?—
29 In case, after he has laid the foundation and lacked means to finish,
30 all the spectators begin to mock him, saying,
'This man began to build, but he lacked means to finish.'
31 Or what king, on starting to encounter another king in battle,
will not sit down first and deliberate
Whether he is able with ten thousand men to meet him who is
coming against him with twenty thousand?
32 And if not—when the other is still far away,
He sends an embassy and negotiates [1] for peace.
33 So then everyone of you who does not part with all his goods,
Cannot be my disciple.
34 Yes, salt is a capital thing.
But if even salt has lost its savour,
Wherewith shall it be seasoned?
35 It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill:
Men throw it out.
He who has ears to hear, let him hear."

15 1 Now all the tax-gatherers and the sinners were drawing near him to
2 listen to him. But the Pharisees and the scribes were complaining,
3 "This man is receiving sinners and eating along with them!" So he told
them this parable:
4 "What man of you," said he, "who has a hundred sheep and has
lost one of them,
Does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness and go after the
lost one till he finds it?
5 And after finding it, he lays it on his shoulders rejoicing;
6 And on coming home he calls his friends and neighbours together,
saying to them,
'Rejoice with me, for I have found my lost sheep.'
7 I tell you, so shall there be joy in heaven over one sinner who
repents,
More than over ninety-nine upright people who have no need of
repentance.
8 Or, what woman with ten drachmae—if she has lost one drachma,
Does not set light to a lamp and sweep the house clean and search
diligently until she finds it?
9 And after finding it, she calls her women-friends and neighbours
together, saying,
'Rejoice with me, for I have found the drachma which I lost.'
10 So, I tell you, joy rises in the presence of the angels of God over
one sinner who repents."

11,12 And he said, "A certain man had two sons. And the younger of them
said to his father, 'Father, give me that portion of the property which
13 falls to me.' So he divided his livelihood for them. And not many days
afterwards the younger son sold off everything and went abroad to a
distant country, where he squandered his property by a profligate life.
14 Now when he had spent everything, a severe famine set in throughout
15 that country; and he began to feel in want. And he went and attached
himself to one of the citizens of that country, who sent him into his fields
16 to feed swine. And fain would he have filled himself with the bean-pods

[1] Omitting τὰ.

17 that the swine were eating; yet no one gave him anything. So on coming
to himself he said, 'How many of my father's hired servants have bread
18 enough and to spare, while I am perishing here with hunger! I will rise
and go to my father and say to him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven
19 and before thee. I am no longer worthy to be called thy son: make me
20 like one of thy hired servants."' And he rose and went to his father.
Now, while he was still far away, his father saw him; and moved with
21 compassion, he ran, fell upon his neck, and kissed him fondly. But the
son said to him, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.
22 I am no longer worthy to be called thy son.' And the father said to his
slaves, 'Quick, bring the best robe and put it on him! And give him a
23 ring for his hand and sandals for his feet! And bring the fattened calf,
24 kill it, and let us eat and make merry! For my son here was dead and
has come back to life, was lost and has been found.' And they began to
25 make merry. Now his elder son was in the field. And when he came
26 and drew near to the house, he heard music and dancing; and summoning
27 one of the servants he enquired what was the meaning of this. And he
said to him, 'Thy brother has come; and thy father has killed the fattened
28 calf, because he has got him back safe and sound.' Now he got angry
and would not go in. And his father went out and sought to appease
29 him. But he answered and said: 'Look at all the years I have served
thee, and never disregarded a command of thine! Yet thou hast never
30 given me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends. But when
thy son has come—this fellow who has wasted thy livelihood with harlots
31 —thou hast killed the fattened calf for him!' He said to him, 'My
32 son, thou art always with me, and all that is mine is thine. It behoved
us to make merry and rejoice, for thy brother here was dead and has
16 1 become alive; though lost, he has been found.'" And he went
on also to say to his disciples: "There was a rich man who had a steward,
2 and this steward was accused to him of squandering his goods. So he
called him and said to him, 'What is this I hear about thee? Give in the
statement of thy stewardship, for thou canst not be steward any longer.'
3 Now the steward said to himself, 'What am I to do, seeing that my owner
is taking the stewardship away from me? To dig I have no strength, to
4 beg I am ashamed.—I know what I will do, so that, when I am deposed
5 from the stewardship, people may admit me to their houses!' Then
summoning every single one of his owner's debtors, he proceeded to say to
6 the first, 'How much art thou owing to my owner?' and he said, 'A
hundred barrels of oil.' And he said to him, 'Here, take thy bond, sit
7 down at once and write fifty instead.' Then he said to another, 'And
how much art thou owing?' And he said, 'A hundred quarters of
wheat.' He says to him, 'Here, take thy bond and write eighty instead.'
8 And the owner praised the dishonest steward because he had acted
shrewdly;—for the sons of this world are more shrewd in dealing with
9 their own generation than are the sons of the light. And I tell you,

Make friends for yourselves with the mammon of dishonesty;
So that when it fails, they may admit you to the eternal tents.

10 He who is faithful in what is least, is faithful also in what is great;
And he who is honest in what is least, is dishonest also in what
is great.

11 If then you have not proved faithful in the dishonest mammon,
Who will trust you with the true?

12 And if you have not proved faithful in what is another's,
Who will give you what is your own?

13 No servant can serve two masters :
For either he will hate the one and love the other,
Or else he will hold to one and despise the other.
You cannot serve God and Mammon."
14 Now the Pharisees, who were money-lovers, were listening to all this
15 and sneering at him. So he said to them,
"You are the people who justify themselves in the sight of men,
But God knows your hearts :
For what is high in human view,
Is in the sight of God abomination. . . .
16 The law and the prophets lasted until John ;
From that time the glad tidings of God's reign are preached,
And everyone storms his way in. . . .
17 But it is easier for sky and earth to pass away,
Than for one upstroke of a letter in the law to fail. . . .
18 Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery,
And he who marries a woman divorced from her husband commits adultery. . . .
19 Now there was a rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine
20 linen, enjoying a sumptuous life from day to day. And a poor man
21 named Lazarus lay at his gateway : he was a mass of ulcers, and fain to
fill himself with what fell from the rich man's table ; yes, even the dogs
22 used to come and lick his ulcers. Now it came to pass that the poor man
died and was carried away by the angels into the bosom of Abraham.
23 The rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his
eyes, tormented as he was, and sees Abraham far off with Lazarus in his
24 bosom. And he cried aloud and said, 'Father Abraham, have pity on
me, and send Lazarus to dip his finger-tip in water and cool my tongue,
25 for I am in anguish in this flame!' But Abraham said, 'My son,
remember thou didst get all thy good in thy lifetime, and Lazarus likewise his evil :
Now he is in comfort here, and thou in anguish.
26 And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm is fixed,
So that those who would pass from here to you may not be able,
Nor may any [1] cross from there to us.'
27 And he said, 'Then I pray thee, father, send him to my father's
28 house—for I have five brothers—that he may bear testimony to them, so
29 that they may not come to this place of torment too.' But Abraham
says, 'They have Moses and the prophets, let them listen to them.'
30 'Nay, father Abraham,' says he, 'but if some one were to go to them
31 from the dead, they would repent.' But he said to him,
'If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets,
They will not be persuaded, not even were one to rise from the dead.'"
17 1 And he said to his disciples,
"It is inevitable that hindrances should come,
But woe to him through whom they come!
2 It would be gain for him were a millstone fastened round his neck, and were he tossed into the sea,
Rather than be a hindrance to one of these little ones!
3 Take heed to yourselves.
If thy brother sins, rebuke him :
And if he repents, forgive him.

[1] Omitting [[ἐκ]].

4 And if he sins against thee seven times in the day,
And turns back to thee seven times, saying, 'I repent,'
Thou shalt forgive him."
5, 6 And the apostles said to the Lord, "Give us more faith." Said the Lord,
"Had you faith like a grain of mustard-seed,
You had said to this mulberry-tree, 'Be rooted up and planted in the sea,'
And it would have obeyed you!
7 Now which of you is there who has a slave ploughing or shepherding,
and will say to him when he comes from the field, 'Come forward at
8 once; lie down and eat'? Will he not rather say to him, 'Get something ready for my supper, and gird thyself and wait upon me while I
9 eat and drink; then after that thou shalt eat and drink thyself'? Does
10 he give thanks to the slave for doing as he was instructed? So too with yourselves—
When you have done all as you were instructed, say, 'We are useless slaves,
We have merely done what we were bound to do.'"

11 And it came to pass on the journey to Jerusalem that he passed
12 between Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered a certain village, there
13 came to meet him ten lepers, who stood at a distance and lifted up their
14 voice, saying, "Jesus, chief, have pity on us!" And on seeing them he said to them, "Go and *show* yourselves *to the priests*." And it came to
15 pass, while they were on the way, they were made clean. Now one of them, on seeing he was cured, returned, magnifying God with a loud
16 voice; and he fell on his face at his feet giving him thanks. And he
17 was a Samaritan. Jesus answered and said, "Were the ten not made
18 clean? Where[1] are the nine? Is there no one to return and do honour
19 to God except this foreigner?" And he said to him, "Rise and go: thy faith has restored thee."
20 Now, on being questioned by the Pharisees when God's reign was to come, he answered them and said:
"God's reign comes not by way of observation,
21 Nor shall men say, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'There!'
Why, here is God's reign among you!"
22 And he said to his disciples:
"Days will come when you would fain see one of the days of the Son of man,
Yet you shall not see it.
23 And men will say to you, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'Lo, there it is!'—
Go not after them, nor follow them.
24 For as the lightning shoots and gleams from one side of the sky to the other,
So shall the Son of man be[2].
25 (But first he must suffer much and be rejected by this generation.)
26 And even as it was in the days of Noah,
So shall it be also in the days of the Son of man:
27 They were eating, drinking, marrying, giving in marriage,
Up to the day that *Noah entered the ark*,
Then came the deluge and destroyed them all.
28 Likewise, even as it was in the days of Lot:

[1] Omitting [[δι]]. [2] Omitting ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.

They were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, building,
29 But on the day when Lot went out of Sodom,
It rained fire and brimstone from the sky and destroyed them all;
30 In the same way shall it be on the day when the Son of man
is revealed.
31 **On that day let not him who is on the housetop, with his goods inside**
the house, go down to get them;
32 **And likewise let not him who is in the field** *turn back.* (Remember
Lot's wife.)
33 Whoever shall seek to possess his life,
Shall lose it,
And whoever shall lose it,
Shall preserve it.
34 I tell you, two men shall be in one bed upon that night,
The one shall be taken and the other shall be left:
35 Two women shall be grinding together,
The one shall be taken and the other shall be left."
37 Then they answer and say to him, "Where, Lord?" He said to them,
"Where the body lies,
The vultures also will be gathered there."
18 1 And he spoke a parable to them upon the need of always praying and
2 never losing heart. "There was a judge in a certain city," he said, "who
3 had no fear of God or reverence for man. And in that city there was
a widow; and she used to come to him, saying, 'Grant me protection
4 from my opponent.' Yet for some time he would not. Afterwards,
however, he said to himself, 'Although I have no fear of God nor even
5 reverence for man, yet since this widow disturbs me I will give her pro-
6 tection—that she may not plague me by for ever coming.'" And the Lord
said, "Listen to what the unjust judge says!
7 Now, shall not God vindicate his chosen ones who cry to him day and night,
Though to their foes he is longsuffering?
8 I tell you, he will vindicate them speedily—
Yet, when the Son of man comes, shall he find faith upon earth?"
9 He also told this parable to some who were confident of their own
10 uprightness and despised all other people. "Two men went up to the
11 temple to pray; one was a Pharisee, and the other a tax-gatherer. The
Pharisee stood and began to pray by himself, as follows: 'O God, I give
thanks to thee that I am not like the rest of men—extortioners, unjust,
12 adulterers—or even like this tax-gatherer: I fast twice a week, I pay
13 tithes upon all my income.' But the tax-gatherer stood far off and would
not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but kept beating his breast, saying,
14 'O God, be gracious to me the sinner!' I tell you, this man went down
to his house justified more than the other man;
For every one who raises himself shall be humbled,
But he who humbles himself shall be raised."
15 Now people were bringing him even their infants that he might
16 touch them. On seeing it the disciples kept rebuking them, but Jesus
called them to him, saying,
"Let the little children come to me, and forbid them not,
for of such is the reign of God.
17 I tell you truly, whoever shall not receive the reign of God like a
little child,
shall not enter it."
18 And a certain president questioned him, saying, "Good teacher, what

19 shall I do to inherit life eternal?" Jesus said to him, "Why call me
20 'good'? No one is good, except God [1] alone. Thou knowest the commandments: *Do not commit adultery, do not murder, do not steal, do not*
21 *bear false witness, honour thy father and mother.*" He said, "All these
22 have I observed from youth." Now on hearing this Jesus said to him, "One thing thou lackest. Sell all that ever thou hast and distribute to poor people; so shalt thou have treasure in the heavens. Then come,
23 follow me." But when he heard this he grew very sorrowful; for he was
24 enormously rich. So looking at him, Jesus said, "With what difficulty shall the wealthy enter God's reign!

25 It is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye,
Than for a rich man to enter God's reign."

26, 27 And those who heard him said, "Then who can be saved?" Jesus
28 said, "What is impossible with men is possible with God." Said Peter,
29 "Lo, we have left what belonged to us and followed thee!" And he said to them, "I tell you truly; there is no man who leaves house or wife or brothers or parents or children for the sake of God's reign,
30 who shall not get back in this time manifold more; and in the age to come, life eternal."

31 Then he took the twelve aside and said to them, "Lo, we are going up to Jerusalem, and all that has been written for the Son of man through
32 the prophets shall be accomplished; for he shall be delivered to the
33 Gentiles, mocked, ill-treated, spit upon; they shall scourge him and kill
34 him. Yet on the third day he shall rise again." But of this they understood nothing; indeed this saying was hidden from them, and they did not know what was said.

35 Now it came to pass, while he was drawing near to Jericho, a blind
36 man sat by the roadside, begging. And as he heard a crowd passing
37 along he began to enquire what was the matter. So they told him that
38 Jesus the Nazarene was passing. Then he cried, saying, "Jesus, son of
39 David, have pity on me!" And those who were walking in front admonished him to keep silence, but he cried out all the more, "Son of
40 David, have pity on me!" So Jesus stood still and ordered him to be
41 brought to him. When he came near, he questioned him, "What wilt thou have me do to thee?" "Lord," he said, "let me regain my sight."
42, 43 Then Jesus said to him, "Thy faith has restored thee." And instantly he regained his sight and followed him, magnifying God. And all the people gave praise to God when they saw it.

19 1, 2 And he entered and went on his way through Jericho. And behold,
there was a man called by the name of Zacchaeus; he was head of the
3 tax-gatherers, and a rich man. And he sought to see who Jesus was, but
4 could not for the crowd, because he was small of stature. So running on in front of him, he climbed up into a sycamore-tree to see him; because he
5 was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the spot, he looked up
6 and said to him, "Zacchaeus, make haste and come down; I must stay at
7 thy house to-day." Then he made haste and came down and welcomed
8 him with joy. And on seeing it, everyone began to complain, "He has gone in to lodge with a sinner!" But Zacchaeus stood and said to the Lord, "Behold, I will give the half of my goods to the poor, Lord; and whatever I have defrauded anyone of, by a false charge, I will give it back
9 fourfold!" Jesus said to him, "Salvation has come to this house to-day,
10 seeing that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came *to seek* and save *what has been lost.*"

[1] Omitting [[ὁ]].

11 Now as they listened to this he went on to tell a parable, since he was
near Jerusalem, and since they imagined God's reign was to be instantly
12 made visible. So he said, "A certain man of high birth journeyed to
a distant country to obtain royal power for himself and then return.
13 So he called ten of his slaves, gave them forty pounds, and said to them,
14 'Trade till I come back.' Now his citizens hated him; and they sent
an embassy after him to say, 'We will not have this fellow to reign over
15 us.' And it came to pass when he came back again after obtaining the
royal power, he bade those slaves be called to him, who had been given
16 the money, that he might ascertain what business they had done. The
first came up, saying, 'Sir, thy four pounds have earned forty pounds more.'
17 And he said to him, 'Good slave, capital! because thou hast proved
18 faithful in a small matter, receive authority over ten cities.' Then came
19 the second, saying, 'Thy four pounds, sir, have made twenty pounds.' And
20 he said to this man also, 'Be thou promoted also over five cities.' And
the other came, saying, 'There are thy four pounds, sir. I kept them
21 laid away in a napkin. For I was afraid of thee, because thou art an
exacting man—thou dost lift what thou hast not laid down, and reapest
22 what thou hast not sown.' He says to him, 'Out of thine own lips I
will judge thee, O wicked slave. Thou didst know that I was an exact-
ing man, lifting what I have not laid down, and reaping what I have not
23 sowed! Then why didst thou not put my money into the bank?—and
24 then I could have gone and claimed it with interest.' And he said to
the bystanders, 'Take the four pounds from him, and give them to him
25 who has the forty pounds.' And they said to him, 'Lord, he has forty
26 pounds already!' 'I tell you,

To every one who has,
Shall be given;
But from him who has not,
Even what he has shall be taken.

27 But, as for those enemies of mine who would not have me to reign
over them,
Bring them here and slaughter them before me.'"

28, 29 And saying this he went forward on his way up to Jerusalem. And
it came to pass when he drew nigh Bethphagê and Bethany, at the hill
30 called "the olive orchard," he despatched two of his disciples, saying, "Go
into the village opposite. On entering you shall find tied in it a colt on
which no man has yet sat; then, after you have untied it, bring it here.
31 And if anyone asks you, 'Why are you untying it?' you shall say this,
32 'The Lord needs it.' So the messengers went off and found exactly as
33 he had told them. As they were untying the colt, its owners said to
34 them, "Why are you untying the colt?" They said, "The Lord needs
35 it." Then they brought it to Jesus, and after throwing their garments on
36 the colt, they mounted Jesus upon it. Now as he went along, people spread
37 their garments beneath him on the road. And when he was now close
to the descent of the hill of Olives, all the multitude of the disciples
began to extol God joyfully with a loud voice, for all the miracles they
38 had seen; saying,

"*Blessed is he who comes*
As king *in the name of the Lord!*
Peace in heaven,
And honour in the highest!"

39 And some of the Pharisees said to him from the crowd, "Teacher,
40 rebuke thy disciples." But in reply he said, "I tell you, if they keep

41 silence, the very stones will shout." And when he drew nigh,
42 he saw the city, and wept over it, saying,
"O that thou hadst known what makes for peace!—Even thou,
even at this day!
—But, ah, it is hidden from thine eyes—
43 For days will come upon thee,
When thine enemies will throw up an earthwork round thee, and
encircle thee, and besiege thee on every side,
44 When *they will raze* thee and *thy children* within thee to the ground,
When they shall not leave one stone upon another within thee,
Because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."
45, 46 Then he entered the temple and started to drive out the sellers, saying
to them, "It is written,
And my house shall be a house of prayer;
But you have made it *a den of robbers!*"
47 And day by day he taught in the temple. The high priests and the scribes
48 and the leading men of the people made efforts to destroy him; yet they could
not discover what was to be done, for the people all hung upon his lips.
20 1 And it came to pass one day as he was teaching the people in the
temple and preaching the glad tidings, the high priests and the scribes
2 accompanied by the elders came up to him. "Tell us," they said to him,
"by what sort of authority art thou acting thus? Or who is it that gave
3 thee this authority?" Jesus answered and said to them, "I will ask you
4 a question myself; tell me now, Was the baptism of John from heaven or
5 from men?" And they reasoned to themselves: "If we say, 'From heaven,'
6 he will say to us, 'Why did you not believe him?' But if we say, 'From
men,' the people will all stone us; for they are persuaded that John was a
7 prophet." So they replied that they did not know where it was from.
8 Then Jesus said to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority
9 I am acting thus." And he started to speak this parable to the
people: "A man *planted a vineyard*, and after leasing it to vinedressers
10 he went abroad for a considerable time. And in due season he despatched
a slave to the vinedressers that they might give him some of the fruit of the
vineyard; but the vinedressers flogged him and dismissed him empty-
11 handed. Then he proceeded to send another slave; but him also they
12 flogged, insulted, and dismissed empty-handed. Then he proceeded
13 to send a third; but this one also they wounded and threw out. So the
owner of the vineyard said, 'What am I to do? I will send my beloved
14 son; probably they will reverence him.' But when the vinedressers saw
him, they argued one with another, saying, 'This is the heir; let us kill
15 him, to get the inheritance.' So they threw him outside the vineyard and
killed him. What therefore will the owner of the vineyard do to them?
16 He will come and destroy these vinedressers, and give the vineyard to
17 others." And when they heard it, they said, "God forbid!" He looked
at them and said, "Then what is this that has been written—
The stone which the builders rejected,
This is made head of the corner?
18 Everyone who falls upon that stone shall be shattered,
And it shall crush to pieces whomsoever it falls upon."
19 And at that very hour the scribes and the high priests tried to lay
hands on him (yet they feared the people), for they knew it was against
20 them that he had told his parable. So watching their chance, they
despatched spies, who posed as upright men, to lay hold of what he said;
so that they could deliver him up to the magistrate and to the authority of

21 the procurator. And they questioned him, saying, "Teacher, we know
thou speakest and teachest correctly, and regardest not the person of any-
22 one, but teachest the way of God with truth. Is it right for us to pay
23 tribute to Caesar, or not?" But he marked their craftiness, and said to
24 them, "Show me a denarius. Whose likeness and inscription does it
25 bear?" "Caesar's," they said. "Then," said he to them, "render to
Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."
26 And they were unable to lay hold of the saying before the people; so,
marvelling at his answer, they kept silence.

27 Now some of the Sadducees approached—those who say there is no
28 resurrection—and questioned him, saying, "Teacher, Moses wrote for us,
If a man's brother die married *and leave no children, his brother is to take his*
29 *widow and raise up offspring for his brother.* Well, there were seven
30 brothers. So the first took a wife, and died childless. Then the second
31 and the third took her, and likewise also the seven; they left no children
32, 33 when they died. Last of all the woman died also. At the resurrection,
then, whose wife will she be? For the seven of them had her as wife."
34 And Jesus said to them,

"The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage:

35 But those who are held worthy of attaining to that age and to
the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in
marriage;

36 Nor can they die any more, for they are equal to the angels,
And being sons of the resurrection they are sons of God.

37 And, that the dead are raised, even Moses intimated at the place of
'the Bush,' when he calls *the Lord 'God of Abraham, and God of Isaac,*
38 *and God of Jacob.*' Now God is God not of the dead but of the living;
39 for him they all live." And some of the scribes answered and said,
40 "Teacher, thou hast spoken ably"; for they no longer dared question
41 him at all. And he said to them, "How is it that they say
42 the Christ is David's son? For David himself says in the book of
psalms,

The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,

43 *Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.*'

44 David therefore calls him 'Lord.' Then how is he his son?"

45, 46 And in the hearing of all the people he said to the disciples, "Beware
of the scribes, who are fond of walking in long robes and like salutations
in the marketplaces and chief seats in the synagogues and chief places at
47 the suppers—men who devour widows' properties, and make long prayers
21 1 for a pretext. These men shall be more heavily sentenced." Now
on looking up he saw rich people putting their gifts into the treasury.
2, 3 Also, he saw a destitute widow putting in two farthings; and he said, "I
4 tell you distinctly, this poor widow has put in more than all of them. For
all these people put in a contribution out of their wealth; but out of her
want, she has put in all the livelihood she possessed."

5 And as some were speaking of the temple with its adornment of
6 splendid stones and votive offerings, he said, "As for these things that
you behold, days will come in which not one stone shall be left here upon
7 another, that shall not be thrown down." And they questioned him,
saying, "Teacher, when shall these things be, then? Also, what is the
8 sign when these things are to come to pass?" So he said,

"Take care that you are not led astray:

For many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am he,' and
'The time is near'—go not after them.

9 **And when you hear of wars and tumults, be not startled;**
For *these things must come to pass* first, but the end is not immediately."
10 Then he said to them,
"***Nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,***
11 **Great earthquakes shall there be, with famines and pestilences in place after place,**
Alarms there shall be, and great signs from the sky.
12 But ere all this they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you,
Delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons,
To drag you before kings and governors for my name's sake:
13 It will turn out a witness for you.
14 Resolve in your hearts then, not to draw up your defence beforehand,
15 For I myself will give you words and wisdom which your adversaries one and all shall be unable to withstand or to gainsay.
16 You shall be delivered up even by parents and brothers and kinsmen and friends,
And they shall have some of you put to death;
17 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake.
18 Yet not a hair from your head shall perish:
19 You shall win your souls as you endure.
20 **But when you see Jerusalem being surrounded by armies,**
Then know that her desolation is near.
21 **Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills,**
And let those who are in the midst of her take flight,
And let not those who are in the country enter her:
22 **For these are *days of Vengeance*, for the fulfilment of all that is written.**
23 **Woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those days!**
For there shall be great trouble on the earth, and for this people Wrath;
24 **They shall fall by the edge of the sword and be led captive among all the nations,**
25 **And *Jerusalem* shall be *trampled on by the Gentiles* until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.**
And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars,
And upon the earth misery of *nations* in perplexity at *the sound of sea* and *waves*,
26 **Men swooning away from fear and foreboding of what is to befall the world;**
For *the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.*
27 **And then shall they see *the Son of man coming in a cloud* with power and great majesty.**
28 But when these things begin to come to pass, be elated and raise your heads; for your release draws near."
29 And he told them a parable:
30 "Look at the fig-tree and indeed all the trees—as soon as they shoot out,
You see and know for yourselves that summer now is near;
31 So also, when you see this come to pass,
You know that God's reign is near.

32 I tell you truly, this generation shall not pass away
Till all come to pass;
33 Sky and earth shall pass away,
But shall never my words pass away.
34 Now take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts be overpowered with
debauch and drunkenness and anxieties of this life,
And that Day come upon you suddenly like *a snare;*
35 For come it will *upon* all *the inhabitants over* the surface of all *the earth.*
36 Be wakeful and pray at every season,
That you may succeed in escaping all this that shall come to pass,
And stand before the Son of man."
37 Now during the day he used to teach in the temple, but at night he
went out and passed the night on the hill which is called "the olive-
orchard." And early in the morning all the people used to resort to him
in the temple to listen to him.
22 1 Now the festival of unleavened bread drew near, which is called "the
2 passover"; and the high priests and the scribes sought how they could
3 slay him (for they feared the people). Then Satan entered Judas
4 who was called "Iskariot," one of the twelve; and he went off and con-
ferred with the high priests and commanders about how he could betray
5 him to them. And they were delighted, and consented to pay him
6 money. So he agreed and sought an opportune moment for betraying
him in the absence of the crowd.
7 Now the day of unleavened bread came, on which the passover lamb
8 had to be sacrificed; and he despatched Peter and John, saying, "Go and
9 make ready the paschal lamb that we may eat it." They said to him,
10 "Where wilt thou have us make ready?" He said to them, "Behold,
when you enter the city, a man shall meet you carrying a pitcher of
11 water; follow him into the house that he enters. And you shall say to
the master of the house, 'The teacher says to thee, "Where is the guest-
12 chamber where I may eat the paschal lamb with my disciples?"' And
he will show you a large upper room, spread with couches; make
13 ready there." So they went away and found it was exactly as he had
14 told them; and they made ready the passover. And when
15 the hour came he lay down, and the apostles with him. And he said
to them,
"Keenly have I desired to eat this passover with you before I
suffer:
16 For I tell you, I shall not eat it until it be fulfilled in God's reign."
17 And on receiving a cup, he gave thanks and said,
"Take this and distribute it among yourselves:
18 For I tell you I shall not drink of the produce of the vine from this
moment, till God's reign come."
19 Then he took bread, and after giving thanks he broke it and gave to
them, saying, "This is my body [[which is given for you: do this in
20 memory of me." Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, "This cup
21 is the new *covenant* in my *blood*, which is poured out for you]]. But lo,
22 the hand of my betrayer is with me on the table! For the Son of man
departs as it has been determined; but woe to that man through whom
23 he is betrayed!" And they began to discuss with themselves, which of
24 them it could be who was about to do this. A contention also
got up among them, as to which of them was looked up to as the greatest.
25 So he said to them,
"The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them,

And those who exercise authority over them take the name of
'benefactors':
26 Not so with you.
Nay, let him who is greatest among you
Be as the youngest,
And he who is chief
As one who serves.
27 For which is greater, guest or servant?
Is it not the guest?
And I am in the midst of you
As one who serves.
28 You are the men who have remained with me throughout my
trials;
29 And I assign you, even as my Father has assigned me, regal
power,
30 To eat and drink at my table in my reign—
And you shall sit upon thrones, governing the twelve tribes of
Israel.
31 Simon, Simon! lo, Satan has obtained his request to sift you like
wheat;
32 But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.
And when once thou hast turned back, establish thou thy
brothers."
33 And he said to him, "Lord, I am ready to go with thee, even to prison
34 and to death." But he said, "I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow
to-day, till thou hast three times denied that thou knowest me."
35 And he said to them, "When I despatched you without purse and wallet
36 and sandals, did you lack anything?" And they said, "Nothing." And
he said to them, "But let him who has a purse take it now, and the same
with a wallet; and let him who has no sword sell his cloak and buy one.
37 For I tell you, this thing that is written must be fulfilled in me—*And he
was reckoned among the wicked.* For indeed all that concerns me is being
38 accomplished." And they said, "Lord, behold here are two swords!" He
said to them, "Enough! Enough!"
39 Then he went out as usual upon his way to the hill of Olives, followed
40 also by the disciples; and on reaching the spot he said to them, "Pray that
41 you may not enter temptation." And he withdrew himself about a stone's
42 throw from them, and kneeling down he continued in prayer, saying,
"Father, if it please thee, take this cup away from me. Nevertheless,
43 not my will, but thine, be done." [[Now an angel from heaven appeared
44 to him to strengthen him; and agonised with terror he prayed more
earnestly than ever, and his sweat became like clots of blood, dropping
45 on the ground.]] Then rising from his prayer he came to the disciples
46 and found them asleep for sorrow; and he said to them, "Why sleep? rise
47 and pray, that you enter not into temptation." When he was
still speaking, behold, a horde came, preceded by the man called Judas (one
48 of the twelve). And he came near Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said to
49 him, "Judas! betray the Son of man with a kiss!" Now when his
associates saw what was going to happen, they said, "Lord, shall we
50 smite with the sword?" Indeed one of them did smite the slave of the
51 high priest and cut off his right ear. But Jesus spoke out, saying, "Let
52 me do this, at least"; and touching his ear, he cured him. Then said
Jesus to the high priests and the commanders of the temple and the elders
who had appeared against him, "Did you come out as against a robber, with

53 swords and clubs? When I was beside you day by day in the temple,
you did not stretch out your hands against me. But this is your hour;
this is the power of darkness!"
54 Now after arresting him, they took and brought him into the house
55 of the high priest. Peter followed at a distance; and when they kindled
a fire in the middle of the court-yard and sat down together, Peter
56 seated himself among them. Now a maidservant saw him sitting by the
firelight, and fixing her eyes on him, she said, "This fellow was with
57, 58 him too." But he denied it, saying, "Woman, I know him not." Then
shortly afterwards another person—a man—saw him, and said, "Thou
59 art one of them too." Said Peter, "Man, I am not." Then after an
interval of about an hour, some one else stoutly declared, "Quite true,
60 this fellow was along with him too! Why, he is a Galilean!" Said
Peter, "Man, I know not what thou meanest." Then instantly, while he
61 was still speaking, the cock crowed. And the Lord turned and looked
at Peter; then Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had
said to him, "Before the cock crows to-day, thou shalt three times deny
62 me." And he went out, and bitterly he wept.
63 And the men who held Jesus kept mocking and flogging him;
64 and after blindfolding him they plied him with questions, saying,
65 "Prophesy, who was it that struck thee?" And much more abuse they
uttered against him.
66 And as soon as day broke, the assembly of the elders of the people
met, both high priests and scribes, and brought[1] him before their
67 Sanhedrin, saying, "If thou art the Christ, tell us." He said to them,
68, 69 "You will not believe, if I tell you; nor will you answer, if I ask. But
from this time *the Son of man* shall be *seated at the right hand of God's*
70 *power*." And they all said, "Art thou the Son of God, then?" And he
71 said to them, "Certainly, I am." So they said, "What further evidence
do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips."
23 1, 2 Then all the multitude rose up and led him to Pilate. And they began
to accuse him, saying, "We found this fellow perverting our nation, for-
bidding people to pay tribute to Caesar, and declaring himself to be 'Christ,'
3 a king." Pilate asked him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" And in reply
4 to him he said, "Certainly." Said Pilate to the high priests and the
5 crowds, "I find nothing criminal in this man." But they persisted in
alleging, "He stirs up the people by teaching throughout the whole of
6 Judaea, starting from Galilee and coming even here." Hearing this,
7 Pilate asked them, "Is the man a Galilean?" And when he ascertained
that he belonged to the jurisdiction of Herod, he remitted him to Herod,
8 as he too was at Jerusalem during these days. Now when Herod saw
Jesus he was exceedingly delighted, for he had long had a desire to see
him, owing to what he had heard of him; besides, he was in hopes of
9 seeing some sign performed by him. So he questioned him with many a
10 word; but he did not answer him at all. Meanwhile the high priests
11 and the scribes stood and accused him with might and main. And after
Herod, along with his troops, had scoffed at him and mocked him, he
12 arrayed him in bright raiment and sent him back to Pilate. On that
day Herod and Pilate became friends together; for previously they had
13 been at enmity with one another. Now after Pilate had called
14 together the high priests and the rulers and the people, he said to them,
"You brought me this man as a seducer of the people; yet here have I
examined him before you, and found nothing criminal in him, for all

[1] Reading ἀνήγαγον.

15 your accusations against him. No, nor even has Herod, for he remitted
16 him to us. Behold, he has done nothing to deserve death. I will
18 chastise him then, and release him." But one and all they shrieked, "Off
19 with him! Release for us Bar-Abbas" (a man who had been thrown
into prison on account of a riot which had taken place in the city, as well
20 as on a charge of murder). Pilate once more addressed them, in his
21 desire to release Jesus; but they kept roaring out, "Crucify! Crucify
22 him!" For the third time he said to them, "Why, what evil has this
man done? I have found nothing criminal in him—no capital offence.
23 I will chastise him then, and release him." But they loudly pressed
their demand to have him crucified; and their voices carried the day.
24, 25 So Pilate gave sentence that their request was to be granted. He released
the man they requested, who had been thrown into prison for riot and
murder; and he delivered up Jesus to their pleasure.

26 And as they led him away, they laid hold of Simon, a Cyrenian,
who was on his way from the country, and put the cross upon him to
27 bear it after Jesus. Now he was followed by a large multitude of the
28 people, and of women who beat their breasts and lamented him. But
Jesus turned to them and said,

"Daughters of Jerusalem! weep not for me,
But weep for yourselves and for your children:
29 For behold! days are coming when it shall be said,
'Happy the barren—the wombs that have not borne, the breasts
that have not given suck!'
30 Then shall they begin to *say to the mountains*, 'Fall on us,'
And to the mounds, '*Cover us*';
31 For if they do this in the green tree,
What shall be done in the dry?"

32 There were also two other criminals led along with him to be put to
33 death. So when they came to the place which is called "The Skull,"
they crucified him there along with the criminals, one on the right hand
34 and one on the left. [[And Jesus kept saying, "Father, forgive them—
they know not what they are doing."]] Then *distributing his garments*
35 *among them, they cast lots.* And the people stood and *looked.* But[1] the rulers
sneered at him, saying, "Others he saved; let him save himself, if he is
36 the chosen Christ of God!" The soldiers also mocked him by coming up
37 and handing him *vinegar*, and saying, "If thou art the King of the Jews,
38 save thyself." (There was also a title over him, THIS IS THE KING
39 OF THE JEWS.) And one of the criminals who had been hung, heaped
abuse on him, saying, "Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us."
40 But the other in reply rebuked him, saying, "Hast thou not even fear of
41 God, seeing that thou art under the same condemnation? And we
indeed justly, for we get what our deeds deserve; but this man has done
42 no harm." And he said, "Remember me, Jesus, when thou comest in thy
43 royal power." And he said to him, "I tell thee truly, thou shalt be in
paradise with me to-day."

44 By this time it was about the sixth hour, and a darkness covered the
45 whole land till the ninth hour, owing to an eclipse of the sun; also, the
46 veil in the middle of the sanctuary was torn. Then Jesus cried with a
loud voice, and said, "Father, *into thy hands I trust my spirit.*" And on
47 saying this, he expired. Now when the centurion saw what had taken
48 place, he magnified God, saying, "This man was really innocent." And
when all the crowds who had collected for this spectacle, observed what

[1] Omitting *καί*.

49 had taken place, they went away back, smiting their breasts. But all his
acquaintances stood at a distance and saw this, along with the women who
had accompanied him from Galilee.
50 And behold, there was a man named Joseph, who was a councillor,
51 a good and upright man—he had not voted for their scheme and deed.
He belonged to Arimathaea, a city of the Jews; and he was waiting for
52 the reign of God. He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus.
53 Then he took it down, wrapped it up in a linen cloth, and laid it in a tomb
54 cut out of stone, where no one had ever yet been buried. It was the
day of Preparation, and the sabbath-day was just dawning.
55 Now the women who had come with him from Galilee followed behind,
56 and after noting the tomb and how his body was laid, they returned and
got ready spices and ointments.
And on the sabbath they did nothing, according to the command-
24 1 ment; but at early dawn on the first day of the week they went to the
2 tomb, bringing the spices they had got ready. They found the stone
3 rolled away from the tomb, but when they went in they did not find the
4 body [[of the Lord Jesus]]. And it came to pass, while they were
puzzling over this, behold, two men came upon them in dazzling
5 raiment. And as they grew terrified and bent their faces to the ground,
6 they said to them, "Why seek the living among the dead? [[He is not
here: he has risen.]] Remember how he spoke to you when he was
7 still in Galilee, saying, 'The Son of man must be delivered into the
hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again.'"
8, 9 Then they remembered his words, and returning from the tomb they
10 brought word of all this to the eleven and to all the others. (It was
the Mary who belonged to Magdala, and Joanna and Mary the mother of
11 James who, with the rest of the women, told this to the apostles.) Yet
these words appeared in their view to be nonsense, and they disbelieved
12 the women. [[Peter, however, rose up and ran to the tomb; yet on
gazing in, he sees only the linen bandages. So he went away home,
wondering at what had taken place.]]
13 And behold, two of them were journeying on that very day to a
village named Emmaus, six and a half miles distant from Jerusalem;
14, 15 and they were conversing together about all these events. And it came
to pass during their converse and discussion that Jesus himself drew
16 near and journeyed along with them. (But they were prevented from
17 recognising him.) And he said to them, "What words are these that
are passing between you as you walk?" And they stood still, dejected.
18 And one of them, Cleopas by name, answered and said to him, "Art thou
the solitary inhabitant of Jerusalem—to be ignorant of what has taken
19 place in it during these days?" And he said to them, "What?" They
said to him, "All about Jesus of Nazaret, who proved himself a prophet
20 mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and about how
the high priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to
21 death, and crucified him. Now we had hoped he was to be the redeemer
of Israel; yet for all that, three days have passed since this took place.
22 Still, at the same time, some women of our number have amazed us.
23 They reached the tomb early and could not find his body; yet they came to
tell us that they had actually seen a vision of angels, who said he was living.
24 And some of our companions went away to the tomb. They found it was
25 exactly as the women had said; but him they saw not." And he said to
them, "O foolish and slow of heart in believing, after all that the
26 prophets have uttered! Was it not necessary for the Christ to suffer thus

27 and enter his majesty?" And beginning with Moses and all the
prophets, he interpreted to them what referred to himself throughout all
28 the scriptures. And they drew near the village to which they were
29 journeying. He pretended he was going further on; but they urged
him, saying, "Stay with us, for it is towards evening, and the day has
30 now declined." So he went in to stay with them. And it came to pass
while he was reclining at table with them he took the bread and, after the
31 blessing, broke it, and proceeded to hand it to them. So their eyes were
32 opened, and they recognised him; but he vanished from their sight. And
they said to one another, "Did not our heart glow within us while he
33 talked to us on the road, while he opened the scriptures to us?" And
they rose up that very hour and returned to Jerusalem, where they found
34 the eleven and their companions all mustered, saying, "The Lord has
35 really risen, and he has appeared to Simon!" Then they recounted what
had taken place on the road, and how they knew him by the breaking of
36 the bread. Now as they were thus talking, he stood in the
37 midst of them [[and says to them, "Peace to you!"]]. But startled and
38 terrified, they supposed they saw a spirit. And he said to them, "Why
are you troubled, and why do questionings start up in your heart?
39 Look at my hands and my feet; it is I! Handle me and see; for a
40 spirit has not flesh and bones, as you see that I have." [[And saying
41 this, he showed them his hands and his feet.]] Now as they still dis-
believed for joy and wondered, he said to them, "Have you any food
42, 43 here? So they handed him a piece of broiled fish. And he took and ate
44 it before them. And he said to them, "These are my words that
I spoke to you when I was still with you—that everything written in the
law of Moses and in the prophets and psalms concerning me, must be
45, 46 fulfilled." Then he opened their mind to understand the scriptures, and
said to them, "Thus it is written: the Christ is to suffer and rise again
47 from the dead on the third day, and repentance for the remission of sins
is to be preached in his name to all the nations—starting from Jerusalem.
48, 49 You are witnesses of these things. And lo! I send forth upon you what
my Father has promised. But do you settle in the city, until you are
clothed with power from on high."
50 And he led them out as far as to Bethany; then lifting up his hands,
51 he blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them, he parted
52 from them [[and was carried up into heaven]]. Then they [[did him
53 reverence and]] returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and they were con-
stantly within the temple, blessing God.

ACTS

THE unmistakable care bestowed in the third gospel upon the association of the evangelic history with the events of the larger Empire is accentuated in its sequel, which definitely sympathises with the feelings and hopes of Christianity in its consciousness of peril under Domitian. The new faith was not yet legally proscribed. Suspicion had to be averted from it, if possible; and an implicit defence could still be offered on its behalf, by "a temperate and solemn record . . . of the real facts regarding the formation of the church, its steady and unswerving loyalty in the past, its firm resolve to accept the facts of Imperial government, its friendly reception by many Romans."[1] Acts is thus an appeal for, because it is a series of reminiscences[2] of, Imperial respect and consideration. But this feature of the book is subordinate. Its primary function is to edify the contemporary church by a true account of how Judaism had been slowly and painfully supplanted in the course of Providence by the Christian church. Besides the interest in apostolic teaching and travels, one remarkable feature of the book consists in its reflection of Christianity as constituting already an extensive pheno-

[1] Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 22, 309, 387 f. On this "apologetic" element in Acts, cp. Zeller-Overbeck (Eng. tr.), i. p. 23 f., ii. 161 f.; Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 122–124; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, Introd.; Pfleiderer, *Urc.* pp. 544–614; Holtzmann, *HC*, II. 2, Einl.; McGiffert, *AA*, pp. 345–348; Bartlet, *AA*, p. 168 f., 409 f.; and especially J. Weiss, *Absicht*, pp. 56–60. In Luke the Roman attitude towards Christianity is exhibited in a favourable light (Lk $23^{1\,1\,22}$). In Acts, cp. the conduct of the proconsuls (13^{12} 18^{12}, etc.) and the Asiarchs (19^{31}). Paul is never formally condemned by the authorities, and it is easy to understand Luke's silence upon his final condemnation, as upon the three occasions when he had been flogged by lictors (2 Co 11^{25}). Aberle (*Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1863, pp. 84–134) in an exaggerated way seems to have considered Acts as a document designed to be put in at Paul's trial, with a view of vindicating his political inoffensiveness; just as he had previously (*ibid.* 1859, pp. 567–588) viewed Matthew as a reply to some antichristian circular letter issued by the Jewish Sanhedrin. The activity of historical composition among the Jews of this period seems to have been concentrated upon the Roman campaign under Vespasian which culminated in the overthrow of Jerusalem. This subject was treated by numerous writers of more or less reliability (Josephus, preface to *Wars of Jews*). Justus of Tiberias is the best known of them.

For the guess that Acts formed the second (Ac 1^{1}) part of a historical work whose third volume was never written, cp. Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 23, 27, 28, 309, and Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 371 f., 389. The hint was originally thrown out by Bengel.

[2] We have hardly any means of knowing what information the readers possessed on such matters, and how far they had the power of checking an incorrect statement in their author. But there is no reason to be suspicious of the narrative at these points; even although they are not complete, they may be true as far as they go. Tendency, either here or in the gospels, is not correlative necessarily with indifference to fact or licence of imagination. The presence of a conciliatory motive in Acts does not *ipso facto* throw doubts upon the historicity of the facts adduced. On the contrary, prejudice would be averted most effectively by a "plain unvarnished tale" of what really happened. The strength of the *Apologia* would consist largely in the indisputable and notorious evidence of facts, and so far as these are brought forward, it is likely that upon the whole they are reliable in most essential points.

menon. Numberless traces point to the hold which the new religion[1] was taking of the Empire at the time when this book was written, as well as to the evident sympathy with which the author viewed that extension. Apart from minor expressions like 1^{8} (*ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς* = 13^{47}, from Isa 49^{6} LXX) 9^{15} $10^{28.29}$ 10^{36} $13^{44.45}$ 14^{27} $22^{15.21}$ 23^{11} $26^{17.18}$, the whole narrative[2] of chapter 2 is dominated by the conception of the church as initially catholic (2^{6} f.), inaugurated for universal ends and destined from the start to expand beyond purely national bounds. The enumeration of the audience, sweeping from East to West (2^{9-11}), the conscious scheme "from Jerusalem through Syrian Antioch to Rome" which underlies the whole book, the introduction of narratives like 8^{5-13} 10, 11^{19} f. 15, 18^{5} f., the cosmopolitan outlook on the religious history of the world (14^{15-17} 17^{23} f. = Ro 3^{25}), and the dramatic finale (28^{25} f.)[3] with the characteristic words put into the mouth of Paul, *τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται*,—these and other lines of evidence betray a fine religious pragmatism, by which the mission to the Gentiles was conceived as a natural, legitimate, and providential development. The author in fact read back the developed hopes and feelings of his own age into these sketches of nascent Christianity, because he heartily believed that catholicity of spirit was an essential part of the faith produced by the historical Jesus. These two ideas, (*a*) the catholicity and freedom, and (*b*) the spread of the Christian faith, are correlative. Inherent in the original teaching of Jesus, and substantially reproduced in the apostolic mind, they came to be understood and expressed with special emphasis in this literature of the last quarter of the century. Compare the close of the third gospel ($24^{52.53}$) and the close of Acts (28^{31}), with their similar note of unrestrained vigour, also the patent universalism of the gospel with its characteristic touches like 19^{10} (*ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός*), 7^{36-50}, and 17^{11-19}, etc. The note of the age (75–100), so far as Christianity's relation to Judaism is concerned, may be fairly summed up in the antithesis: Judaism as a religion is identical with and consummated in Christianity, Judaism as a nationality has become completely antagonistic to Christianity (Holtzmann).

The relative date of this book is easily determined. If, as is almost unanimously held (cp. the arguments marshalled in Overbeck-Zeller, ii. p. 213 f., and Friedrich, *Das Lukasevangelium und die Apgeschichte werke desselben Verfassers*, 1890), it is by the author of the third gospel, then the composition of Acts (*δεύτερος λόγος*) falls into a more or less subsequent period. The time elapsing between the two has been variously reckoned (about nine or ten years, Renan), but is generally held to have been appreciable, chiefly owing to the difference of tradition[4] in Lk 23, 24

[1] True to his historical function, the writer did not represent the early organisation, however, as a mature and official system. It is impossible to make sense of *DB*, i. 32 (last two sentences), and the remark upon the next page—"No object could be gained by the representation which is given of its form and character"—betrays a deficient grasp of historical criticism. Consult Seufert, *Ursp. u. Bedeut. d. Apostolates*, pp. 77–95.

[2] As even Blass admits in ver. 5 (as on 8^{39}): quae sequuntur etiam magis quam priora *τροφητικῶς* narrata sunt, non *ἱστορικῶς*. On the moral apologues and suspiciously unhistorical elements in Ac 1–5, cp. Holtzmann, *HC*, i. pp. 310–340, and Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 367–372; generally, Clemen, *Chron.* pp. 17–28, with the authorities there cited, and McGiffert's sensible and masterly treatment.

[3] After *ἀκωλύτως* D adds the needless but congenial words, *λέγων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, δι' οὗ μέλλει πᾶς (ὅλος) ὁ κόσμος κρίνεσθαι.* "Victoria verbi Dei, Paulus Romae, apex evangelii" (Bengel).

[4] Acts 1 represents a fuller and later development of the resurrection- and ascension-stories, which apparently did not come into the writer's hands until the

and Ac 1. However, we do not possess any evidence which enables a calculation like this to be made with much accuracy. At any rate, 80–85 A.D. is the *terminus a quo*. After that period Acts was finally composed. The main considerations which indicate its period are twofold. (*a*) One is the incipient "catholicism" [1] of the ideas and institutions in the writing, as in Clem. Rom. Acts stands little nearer to the events which it records, than the third gospel to the life of Jesus. The writer, a Gentile Christian, is at some distance from them, viewing retrospectively the earlier conflicts which have subsided into the more settled state of agreement and consolidation by which he is surrounded. This would naturally point to the closing decades of the century. A growth lies behind the author, and with the help of written sources he sets himself to trace that growth for the purpose of edifying his contemporaries and throwing light upon the *status quo*. (*b*) The other feature is, as already noted, the tone and feeling of the church toward the State, which has been rightly held to be incompatible with a date much posterior to the Flavian régime. On the ground of this evident endeavour [2] to exhibit Christianity in association with the Empire, and to indicate it as an innocent religious movement, Ramsay argues with great force that the third gospel was composed before (and finished in) 79–81, immediately after which the Acts was written. This is, however, to be too precise, and there is no ground for his further suggestion that the book was left incomplete owing to Luke's martyrdom under Domitian (*SPT*, pp. 23, 386 f.; so, for different reasons, Spitta). After Hilgenfeld (95–100 A.D.), Mangold (-Bleek) selected the beginning of the last decade of the century, Reuss (pp. 296–310) its last quarter; Keim chose a slightly earlier period, 80–90 A.D. (i. 63), but Wendt (-Meyer) has recently gone back to 95–100. Bleek and Renan,[3] followed by Dr. Sanday, come down even as far as *c.* 80 (so Adeney, *BI*, p. 345, and Bartlet, *AA*, pp. 511), Headlam (*DB*, i. pp. 29, 30) and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 424–439) to *c.* 75, or to "a period shortly after 70."

It is impossible to believe the preposterous idea (Euseb. *HE*, II. 22) that the book was written contemporaneously with or just after (*vide* Blass, Proleg. § 2) the events recorded at its close.[4] Those only who find the author's silence upon Paul's death unaccountable if he wrote

gospel was published. Otherwise the inconsistencies are quite incredible. Sir John Hawkins (*Horae Synopt.* pp. 140–161) infers that a considerable interval elapsed between the two books, on account of the differences in vocabulary and phraseology.

[1] "Nicht Paulus wird judaisirt, nicht Petrus paulinisirt, sondern Paulus und Petrus lucanisirt d. h. katholisirt" (Jülicher): "Der Verfasser hat nicht tendenziös den Petrus paulinisiert und den Paulus petrinisiert; er hat vielmehr beiden Aposteln seine eigene christlichen Gedanken, die Anschauungen des Heidenchristenthums der nach-apostolischen Zeit geliehen" (Wendt).

[2] So Schäfer: "Die Apgeschichte ist keine Geschichte d. app. sondern eine Apologie des Kirche" (1890).

[3] So *Les Apôtres*, pp. xi. f., but cp. *Les Évangiles*, chap. xix., for a later date, *c.* 100.

[4] So L. Schultze (*Handbuch der theolog. Wissenschaften*, Band i. Abth. 2, p. 74 f.), Rendall (*Acts*, 1897), Barde (*Comm. sur les Actes*, pp. 508–583), and R. B. Rackham (*JTS*, Oct. 1899, pp. 76–87). That Acts could have been written at the close of the two years' imprisonment of the apostle (Ac 28^{30}) is a pre-critical theory which rests on sentimental or subjective grounds, and is only tenable when the phenomena both of Acts and of the third gospel are ignored (as by Schäfer, *Einl.* p. 290 f.), or minimised. At this time of day one must be excused from discussing the merits of a hypothesis which involves the composition of the third gospel some nine or ten years before (!) the crisis of A.D. 70. Knowling seems to incline to Blass's position (*ExGT*, ii. 34–36), in a learned and candid edition which reflects the conservative standpoint.

after that event, are obliged to take up a position which does violence to all considerations of its standpoint and literary relations. Hardly more ground exists for a deep second-century date. The older Tübingen school *en masse*, absorbed in the idea of pragmatic tendencies, put the Acts under Trajan or Hadrian (so Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 267–284, and Hausrath). Pfleiderer, like S. Davidson (*INT.* ii. pp. 76–176), still is unable to find its period of composition earlier than 110–120 A.D. (*Urc.* pp. 613–614), and he is followed as usual by Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, p. 257). But this is scarcely justified, though Rovers (*Nieuw-test Letterkunde*, 1888, pp. 205, 206) and Schmiedel still (*EBi*, i. pp. 49, 50) hold to 105 (110)–130 A.D. Jülicher, while he rejects the Lucan authorship (*Einl.* p. 262 f.) of this "ideal church history," will not go further down than 100–105 A.D. Similarly, in the main, Holtzmann (*HC*, i. p. 5) and Weizsäcker; while, like Gfrörer, Schleiermacher, and Keim, McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 348 f., 437 f.) places the book in Domitian's reign, as do Löning (*Gemeinde-Verfassung*, p. 62) and J. Réville (*Les origines de l'épiscopat*, i. pp. 43, 44: dating it previous to the pastoral epistles). The epistle of Clem. Rom. is sometimes taken as a *terminus ad quem;* but while the resemblances are striking (cp. the similar use of Ps 89^{21} LXX in Ac 13^{22} and CR 18^{1}, Ac 20^{35} = CR 2^{1}, Ac 1^{25} = CR $5^{4.7}$), they do not decisively prove dependence either way. So far as later literary connections are concerned, the question of the date of Acts is left practically open.

From the standpoint of modern realism it would no doubt be more satisfactory to have had Acts rounded off with an account of Paul's martyr death. But to expect such a finale is to mistake the whole current of the book. The author's silence upon Paul's death almost certainly means that the apostle was condemned by the Roman authorities, or that the Christian church had—by the end of the first century—lost all definite knowledge of how and when he died; a conclusion which is corroborated by the vague allusions in Clem. Rom. Yet even had he known the details of the apostle's death, there is no reason why this writer should have added them. The taste for details of Christian martyrdom was a later growth. Besides, Acts is not a biography of Paul, but a sketch of the early church in its development through the jars and problems and energies of the early apostles to its culminating hold upon Rome. And as the author does not give even a full sketch of Paul's previous career, it is not uncharacteristic of him to stop short of that tragic event which followed the two years' residence in Rome. As writer and readers probably were aware of the general fact of Paul's death, the former had as little interest in telling it as in suppressing it, particularly as it contradicted the general purport of his volume. Possibly, too, Nero's treatment of Paul was silently omitted as a deplorable exception to the normal policy of the State. As for the apostle's career at the close, it is clear that in the belief of the author of Acts (20^{25}), Paul never revisited Asia Minor—a proposition which is irreconcilable with the tradition underlying the "pastoral" letters. Zahn's attempt to prove that *οὐκέτι* is not equivalent to *οὐ πάλιν*, and that the parting was for long, but not necessarily for ever, is a bit of special pleading (*Einl.* i. pp. 444, 445) which evades the plain force of this passage, just as the conventional ecclesiastical exegesis shrinks from Mt 1^{25}. The usage of *οὐκέτι* in Jo $16^{10.19}$ is no parallel, as there the context carefully explains the meaning. Ac 20^{25} is more than a presentiment of the speaker. It is obviously a tragic fact, solemnly ratified by the historian (20^{38}).

For the recent hypotheses on the composite origin of the book, cp. below in the Appendix. These do not seriously affect the question of its date as a literary unity; nor does the ingenious theory of Blass, according to which our Codex Bezae (in Acts) was a first rough draft (R) of the work whose later and revised form (A) is extant in our present Acts. The latter text is condensed, the Western text much fuller. The reason of this is, in Blass's view, that Luke, being a poor man, would be obliged to do his own copying; and in writing out a copy of his work for Theophilus he would naturally feel the tendency, common to such situations, to abbreviate, or to omit here and there clauses and paragraphs. Even if this were so, the double recension would be practically synchronous.

Broadly speaking, the relative position of Acts in the series of NT documents lies between Luke's gospel and the fourth gospel, earlier at any rate than the pastorals, and possibly somewhere in the last quarter or even in the last decade of the first century A.D. Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 246-250) inclines to the period 80–93; similarly, but with hesitation, Lightfoot, *Smith's Dic.* B^2 (1893), i. pp. 25–42. At all events, it cannot be earlier. If Josephus[1] is used in Acts, the latter's date would be of course subsequent to 93–94 A.D. The proofs of such an indebtedness, however, are not convincing, and have not yet been established with certainty. Evidence for its use by Clem. Rom. is unfortunately as indecisive. At the other extreme there is even less evidence to support the hypothesis that the book—like the 8th book of Thucydides—was left unfinished at its author's death, or that the book ended because at the moment of its completion (*c.* 62) the writer had no more to tell. This is a pure guess, which depends upon the further hypothesis, equally incapable of proof, that the author intended to write a full account of Paul's life so far as he knew it. Similarly, the failure to notice Peter's residence at Rome (1 P 5^{13}), supposing that his letter was known to the author of Acts, is explicable enough when we remember that the fact probably fell outside the time-limits of the history, even if it were granted that he would have cared to mention it or Peter's death at all.

Upon the other side, if it can be shown that the Pauline letters did not form a source for Acts, this makes an argument in favour of a first-century date, as after 90 A.D.—to judge from the sub-apostolic literature—the knowledge of these letters became widespread. The point is still in dispute. But upon the whole Acts does not show any definite traces of the Pauline epistles such as are plentiful in Barnabas, Ignatius, etc. The main reason for adhering to this position is the total silence of Acts upon the Pauline epistles, even at points where their mention would have been natural, or where the slightest acquaintance with their contents would have either prevented the historian from misconceiving[2] the situation, or given him a fuller narrative (see the ample evidence collected by Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 408 f.). The author of Acts might indeed have

[1] On the relation of Josephus to the NT generally and Acts in particular, cp. above, p. 271, and Clemen's full note (*Chron.* pp. 66-69). Like Wendt, the latter is disposed to assume that the editor of Acts was acquainted with Josephus (cp. also *SK*, 1895, p. 339 f.). On the other hand, Ramsay's arguments are very damaging to such a theory (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 251-259), and Knowling has some acute objections in *ExGT*, ii. pp. 30-34. So J. A. Cross, *Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 538-540.

[2] To the author of Acts as to Justin Martyr it seems the prerogative of the Twelve to be the primary channel for God's mission to the world. Both writers reproduce this conventional idea, though the original Pauline sources at the disposal of the former must have pointed to a rather different conception of affairs.

known Paul's letters. There is nothing in his age or situation that we know of, to have prevented such an acquaintance. But, so far as the contents of Acts permit us to judge, the evidence negative and positive alike tells against any serious literary use of the apostle's writings. Such knowledge of Paul's movements as the book contains was probably drawn either from written sources, like the we-journal, or from oral traditions; and there is a possibility that the latter may have included Paul's own reminiscences. Harnack (*Chron.* p. 248 f.), Zahn (*op. cit.*), Weiss, Felten, Schmidt, Jülicher, McGiffert, Bartlet, Knowling, Wendt, and Sabatier (in an essay published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Sciences religieuses*, I. 1889, p. 202 f.), besides adherents of Steck's theory (*ZSchz*, 1890, 153 f.), substantially take up this position, that the Pauline letters do not form a source for Acts. It is naturally axiomatic for the recent school who regard the latter as the basis for the former. Otherwise, one must imagine that Acts presupposes and is meant to illuminate the epistles (*e.g.* Ramsay, *SPT*, p. 385), a position which is not very tenable in face of recent critical developments. In fact, when the aim of Acts is rightly conceived, the alternative is either (i.) to suppose that the author knew but had largely forgotten Paul's epistles; or to admit (ii.) that the book silently contradicts them, going upon its own independent and erroneous road. The former is hardly credible, least of all when the author is held to be Luke, Paul's companion and the diligent investigator who wrote the third gospel. Nor can Overbeck's intermediate suggestion be accepted, that the author knew the extant Pauline epistles, but never employed them as sources for his work. Such a procedure would argue a far from "intense interest in Paul and Paulinism" (Overbeck-Zeller, i. 64). More logical and natural would be (ii.) the latter hypothesis, which practically formed a postulate of the older Tübingen critics (so still Schmiedel, *EBi*, i. pp. 42, 43), and is still held by several (*e.g.* Jacobsen, Clemen, and Spitta) analysts of Acts, as well as by others (Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, and Weizsäcker in particular) from a different standpoint. Such a hypothesis of course indefinitely lowers one's estimate of the author's historicity and trustworthiness, but at any rate it does more justice to the facts of all the writings concerned than the "supplementary" hypothesis above alluded to (cp. Schulze, *SK*, 1900, pp. 119–124, on Ac $20^{18\text{-}31}$), if any literary relation is to be presupposed.

The recent expansion of the church in the years 60–80 naturally produced an unwonted and growing self-consciousness. If the gospels witness to her intense practical desire for possessing some historical basis of the faith in the life and sayings of Jesus, the book of Acts affords evidence that this reflective and retrospective attitude extended to the province of her own history — which was indeed viewed as a natural continuation of Christ's activity (Ac $1^{1\text{-}5}$). In the last quarter of the century it is plain that this interest in herself had deepened. An eagerness to take cognisance of the past was abroad throughout the church. The book of Acts, one may be sure, was no mere *jeu d'esprit*. Its characteristics—even the pro-Roman and anti-Jewish tendencies, as the gospel of Peter indicates—are not those of an isolated thinker who occupied a novel or independent standpoint. The composition of the work was prompted, just as its character was largely determined, by the spirit of the age; and that spirit included the tendency to look back and inquire into those processes and crises through which the church had reached her present and fairly definite condition, into the origin of her organisation, institutions, and doctrines, her relation

to OT prophecy and contemporary Judaism,[1] her attitude under persecutions and towards errors, her debt to the twelve apostles[2] and early leaders, and in general the bases and guarantees which the *status quo* towards the close of the first century possessed, in the acts and authority of the primitive community. To the feeling of historical sympathy with this creative and heroic age, as well as to the sources with which the author worked, is due the attractive element of the book. "Les *Actes des Apôtres*, expression de ce premier élan de la conscience chrétienne, sont un livre de joie, d'ardeur sereine. Depuis les poëmes homériques, on n'avait pas vu d'oeuvre pleine de sensations aussi fraîches. Une brise matinale, une odeur de mer, pénètre tout le livre. Ce fut la seconde poésie du christianisme. Le lac de Tibériade et ses barques de pêcheurs avaient fourni la première" (Renan).

Gathering up the various traces and tendencies which have been already indicated, we may say that the period to which the book is with great probability to be referred, is the middle period of Domitian's reign.[3] The history then becomes an implicit apology for the Christian faith. The author intends to show by his picture of early church history the friendly attitude of the Roman officials to the Pauline generation, their recognition and protection of Paul, the emancipation of Christianity from its primitive Judaic surroundings (note the weighty repetition, $13^{46 f.}$ $18^{6 f.}$ 19^{9}), as well as its imperial aim. It is written in view of Imperial interference and Judaistic propaganda. Against both of these contemporary currents the writer seeks to vindicate the innocence, independence, and superiority of the Christian faith. Yet, after all, the supreme interest in his mind is religious. Writing for a generation which had only memories of the great apostles who had laid here and there the foundations of their church, he aimed at establishing their faith by a transcript of the stages through which—as it appeared to him—the living spirit of Jesus had achieved this result.[4]

[1] Acts, like the other NT writings after 70 A.D., points to the developing self-consciousness of the church along two lines. (i.) The detachment of the Christian society from the outward and ancestral framework of Judaism gave a new sense of freedom, of the church's right and need of self-government, of its prospects and career as God's kingdom. (ii.) The rivalry of Judaism brought to light with increasing clearness the Divine mission of the church. While it compelled Christians to vindicate their OT prerogatives and right of succession, it opened to them a truer insight into the eternal purpose of God which was to find its fulfilment through Jesus Christ among Christians. These ideas constitute the dominant tendency under which Acts was composed. It was an attempt not so much to justify the Gentile Christianity of the author and his time, which was already on the way to catholicism, as to justify an existing and incipient stage of catholicism which was practically equivalent to Gentile Christianity.

[2] Harnack, *HD*, i. pp. 158 f., 213 f. The words of 4^{32} (τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία) "may be regarded as forming a motto for the book" (Schmiedel). And how suggestive is the mere fact that the author of a gospel wrote as its natural sequel an apostolic history!

[3] On the recrudescence of persecution under the "timid and inhuman Domitian," cp. Renan, *Les Évangiles*, chaps. xii., xiv.; and below, pp. 460, 461.

[4] Hence, *e.g.*, the absorption in Paul which marks the latter part of the book. It is his arrival, not that of the gospel, in Rome that forms the apex of the history. Christianity had preceded him there, but that is not the book's concern. To the writer (or writers) of the sources, especially of the we-journal, Paul was interesting as a personality. Memory and affection bound him to them. But to the editor of the book Paul was chiefly a type of the Christianity which existed around him and his readers. The apostles represented their faith in its original Jewish correctness, in its ultimate superiority, in its rightful vindication before the Roman authorities, and especially in its Divine sanction and impulse for universal diffusion.

As a historical document, not merely for the period [1] 75–100 but even for some points in the age of which it treats, Acts is a most serviceable and invaluable writing. For many parts of the apostolic age the author apparently possessed no sources and had access to few traditions. The result is that these parts are omitted, while in elaborating others he seems again to present a record at variance with the traits preserved in Paul's epistles. Yet even with the gaps, deviations, and contradictions of this history, it serves often as a useful outline for historical research, providing materials for the reconstruction of events and ideas which otherwise would remain even more dim than they now are. As Resch, I think, has somewhere observed with considerable truth, apart from the "Acts of the Apostles," the epistolary literature of the NT would be like a book sealed with seven seals. One may well admit this, without denying at the same time that in the history of early Christianity there are several points where the narrative, when inferentially gathered from the Pauline letters, gains in clearness and consistency as Acts is either set aside or regarded as a secondary source.

The following analysis has been adopted from Mr. C. H. Turner's article (*DB*, i. pp. 412 f., "the picture is cut up, as it were, into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress").

[1] Note the presence of such elements as these in the contemporary situation: (i.) a conciliatory tendency towards emphasis upon harmony and agreement as notes of the earlier development (cp. Ephesians, and the supremacy of the Twelve in the Apocalypse, where Paul is absolutely ignored, even in his famous sphere at Ephesus); (ii.) a disposition to smooth over primitive conflicts in the interests of a later generation which would not be edified by their recital; (iii.) the existence of errorists and incipient officialism (*e.g.*, especially Ac $20^{28\text{-}31}$ = Pastorals and Apoc 2–3, $2^{1\text{-}9}$) in the Asiatic communities; (iv.) the blurred reflection (in the Pauline speeches, as in 1 Pet.) of Paul's ideas upon, *e.g.*, Christ's redemption, Israel's destiny, the spiritual life, the charismata, his independent apostolate, etc.; besides (v.) the less restrained handling of stories such as those told in Ac $1^{16\text{f.}}$ etc. On the latter passage, see Prof. Rendel Harris (*AJT*, July, 1900, pp. 490–513), who attempts to show that behind it, and even behind the corresponding story in Mt $27^{3\text{f.}}$, there lay in the primitive tradition a legendary account of the death of Judas, modelled upon the tale of a similar fate suffered by Nadan, the traitorous nephew of Ahikar. The taste for such heightened anecdotes naturally rose in proportion as their original nucleus receded in tradition. It is more noticeable in Acts than in the synoptic gospels (cp. above, pp. 17–18; also, for other instances of naïvely realistic expressions of religious truth in primitive Christianity, Gunkel's *die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*,[2] pp. 47–49); though, even in the pictured pages of the former book, few sections would deserve a verdict as severe as that pronounced by Dr. Harris on the Judas-legends: "in any case, the value of the early Christian traditions with regard to the death of the traitor is reduced almost to zero."

It is certain that in the second part the person and fortunes of Paul are supremely prominent, but it is just as plain that upon the whole "Acts" is intended to describe something other than the life of Paul. The author regards Paul as the representative of the cause which he himself is advocating, namely, the Gentile Christian church of his own day, and he wishes to describe how this church came to spread itself over the whole Empire, irresistibly. In his representation of the history, he has no animus against Jewish Christianity, far less against Peter or James. What he is absorbed in is the breach with Judaism, for in Judaism he sees the real opponent of Christianity. I cannot understand "Acts" except as a defence of the Christian religion before the Gentiles against the denunciation of the Jews, which is meant to show how Christianity, with its mission to the world, has proved to be the annulling of Judaism. That the author of this apologetic treatise, written about the close of the first century, chooses to put his leading ideas in narrative rather than in argumentative form, is due to the nature of the case. He was in no sense dealing with a subject that was generally known, but with a religion just in the bud. Besides, he seems to have held the opinion that the best way to know things is to know their origin and development. The result is, that the general view of Christianity adopted by this author brings him and his composition really nearer to the apologists than to the writings of Paul.—**J. Weiss.**

1^{1}–6^{6}	i.	**Origin of church at Jerusalem:** preaching of Peter.	Speech of Peter	1^{15-22}
			,, ,, ,,	2^{14-36}
		double imprisonment of Peter and John:	,, ,, ,,	3^{12-26}
		miracles of Peter:	,, ,, ,,	4^{8-12}
		appointment of seven.	,, ,, ,,	5^{29-32}
			,, ,, Gamaliel	5^{35-39}
6^{7}		Summary.		
6^{8}–9^{30}	ii.	**Extension of church through Palestine:** preaching of Peter and Stephen:	,, ,, Stephen	7^{1-53}
		persecution of church:		
		acts of Philip: Simon Magus:		
		conversion of Saul.		
9^{31}		Summary.		
9^{32}–12^{23}	iii.	**Extension of church to Antioch:** preaching of Peter:	,, ,, Peter	10^{34-43}
		acts of Peter:	,, ,, ,,	11^{4-18}
		church founded at Antioch:		
		Herod's persecution: Peter in prison.		
12^{24}		Summary.		
12^{25}–16^{4}	iv.	**Extension of church through Asia Minor:** preaching of Paul and Barnabas:		
		Cyprus: Elymas:	,, ,, Paul	13^{16-41}
		Asia Minor:	,, ,, ,,	14^{15-17}
		Council at Jerusalem.	,, ,, Peter	15^{7-11}
			,, ,, James	15^{13-21}
16^{5}		Summary.		
16^{6}–19^{19}	v.	**Extension of church to Europe:** preaching of Paul:		
		acts of Paul:		
		Macedonia and Achaia.	,, ,, Paul	17^{22-31}
19^{20}		Summary.		
19^{21}–28^{30}	vi.	**Extension of church to Rome:** preaching of Paul.	,, ,, Ephesian State-secretary	19^{35-40}
			,, ,, Paul	20^{18-35}
		Ephesus, Macedonia, Achaia, Asia Minor:	,, ,, ,,	22^{1-21}
		Paul imprisoned: Jerusalem and Caesarea:	,, ,, Tertullus	24^{2-8}
			,, ,, Paul	24^{10-21}
		Paul's journey to Rome.	,, ,, ,,	26^{2-23}
			,, ,, ,,	27^{21-26}
			,, ,, ,,	28^{17-20}
28^{31}		Summary.		

ACTS

1 1 In my first treatise, O Theophilus, I wrote of all that Jesus began both
2 to do and to teach until the day that he was taken up, after giving com-
3 mands through the holy Spirit to the apostles whom he had chosen, to
whom also he presented himself alive after his suffering by many sure
proofs, appearing to them during forty days and speaking of what con-
4 cerned God's reign. Also, as he ate with them, he charged them not to
withdraw from Jerusalem but to await what the Father had promised,
5 about which, said he, "I have taught you; for John baptized with water,
but you shall be baptized with the holy Spirit not many days after this."
6 So when they had gathered together, they asked him, saying,
"Lord, is this the time when thou art to restore the royal power to Israel?"
7 He said to them, "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the
8 Father has appointed by his own authority. But you shall receive power
when the holy Spirit comes upon you, and you shall be my witnesses both
in Jerusalem and in all Judaea and Samaria and to the end of the earth."
9 And on saying this he was taken up while they looked on, and a cloud
10 received him out of sight. And as he went, their eyes were fixed on
heaven; meanwhile, behold, there stood beside them two men dressed in
11 white, who also said, "Men of Galilee, why stand looking to heaven?
This Jesus who was taken up from you to heaven, shall come just in the
12 same way as you saw him go to heaven." Then they turned back to
Jerusalem from the hill called "the olive-orchard," which is near
13 Jerusalem, at the distance of a sabbath-day's journey. And on entering,
they went up into the upper chamber where they were accustomed to
stay: both Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas,
Bartholomew and Matthew, James (the son of Alphaeus) and Simon (the
14 zealot), and Judas the son of James. All these men with one accord gave
themselves to prayer, along with some women and with Mary the mother
of Jesus and with his brothers.

15 And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the brothers (there
was a throng of persons together, about a hundred and twenty) and said:
16 "Men and brothers, that scripture had to be fulfilled which the holy
Spirit spoke beforehand through the mouth of David, with regard to Judas
17 who acted as guide to those who arrested Jesus; for he became one of our
18 number and was allotted a share in this ministry. This man purchased
a piece of ground, then, with the wages of his iniquity; and falling face
foremost, he burst open in the middle and all his bowels poured out.
19 And the matter became known to all the residents in Jerusalem, so that
in their language that piece of ground was called Akeldamach (that is,
20 Ground of Blood). For it is written in the book of psalms,

Desolate be his abode,
And let none inhabit it:

also, *His office of overseer let another take.*

21 So of the men who have been our companions [during all the time
22 that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the
baptism of John down to the day that he was taken up from us], one
23 of these must become a witness with us of his resurrection." And they
brought forward two, Joseph called Bar-Sabbas (surnamed Justus) and
24 Matthias; and they prayed, saying, "O Lord, who knowest all hearts,
do thou appoint from these two men the one whom thou hast chosen
25 to take his place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas
26 turned away to go to his own place." And they cast lots for them, and
the lot fell on Matthias, and he was assigned his position with the eleven
apostles.

2 1 And in the course of the day of Pentecost they were all gathered
2 together. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound, as it were of a
3 rushing violent blast, and it filled the whole house where they sat. And
there appeared to them tongues, as if of fire, distributing themselves;
4 and a tongue sat on each one of them. And they were all filled with the
holy Spirit, and began to talk with other tongues as the Spirit granted
5 them utterance. Now there were Jews residing in Jerusalem,
6 devout men from every nation under the sky. And when this sound was
heard, the multitude gathered and was confounded, for each man heard
7 them talking in his own language. And they were amazed and astonished,
saying, "Look! are they not all Galileans, those men who are talking?
8 Then how is it that each one of us hears them in his own native language?
9 Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the residents in Mesopotamia, in
10 Judaea and Kappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia,
in Egypt and the districts of Libya about Cyrenê, besides visitors from
11 Rome, Jews as well as proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we hear these
12 men talking in our tongues of the grandeurs of God." And they were all
amazed and completely bewildered, saying one to another, "What can
13 this mean?" Others said with a sneer, "They are filled full of sweet
14 wine." But Peter stood up with the eleven and raised his voice
in utterance to them:

"Men of Judaea and all ye residents in Jerusalem, be this known to
15 you, and attend to my words: these men are not, as you suppose, drunk.
16 It is only the third hour of the day! No, this is what has been spoken
through the prophet Joel:

17 *And it shall be* in the last days, saith God,
I will pour out of my Spirit on all flesh,
And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
Your young men shall see visions,
Your old men shall dream dreams:
18 *Yea, on my slaves and on my handmaids in those days*
I will pour out of my Spirit,
And they shall prophesy.
19 *And I will show wonders in the sky* above
And signs *on the earth* below,
Blood and fire and vapour of smoke:
20 *The sun shall be changed into darkness,*
And the moon into blood,
Ere the Lord's great day come.[1]
21 *And it shall be that whoever shall call upon the Lord's name shall be saved.*

[1] Omitting καὶ ἐπιφανῆ.

22 Men of Israel, listen to these words:—Jesus the Nazarene, a man
accredited to you from God by miracles and wonders and signs which
God performed by him in your midst, even as you yourselves know:
23 this man, who was betrayed in the deliberate purpose and foreknowledge
24 of God, you nailed up and slew by the hand of wicked men. But God
raised him by loosening the pangs of death, because it was not possible
25 for him to be confined by it. For David says in reference to him:

I saw the Lord before my face always,
For he is at my right hand that I be not shaken.
26 *Therefore my heart is glad,*
And my tongue rejoices,
Yea, and my flesh shall rest in hope:
For thou wilt not forsake my soul in Hades,
27 *Nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption.*
28 *Thou hast made known to me the ways of life,*
Thou shalt fill me with delight in thy presence.

29 Men and brothers, I can speak to you frankly about the patriarch David:
30 he died and was buried, and his tomb is with us to this day. Well, as he
was a prophet, and knew that God *had sworn to him by oath* that *from the*
31 *fruit of his loins he would seat someone upon his throne*, he spoke with
foresight of the resurrection of the Christ, declaring that *he was not for-*
32 *saken in Hades nor* did his flesh *see corruption.* This Jesus, God raised; a
33 fact of which we are all witnesses. Uplifted then by God's right hand,
and having received from the Father the promised holy Spirit, he has
34 poured this out, as you see and hear. For David did not go up into the
heavens; he says himself,

The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit at my right hand,
35 *Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.'*

36 Let all the house of Israel know then for a certainty that God has made
him both Lord and Christ, this very Jesus whom you crucified."
37 Now on hearing this they were pierced to the heart; so they
said to Peter and the rest of the apostles, "What are we to do, men and
38 brothers?" Peter said to them, "Repent and get baptized every one of
you upon [1] the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins; and
39 you shall receive the free gift of the holy Spirit. For the promise belongs
to you and to your children and to all *who are far off, even all whom the*
40 *Lord* our God *shall call to him.*" With many other words likewise he
solemnly charged and exhorted them, saying, "Be saved from this
41 crooked generation." So then, those who accepted his word were baptized,
42 and about three thousand souls were added on that day. And they gave
themselves to the instruction and the fellowship of the apostles, to the
43 breaking of bread and the prayers. [And every soul was in fear.
44 And many wonders and signs were done through the apostles. Also, all
45 who believed kept together; they had everything in common, and used to
sell their possessions and goods and distribute them to all, just as any one
46 came to be in need. Day by day, staying with one accord in the temple
and breaking bread at home, they took their food with rejoicing and
47 with ingenuous heart, extolling God and being in favour with the whole
people. And day by day the Lord added the saved to their number.]

3 1 Now Peter and John were on their way up to the temple for the hour
2 of prayer, the ninth hour; and a man lame from his mother's womb was
being carried along, who was laid day by day at that door of the temple

[1] Reading *ἐπί*.

which is called Beautiful, to ask alms from those who entered the
3 temple. Seeing Peter and John on the point of entering the temple,
4 he begged to receive alms. Peter, however, along with John, fixed his
5 eyes on him and said, "Look at us!" And he attended to them,
6 expecting to get something from them. But Peter said, "No silver and no
gold are mine, but I give thee what I have. In the name of Jesus Christ
7 the Nazarene, walk!" Then catching him by the right hand, he raised
8 him. Instantly his feet and ankles were strengthened, and leaping up
he stood and began to walk; and he went along with them into the
9 temple, walking and leaping and extolling God. And all the people saw
10 him walking and extolling God, and recognised that this was the man
who had sat for alms at the Beautiful gate of the temple. And they
were filled with astonishment and amazement at what had happened to
11 him. While he kept hold of Peter and John, all the people hurriedly
gathered to join them in the portico which is called Solomon's, in utter
12 wonder. But when Peter saw it, he addressed the people: "Men of
Israel, why wonder at this man? or why fix your eyes on us, as if we had
13 made him walk by our own power or piety? *The God of Abraham and
Isaac and Jacob, the God of our fathers, has exalted his servant* Jesus, whom
you delivered up and refused before Pilate. Pilate had determined to
14 release him, but you refused the holy and upright one and asked for a
15 murderer to be given up to you; you killed the leader of Life, whom
16 God raised from the dead—a fact of which we are witnesses. (And
his name has strengthened this man whom you see and know, thanks to
faith in his name; yes, it is the faith which comes through him that has
17 made this man sound and whole in the sight of you all.) And now,
18 brothers, I know you did it, like your rulers, in ignorance; yet God
thus fulfilled what he had announced beforehand through the lips of all
19 the prophets, that his Christ should suffer. Repent then and turn, for
your sins to be blotted out, so that seasons of revival may come from the
20 Lord's presence, and that he may send Jesus, the Christ appointed for
21 you, whom heaven must receive until the times when all things are
restored—times of which God has spoken through the lips of his holy
22 prophets from of old. Moses said:

> *A prophet shall the Lord our God raise up for you from among your brothers, as he raised me:*
> *To him you shall listen, whatsoever he may say to you.*
> 23 *And it shall be that every soul which shall not listen to that prophet shall be exterminated from the people.*

24 And moreover, all the prophets who spoke, from Samuel and those
25 after him, proclaimed those days. You are the sons of the prophets and
of the covenant which God made with your fathers, saying to Abraham:
26 *And in thy offspring all the families of the earth shall be blessed.* God
raised up his servant and sent him first to you, to bless you as you turn,
each of you, from his iniquities."

4 1 Now as they were speaking to the people, the priests and the
2 commander of the temple and the Sadducees came up to them, sorely
annoyed because they taught the people and proclaimed in Jesus the
3 resurrection from the dead. And they laid hands on them and placed
them in custody till the next day. For by this time it was evening.
4 [But many of those who heard the word believed, and the number of the
5 men amounted to[1] five thousand.] Now it came to pass on the next
day that a gathering was held of their rulers and elders and scribes in

[1] Omitting [[ὡς]].

6 Jerusalem, along with Annas the high priest and Kaiaphas and John and
7 Alexander and all who belonged to the high priest's kindred. And
placing them in the middle, they inquired, "By what sort of power or in
8 what sort of name have people like you done this?" Then Peter was
filled with the holy Spirit and said to them: "Rulers of the people and
9 elders, if we are being cross-questioned to-day about a benefit conferred
10 on an infirm man, about the means of this man's healing—be it known to
you all and to all the people of Israel that in the name of Jesus Christ
the Nazarene, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, in
11 this Name he stands here before you, cured. He is *the stone despised by*
12 you *builders, who is made head of the corner.* And in none else salvation
lies, for indeed there is not under the sky another Name appointed among
13 men whereby you[1] must be saved." Now when they saw the confidence
of Peter and John and found that they were unlettered and uneducated,
14 they marvelled and recognised them as having been with Jesus. At
the same time, as they saw the man who had been healed standing
15 beside them, they were unable to gainsay anything. After ordering
them, however, to withdraw from the Sanhedrin, they proceeded to confer
16 with one another, saying: "What are we to do to these men? It is
obvious to all the residents in Jerusalem that an acknowledged sign has
17 taken place by means of them, and we cannot deny it. Still, to prevent
it from spreading more widely among the people, let us forbid them with
18 threats to speak to any man after this about this Name." So they
summoned them and charged them to neither speak nor teach at all about
19 the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said to them,
"Whether it is right before God to listen to you rather than to God,
20 judge for yourselves: we cannot but speak what we have seen and
21 heard." And after further threats they released them, as owing to the
people they could not find any means of punishing them; since all men
22 were magnifying God for what had taken place. (For the man in whose
case this sign of a cure had taken place, was more than forty years old.)
23 Now on being released they went to their own company, and
24 related all that the high priests and elders had said to them. And on
hearing it they with one accord lifted up their voice to God and said:

"Master, thou art he who made *the sky, the earth, the sea, and all that in them is:*

25 He who said to our fathers[2] through[3] the lips of David thy servant,
Why did the Gentiles rage
And the peoples vainly plot?
26 *The kings of the earth stood ready,*
And the rulers mustered together,
Against the Lord and against his Christ.
27 For they actually mustered within this city
Against thy holy servant Jesus *whom thou didst anoint,*
Both Herod and Pontius Pilate
Along with *the Gentiles and the peoples* of Israel,
28 To do all that thy hand and[4] purpose appointed beforehand to take place.
29 And now, Lord, look on their threats:
And grant that thy slaves may speak thy word with perfect confidence,

[1] Reading ὑμᾶς.
[2] Reading τοῖς πατράσιν.
[3] Omitting πνεύματος ἁγίου.
[4] Omitting σου.

30 While thy hand is reached out to cure and to work signs and
wonders through the name of thy holy servant Jesus."
31 And after their prayer, the place in which they were gathered was
shaken ; and they were all filled with the holy Spirit and spoke the word
of God with confidence.
32 Now the multitude of the believers were of one heart and soul, and
not a single one of them considered any of his goods his own ; they had all
33 things in common. And the apostles of the Lord Jesus rendered their
witness of the resurrection with great power, and great grace was upon
34 them all. Neither was there among them any needy person ; for all who
were owners of land or houses used to sell them and bring the proceeds
35 of the sale and lay them at the apostles' feet ; and distribution was
36 made to each just as anyone came to be in need. Now Joseph,
who was surnamed by the apostle Barnabas (which when translated
37 means "son of exhortation"), a Levite, a Cypriote by race, sold a field
which he had, and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet.
5 1 But a man named Ananias, with his wife Sapphira, sold a possession,
2 and after embezzling part of the price, with the knowledge of his
3 wife, he brought a part and laid it at the apostles' feet. Peter said,
"Ananias, why has Satan filled thy heart to cheat the holy Spirit and to
4 embezzle part of the price of the land ? While it remained unsold, did
it not remain thine ? And when sold, was it not at thine own disposal ?
How is it thou didst harbour this design ? Thou hast lied not to men
5 so much as to God." On hearing these words Ananias dropped down
6 and expired. And great fear fell upon all who heard it. But the
younger men rose, wrapped him round, and carried him out to burial.
7 Now it came to pass, after an interval of about three hours,
8 that his wife came in, unconscious of what had taken place. And Peter
addressed her, "Tell me, did you sell the land for such and such a sum ?"
9 She said, "Yes, for such and such a sum." Peter said to her, "How is it
that you have agreed to make trial of the Spirit of the Lord ? Look, the
feet of those who have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall
10 carry thee out !" Instantly she dropped down at his feet and expired,
and the young men came in to find her dead ; then they carried her out
11 and buried her beside her husband. And great fear fell upon the whole
Community and upon all who heard this.
12 Now many signs and wonders were done among the people by the
agency of the apostles. And they were all with one accord in the
13 portico of Solomon. No one of the rest dared join himself to them, but
14 the people magnified them. [And still more believed and were added
15 to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women.] So that they even
carried the infirm out into the streets and laid them on beds and pallets ;
that, when Peter came, his shadow at least might overshadow some of
16 them. Even from the towns round about Jerusalem the multitude
gathered, bringing infirm people and those vexed with unclean spirits ;
and they were all healed.
17 But the high priest rose up with all his associates (that is, the party
18 of the Sadducees), and filled with jealousy they laid hands on the
19 apostles and put them into public custody. During the night, however,
an angel of the Lord opened the doors of the prison, brought them out,
20 and said, "Go, stand in the temple and speak to the people all the words
21 of this Life." On hearing this, they entered the temple at daybreak and
proceeded to teach. Now when the high priest and his associates
arrived, they called the Sanhedrin together, and indeed all the elders'

council of the sons of Israel. Then they sent off to the prison-house to
22 have them brought. When the officers arrived, however, they did not
23 find them in the prison; so they came back and reported, "We found
the prison-house shut perfectly safe, and the guards standing at the
24 doors, but on opening it we found no one inside." Now when the
commander of the temple and the high priests heard these words, they
were completely bewildered with regard to them, to know what would
25 come of this. However, some one arrived and brought word to them,
"Look! the men you put in prison are standing and teaching the people
26 in the temple." Then off went the commander with the officers and
brought them, but without any violence, for they were afraid the people
27 would pelt them with stones. And when they had brought them, they
placed them before the Sanhedrin, and the high priest questioned them:
28 "We strictly charged you to say nothing about this Name: and here
you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and want to bring the
29 blood of this man upon us!" But Peter and the apostles answered and
30 said, "One must obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers
31 raised Jesus, whom you murdered *by hanging him upon a gibbet*. God
uplifted him by his right hand as leader and saviour, to give repentance
32 to Israel and remission of sins. And in Israel we are[1] witnesses of
these matters, along with the holy Spirit which God has given to those
33 who obey him." When they heard this they were cut to the heart,
34 and wanted to slay them. But a Pharisee rose up in the Sanhedrin,
Gamaliel by name, a doctor of the law who was held in honour by all
35 the people; he ordered the men to be withdrawn for a little, and said
to them: "Men of Israel, take care what you are going to do with
36 regard to these men. In days gone by Theudas rose up alleging himself
to be somebody great; and a number of men, about four hundred, rallied
to him. He was slain, and all his followers were dispersed and came to
37 nothing. After him Judas the Galilaean rose up in the days of the
census, and made people desert to him. He too perished, and all his
38 followers were scattered abroad. And now I tell you; leave these men
alone and let them be (for should this scheme or this enterprise spring from
39 men it will be overthrown, but if it really springs from God you will be
unable to overthrow them), in case it turns out you are fighting God."
40 So they gave way to him; and after summoning the apostles they
flogged them, charged them not to speak about the name of Jesus, and
41 released them. Then they went from the presence of the Sanhedrin
rejoicing that they had been held worthy of suffering insult for the
42 sake of the Name; nor did they cease to teach and preach every day in
the temple and at home the gospel of Jesus the Christ.

6 1 Now in these days, when the disciples were increasing in number,
murmuring against the Hebrews arose among the Hellenists, on the
ground that their widows were being overlooked in the daily ministry.
2 So the twelve summoned the multitude of the disciples, and said: "It
is not desirable that we should abandon the word of God and serve at
3 tables. However, look out seven men from among yourselves, brothers,
men of good reputation, full of the Spirit and wisdom, and we will
4 appoint them to this duty. But as for us, we will give ourselves to
5 prayer and to the ministry of the word." And what they said pleased all
the multitude; so they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and the holy
Spirit, and Philip and Prochŏrus and Nikanor and Timon and Parmenas
6 and Nikolaos a proselyte from Antioch. These men they put forward

[1] Reading ἐν αὐτῷ.

before the apostles, and after prayer they laid hands on them.
7 [And the word of the Lord continued to grow, and the number of the
disciples in Jerusalem multiplied very greatly; a large throng of the
priests also were obedient to the faith.]
8 Now Stephen, full of grace and power, was performing great wonders
9 and signs among the people. But some of those who belonged to the
synagogue of the Libertini and of the Cyrenians and Alexandrians, also
10 of those from Cilicia and Asia, rose up and disputed with Stephen; yet
they were unable to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit with which he
11 spoke. [Thereupon they suborned men to say, "We have heard him
12 speaking words of blasphemy against Moses and God," and thus they
roused up the people and the elders and the scribes; then, making an
assault, they dragged him away and brought him into the Sanhedrin.]
13 And they brought forward false witnesses who said, "This man never
14 ceases talking against this[1] holy place and the law. We have heard him
say that this fellow, Jesus the Nazarene, shall destroy this place and
15 change the customs which Moses delivered to us." [And as all who sat in
the Sanhedrin fixed their eyes on him, they saw his face was like the face
7 1 of an angel.] Then said the high priest, "Is this the case?" And he said:
2 "Brothers and fathers, listen. *The God of glory* appeared to our father
3 Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, *and
said to him*, '*Leave thy land and thy kinsfolk, and come into the land that I*
4 *shall show thee.*' Then he left the land of the Chaldeans and dwelt in
Haran. And after his father's death God removed him thence into this
5 land where you now dwell. *He gave* him *no* inheritance in it, *not even
the breadth of a foot*, yet promised he would *give it to him and to his off-*
6 *spring after him as a possession*—though he had not then a child. Thus
God spoke: '*His offspring shall sojourn in a foreign land, and men shall*
7 *make them slaves and ill-use them for four hundred years. And I will
judge*,' God said, '*the nation whose slaves they are. And after that, they*
8 *shall leave and worship me in this* place.' Also, he gave him *the covenant
of circumcision*. And so Abraham begat Isaac and *circumcised him on the
eighth day*, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob the twelve patriarchs.
9 And *out of jealousy* the patriarchs *sold Joseph into Egypt*. Yet *God was with*
10 *him* and delivered him from all his distresses, and *granted him favour* and
wisdom *before Pharaoh king of Egypt, who appointed him viceroy over Egypt*
11 *and his whole household. Now a famine came over the whole of Egypt* and
Canaan, accompanied by great distress; and our fathers could not find
12 provender. *But on hearing that there was food in Egypt, Jacob* despatched
13 our fathers the first time; and at their second visit *Joseph made himself
known to his brothers*, and Joseph's kindred was disclosed to Pharaoh.
14 Then Joseph sent and summoned his father Jacob and all his kinsfolk,
15 *consisting of seventy-five souls.* So[2] Jacob *went down to Egypt; and when*
16 *he and* our fathers *died, they were carried over to Shechem* and laid *in the
tomb which Abraham had bought* for a sum of money *from the sons of Hamor*
17 *in Shechem.* Now as the time drew near for the promise which
18 God had made to Abraham, the people *grew and multiplied* in Egypt, till
19 *another king rose up over Egypt who knew nothing of Joseph.* He *treated*
our *race craftily and ill-used* our fathers, forcing them to expose their
20 infants to prevent them *being kept alive.* At this time Moses was born;
and he was divinely *fair. For three months* he was brought up in his
21 father's house; and when he was exposed, *the daughter of Pharaoh lifted*
22 him and brought him up *for herself as a son.* And Moses was educated

[1] Reading τούτου. [2] Reading δέ.

in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; he was mighty in what he said and
23 did. But when he had completed his fortieth year, it came into his
24 mind to visit *his brothers, the sons of Israel.* And on seeing one of them
suffering wrong he defended him, *smote the Egyptian,* and so avenged the
25 man who was being worsted. (He thought his brothers would under-
stand that God was to give them deliverance by his hand; but they did
26 not understand.) On the next day also he appeared to them as they were
fighting; and he tried to pacify them, saying, 'Men, you are brothers!
27 Why wrong one another?' But *the man who was wronging his neighbour*
thrust him aside, saying, '*Who made thee ruler and umpire over us?*
28 *Wouldst thou slay me, just as thou didst slay the Egyptian yesterday?*'
29 *At this saying Moses fled and became a sojourner in the land of Midian,*
30 where he begat two sons. And when forty years were completed, there
appeared to him in the wilderness of Mount Sinai *an angel in the flames of a*
31 *burning thorn-bush.* Now when Moses saw it, he wondered at the vision.
32 But as he approached to look at it, the Lord's voice came: '*I am the God*
of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.' And Moses was
33 terrified and did not dare to look at it. *And the Lord said to him,* '*Loose*
the sandal from off thy feet: for the place where thou art standing is holy
34 *ground. I have surely seen the ill-usage of my people who are in Egypt, and*
I have heard their groaning, and I have come down to deliver them. And
35 *now come, let me send thee to Egypt.*' This Moses whom they refused,
saying, '*Who made thee ruler and umpire over us?*'—this very man God
sent to be both ruler and redeemer, by the agency of the angel who
36 appeared to him in the bush. He it was who led them out, performing
wonders and signs in Egypt and in the Red Sea and *in the wilderness during*
37 *forty years.* (This is the Moses who said to the sons of Israel, '*A prophet*
38 *shall God raise up for you from among your brothers, as he raised me.*') This
is he who, in the Community in the wilderness, intervened between the
angel who spoke to him in Mount Sinai and our fathers, he who received
39 living oracles to give to you.[1] Yet to him our fathers would not yield
obedience. Nay, they thrust him aside and *turned* in their hearts *to Egypt,*
40 *saying to Aaron,* '*Make gods for us, to go in front of us; as for this Moses*
who led us out of the land of Egypt—we know not what has happened to him.'
41 And in those days *they made a calf,* and *brought sacrifice* to the idol, and
42 made merry over the work of their hands. So God turned away and
gave them up to the worship of *the host of heaven;* even as it is written
in the book of the prophets,

Did you offer me victims and sacrifices
For the forty years in the wilderness, house of Israel?
43 *Nay! you carried the tabernacle of Moloch,*
And the star of the god Rompha,[2]
The figures you made, for worship.
So shall I transport you to beyond Babylon.

44 Our fathers had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as was
arranged by him *who told Moses to make* it *after the figure he had seen.*
45 Our fathers in their turn received it and brought it in with Joshua, *when*
they took possession of the territory of the nations which God thrust out
46 before the face of our fathers. So it was down to the days of David. He
found favour in the sight of God, and asked *that he might procure a dwelling*
47 *for the Lord*[3] *of Jacob.* It was *Solomon,* however, who *built him a house.*
48 Yet the most High dwells not in houses made by hands: even as the
prophet says,

[1] Reading ὑμῖν. [2] Reading Ρομφά. [3] Reading κυρίῳ.

49 *'The sky is my throne,*
And the earth is a footstool for my feet:
What kind of house will you build me,' saith the Lord,
'Or what is the place of my rest?
50 *Did not my hand make all these things?'*
51 *Stiff-necked* and *uncircumcised in heart* and *ear!* you are always *oppos-*
52 *ing the holy Spirit!* As did your fathers, so do you. Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? Yea, they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the upright One. And now you
53 have become his betrayers and murderers—yes, you who received the law administered through angels, yet have not observed it."
54 On hearing this they were cut to the very heart, and gnashed at
55 him with their teeth. He, full of the holy Spirit, fixed his eyes upon the sky and saw the brightness of God, with Jesus standing at the right
56 hand of God; and he said, "Lo, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of
57 man standing at the right hand of God!" With a loud cry they
58 stopped their ears; then with one accord rushed at him, threw him out of the city, and began to stone him. [And the witnesses laid their garments
59 down at the feet of a young man called Saul.] And as they stoned Stephen, he appealed to Jesus and said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"
60 Then he knelt down and cried with a loud voice, "Lord, lay not this sin
8 1 to their charge!" And when he had said this, he fell asleep. [Now Saul approved of his murder.]

And on that day a great persecution broke out against the Community which was in Jerusalem: with the exception of the apostles, all [1] were
2 scattered abroad over the regions of Judaea and Samaria. And devout
3 men buried Stephen and made great lamentation over him. [But Saul kept ravaging the Community; entering house after house, he dragged off men and women, and delivered them up to be imprisoned.]
4 Those then who were scattered abroad went through the country
5 preaching the word of the gospel. Now Philip went down to the city of
6 Samaria, and proceeded to preach the Christ to them. And the crowds attended with one accord to what Philip said, when they heard and saw
7 the signs he did. For unclean spirits came out of many of those who were possessed, shouting with a loud cry; and many paralysed and lame
8 people were healed. So there was much joy in that city.
9 Now a man named Simon had previously been practising magic in the city and amazing the people of Samaria; for he gave himself out to be a
10 great man, and from the least to the greatest they all devoted themselves to him, saying, "This man is that Power of God which is called
11 'The Great Power.'" They devoted themselves to him because for a considerable time he had amazed them with his magic arts. But when they believed Philip, who preached the gospel of God's reign and the name of
13 Jesus Christ, they had themselves baptized, both men and women. Even Simon himself also believed, and after baptism attached himself to Philip; and when he saw the signs and great miracles that were taking
14 place, he was amazed. Now when the apostles who were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had accepted the word of God, they despatched to them
15 Peter and John. These men came down and prayed for them that they
16 might receive the holy Spirit. (For as yet it had not fallen upon any of them; they had merely got baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus.)
17 Then they proceeded to lay their hands on them; and they received the
18 holy Spirit. Now Simon noticed it was through the laying on of the

[1] Omitting [[τῇ]].

apostles' hands that the Spirit was given; so he brought them money,
19 saying, "Give me also this power, so that anyone on whom I lay my
20 hands may receive the holy Spirit." But Peter said to him, "Thy money perish with thyself!—since thou didst think to purchase God's free gift
21 with money. In this matter thou hast neither part nor lot, for thy
22 *heart is not straight-forward in God's sight.* Repent then of this thy wickedness, and entreat the Lord that thy heart's design perchance may
23 be forgiven thee. For I see thou wilt become *a bitter poison* and *a bond*
24 *of iniquity.*" And Simon answered, "Do you entreat the Lord for me,
25 that nothing of what you have said may befall me." So after attesting and speaking the word of the Lord, they went on their way back to Jerusalem, preaching the glad tidings to many of the Samaritan villages.

26 But an angel of the Lord spoke to Philip, saying, "Rise up and make your way about noon to the road that goes down from Jerusalem
27 to Gaza" [the road is desert]. And he rose up and went on his way. And behold, an Ethiopian eunuch holding high office under Kandacê queen of the Ethiopians (he was over all her treasure), who had come to
28 Jerusalem for worship, was on his way back, sitting in his chariot and
29 reading the prophet Isaiah. The Spirit said to Philip, "Approach
30 and join this chariot." So when Philip ran up to him, he heard him reading Isaiah the prophet. And he said, "And dost thou understand
31 what thou readest?" He said, "Why, how could I—unless some one be my guide?" And he besought Philip to come up and sit beside him.
32 Now the contents of the scripture which he was reading were as follows:

Like a sheep was he led to the slaughter;
And as a lamb before its shearer is dumb,
So he opens not his mouth.
33 *Humbling himself, he had his doom removed.*
Who shall describe his generation?
For his life is cut off from the earth.

34 So the eunuch answered and said to Philip, "I pray thee, about whom
35 does the prophet say this? about himself or about some one else?" And Philip opened his mouth, and starting from this scripture he preached to
36 him the glad tidings of Jesus. Now as they travelled along the road they came to some water. And the eunuch says, "Look, here is water! what
38 is to prevent me from being baptized?" So he ordered the chariot to stop; and they both went down to the water, Philip as well as the eunuch,
39 and he baptized him. After they had gone up from the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught Philip away; and the eunuch saw him no
40 longer, for he went on his own way rejoicing. But Philip found himself at Azotus; and as he passed on, he preached the glad tidings to all the cities, till he arrived at Caesarea.

9 1 Meanwhile Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the
2 disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest and asked him for letters addressed to the synagogues at Damascus, so that he might bring bound to Jerusalem any person (man or woman) whom he could find, that belonged
3 to the Way. Now on his journey it came to pass that when he drew
4 near to Damascus, suddenly a light from the sky flashed round him; and dropping on the ground he heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why
5 art thou persecuting me?" And he said, "Who art thou, sir?" And he
6 said, "I am Jesus, and thou art persecuting me. Come, rise up and go
7 into the city, and thou shalt be told what thou must do." Now his fellow-travellers stood speechless, for while they heard the voice they

8 nobody. And Saul rose from the ground, but when he opened his eyes he
could see nothing. So they led him by the hand, and brought him to
9 Damascus. And for three days he was sightless, and neither ate nor drank.
10 Now there was a disciple in Damascus named Ananias. And the
Lord said to him in a vision, "Ananias." And he said, "Here am I,
11 Lord." And the Lord said to him, "Rise and go to the thoroughfare
which is called 'Straight,' and enquire at the house of Judas for a man of
12 Tarsus named Saul. For lo, he is praying, and he has seen a man named
Ananias enter and lay his hands on him, that he may see again."
13 Ananias answered, "Lord, I have heard from many people about this man,
14 and about all the evil he has done to thy saints in Jerusalem. And here
also he has authority from the high priests to bind all who call upon thy
15 name!" But the Lord said to him, "Go: I have in this man a chosen
vessel, for carrying my name before Gentiles and kings, as well as before
16 the sons of Israel. I myself will show him all that he must suffer for
17 my name's sake." So Ananias went away and entered the house; and
laying his hands on him he said, "Saul, my brother, I am sent by the
Lord, by Jesus who appeared to thee on the road as thou camest, that
18 thou mayest see again and be filled with the holy Spirit." And instantly
there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he saw again; and he stood
19 up, and had himself baptized. Then he took food and recovered his
strength.
20 Now for some days he remained with the disciples in Damascus, and
he immediately proceeded to preach Jesus in the synagogues, saying,
21 "This is the Son of God." And all who heard him were amazed, and said,
"Is not this the man who made havoc in Jerusalem of those who called
upon this Name, and who came here for the express purpose of bringing
22 them bound to the high priests?" But Saul became stronger than ever,
and went on confounding the Jews who dwelt in Damascus by proving
23 that "this is the Christ." Now after a considerable number of days had
24 elapsed, the Jews took counsel together to slay him. (However, their plot
became known to Saul.) They kept watch even on the gates both day
25 and night, so as to slay him. But one night his disciples took and let
him down over the wall by lowering him in a large basket.
26 On reaching Jerusalem he attempted to join the disciples; but they
were all afraid of him, because they did not believe he was a disciple.
27 However, Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles, and
described to them how he had seen the Lord upon the road and how he
had spoken to him, and how he had spoken out confidently at Damascus in
28 the name of Jesus. And he went in and out with them at Jerusalem,
29 speaking out confidently in the name of the Lord. He also talked and
30 disputed with the Hellenists; but they made attempts to slay him. On
ascertaining this the brothers brought him down to Caesarea and sent him
31 away to Tarsus. So the Community had peace throughout the
whole of Judaea [and Galilee] and Samaria; it was built up and it walked
in the fear of the Lord. And through the encouragement of the holy
Spirit it was multiplied.

32 Now it came to pass as Peter moved about among them all, that he
33 came down also to the saints who resided in Lydda. There he found a
man named Aeneas who had lain on a pallet for eight years with paralysis.
34 And Peter said to him, "Aeneas, Jesus Christ cures thee; rise and make
35 thy bed." And immediately he rose. And all who resided in Lydda and
Saron saw him, and they turned to the Lord.

36 Now at Joppa there was a disciple named Tabitha (that is, when
translated, "Gazelle"); she was full of good works and almsdeeds which
37 she practised. But it came to pass that in those days she fell ill and
38 died; and after washing her they laid her in an upper chamber. Now
Lydda was near Joppa; so, on hearing that Peter was there, the disciples
sent two men to him with the entreaty, "Come on to us without delay."
39 And Peter rose and accompanied them. When he arrived they took him
into the upper chamber, and all the widows stood beside him weeping
and showing the tunics and garments that she, "the Gazelle," had made
40 while she was with them. But Peter put them all out, knelt down, and
prayed. Then turning to the corpse, he said, "Tabitha, rise up." And
41 she opened her eyes, and on seeing Peter she sat up. Then he gave her
his hand and raised her up, and calling the saints and widows he
42 presented her alive. And it became known throughout the whole of
43 Joppa; and many believed on the Lord. And it came to pass that he
remained for many days in Joppa with a man Simon who was a tanner.

10 1 Now there was a man in Caesarea, Kornelius by name, a centurion of
2 the cohort called the "Italian" cohort; he was a pious man who feared God
with all his house, gave liberal alms to the people, and always prayed to
3 God. About the ninth hour of the day he distinctly saw in a vision an
4 angel of God coming in to him and saying to him, "Kornelius." And
with eyes fixed on him in terror, he said, "What is it, Lord?" And he
said to him, "Thy prayers and thine alms have risen as an offering of
5 remembrance before God. So now, send men to Joppa and send for a
6 man Simon who is surnamed Peter; he is staying with a man Simon a
7 tanner, whose house stands by the sea." And when the angel who
spoke to him had gone, he called two servants of his household and a
8 pious soldier who belonged to his retinue, and after recounting everything
9 to them he sent them to Joppa. Now the next day, while they
were upon the road and nearing the city, Peter went up to the housetop to
10 pray, about the sixth hour. And he became very hungry and desired to
11 eat. But as they were making ready, a trance came over him. He
sees the sky opened and a vessel coming down, like a great sheet lowered
12 by four corners to the earth. In it were all the four-footed and creeping
13 things of the earth, and the birds of the air. And a voice came to him,
14 "Rise, Peter, kill and eat." But Peter said, "By no means, Lord: never
15 have I eaten anything common or unclean." And once more a voice came
to him, for the second time, "What God has cleansed, hold not thou
16 common." This happened three times; then the vessel was immediately
17 taken up into the sky. Now while Peter was completely bewildered to
know what was the meaning of the vision he had seen, behold, the men
sent by Kornelius had made enquiries for the house of Simon and now
18 stood at the gate; and they called out to ask if Simon, surnamed Peter,
19 was staying there. And while Peter was pondering the vision, the Spirit
20 said to him, "Lo, there are two[1] men seeking thee. Come, rise and go
down and accompany them; hesitate not, for I myself have sent them."
21 So Peter went down to the men, and said, "I am the man you are seeking.
22 What is your reason for coming?" And they said, "A centurion
Kornelius, a man who is upright and fears God and has a good reputation
among the whole nation of the Jews, was divinely instructed by a holy angel
23 to send for thee to his house and to hear what thou hadst to say." There-
upon he invited them in and entertained them. And the next day
he rose and went off with them, accompanied by some of the brothers

[1] Reading δύο.

24 from Joppa; and on the day following he entered Caesarea. Now
Kornelius was expecting them, and had called together his kinsmen and
25 intimate friends. So when it came to pass that Peter was going to enter
the house, Kornelius met him, fell down at his feet, and did him
26 reverence. But Peter raised him up, saying "Stand up: I am a man
27 myself." Then conversing with him he entered the house, to find a large
28 company assembled. And he said to them, "You know yourselves that
it is illegal for a Jew to join or accost anyone belonging to another
nation. Yet God has shown me that I am not to call any man common
29 or unclean; and for that reason I came without demur when I was sent
30 for. I ask then, why was it that you sent for me?" And Kornelius
said, "Three days ago at this very hour, I was praying at the ninth hour
31 in my house. And lo, a man stood before me in bright dress, saying,
'Kornelius, thy prayer is heard and thine alms are held in remembrance
32 before God. Send therefore to Joppa and summon Simon who is
surnamed Peter; he is staying in the house of Simon a tanner beside the
33 sea.' So I sent at once for thee, and thou hast done right in coming.
Well now, here we are all present before God to hear what the Lord has
34 commanded thee to say." So Peter opened his mouth and said, "I
35 certainly find that *God is no respecter of persons*, but that in every nation he
36 who fears him and acts uprightly is acceptable to him. *The word*[1] *he sent*
to the sons of *Israel*, *preaching* through Jesus Christ *the gospel of peace*—
37 that word is[2] for all. You know yourselves what took place throughout
the whole of Judaea [starting from Galilee] after the baptism which John
38 preached: that is, how *God anointed* Jesus of Nazareth *with* the holy *Spirit*
and power, and how he went about doing good and curing all oppressed
39 by the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all he did
both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem. They slew him
40 *by hanging him upon a gibbet*. On the third day God raised him, and
41 granted that he should be made manifest, not to all the people but to
witnesses previously chosen by God, even to us who ate and drank with
42 him after his resurrection from the dead. And he charged us to preach
to the people and testify that 'this is he whom God has appointed to be
43 judge of the living and the dead.' All the prophets bear him witness,
that everyone who believes on him shall receive through his Name the
44 remission of sins." While Peter was still saying these words, the holy
45 Spirit fell upon all who heard the word. And those of the circumcision
who were believers (and had accompanied Peter) were amazed, because the
free gift of the holy Spirit had been poured out even on the Gentiles
46 (for they heard them speak with tongues and magnify God). Then Peter
47 answered, "Can anyone refuse the water for baptizing these people—
48 these who just like ourselves have received the holy Spirit?" And he
commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. Then they
prayed him to stay for some days.

11 1 Now the apostles and the brothers who lived throughout Judaea
2 heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. So when
Peter came up to Jerusalem, those who belonged to the circumcision fell
3 foul of him; "Thou didst go in," they said, "to visit uncircumcised men,
4 and didst eat with them." So Peter began and unfolded the facts to
5 them in order: "I was in the city of Joppa," he said, "praying. And
in a trance I saw a vision, a vessel coming down like a great sheet
6 lowered from the sky by four corners; and it came down to me. On it I
fixed my eyes and marked; and I saw the fourfooted things of the earth

[1] Omitting [[τὸν]]. [2] Omitting κύριος.

and the wild beasts and the creeping things and the birds of the air.
7, 8 Also I heard a voice saying to me, 'Rise, Peter, kill and eat.' But I said,
'By no means, Lord; nothing common or unclean has ever entered my
9 mouth.' But a voice answered the second time out of the sky, 'What
10 God has cleansed, hold thou not common.' And this was done three
11 times, then everything was again drawn up into the sky. And lo, at this
instant three men arrived at the house where we lived, who had been sent
12 to me from Caesarea. Now the Spirit told me to accompany them
without hesitation; these six brothers came with me as well, and
13 we entered the man's house. He related to us how he had seen the angel
stand in his house and say, 'Send to Joppa and send for Simon who is
14 surnamed Peter; he will speak to thee words by which thou shalt be
15 saved, thou and all thy house.' And when I started to speak, the holy
16 Spirit fell upon them just as upon ourselves at the beginning. And I
remembered the word of the Lord, how he said, 'John baptized with
17 water, but you shall be baptized with the holy Spirit.' If God then gave to
them exactly the same free gift as also he gave to us when we believed on
18 the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I—had I the power to hinder God?" On
hearing this they held their peace, and proceeded[1] to magnify God,
saying, 'So God has given to the Gentiles also the repentance that
brings life!'"

19 So those who had been scattered abroad upon the distress
occasioned by Stephen, passed on as far as Phoenicê and Cyprus and
20 Antioch, without speaking the word to anyone except Jews. Some of
them, however, were Cypriotes and Cyrenians, who on coming to Antioch
21 told the Greeks also the gospel of the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the
Lord was with them; a large number believed and turned to the Lord.
22 [Now the news about them reached the ears of the Community in
23 Jerusalem: and they despatched Barnabas to Antioch. He came, and on
seeing the grace of God rejoiced, and exhorted them all to hold by the
24 Lord with hearty aim. (For he was a good man, and full of the holy
Spirit and faith.) And a considerable number were added to the Lord.
25, 26 So he went off to Tarsus to search for Saul; and after finding him he
brought him to Antioch. And it came to pass that for a whole year
they were guests of the Community and taught a considerable number.]
It was at Antioch also that the disciples were originally styled "Christians."
27 Now during these days prophets came down from Jerusalem to
28 Antioch, and[2] there was great rejoicing. When we had gathered
together, one of them [named Agabus] spoke, indicating through the
Spirit that a great famine was to come over the whole world (it took
29 place in the reign of Claudius). So the disciples each set apart money,
just as every man had means to spare, for aid to be sent to the brothers
30 who dwelt in Judaea. [This also they carried out, sending their aid to
the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul.]
12 1 Now about that time Herod the king laid hands on some members of
2 the Community, to ill-use them. James the brother of John, he slew
3 with the sword; and when he saw that it pleased the Jews, he went on to
4 seize Peter as well. (It was the days of unleavened bread.) When he had
arrested him, he put him in prison and delivered him to a guard of four

[1] Reading ἐδόξαζον.
[2] Reading ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις· συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀν. Α. σημαίνων.

quaternions of soldiers, intending after the Passover to bring him up
5 before the people. So Peter lay closely watched in the prison; but
6 prayer was earnestly offered to God for him by the Community. Now
on the very night before Herod meant to have him brought out, Peter
was sleeping between two soldiers, fastened by two chains, while guards
7 in front of the door watched the prison. And lo, an angel of the Lord
stood beside him, and a light shone in the cell; striking Peter on the
side he woke him, saying, "Quick, rise up!" And off dropped his chains
8 from his hands. And the angel said to him, "Gird thyself and bind on
thy sandals." He did so. Then he says to him, "Throw thy cloak round
9 thee and follow me." And out he went, following him; yet he did not
know that what was taking place by means of the angel was real, but rather
10 imagined that he saw a vision. Now when they had passed the first and
the second guard, they came to the iron gate leading into the city; this
opened to them of its own accord, so they went out and had passed on
11 through one thoroughfare, when immediately the angel left him. And
on coming to himself Peter said, "Now I really know that the Lord has
sent forth his angel and delivered me out of Herod's hand and from all
12 that the Jewish people anticipated." On realising this, he went to the
house of Mary the mother of John (surnamed Mark), where a number of
13 people had collected for prayer. And when he knocked at the door of
14 the porch, a maidservant named Rhoda came to answer it. And on
recognising the voice of Peter, in her joy she did not open the porch, but
ran in and announced that Peter was standing in front of the porch.
15 They said to her, "Thou art mad." But she stoutly declared it was the
16 case. They said, "It is his angel." Meanwhile Peter kept on knocking;
17 and when they did open, they saw him and were amazed. But beckoning
to them with his hand for silence, he described to them how the Lord
had brought him out of the prison. "Report this," he said, "to James
18 and to the brothers," and off he went on his way to another place. Now
when day broke, there was no slight commotion among the soldiers over
19 what could have become of Peter. And when Herod had searched for
him and failed to find him, he cross-questioned the guards, and ordered
them off to death; then he went down from Judaea to Caesarea, and spent
20 some time there. Now he was at bitter feud with the people of
Tyre and Sidon; so they came to him with one accord, and, after conciliating
the king's chamberlain Blastus, begged for peace, seeing that their
21 country depended upon the king's for supplies of food. And on a stated
day Herod arrayed himself in royal robes, took his seat upon the dais,
22 and proceeded to harangue them. And the people roared, "A god's
23 voice, not a man's!" Instantly an angel of the Lord smote him, because
he gave not God due honour; and he was eaten by worms and expired.
24 But the word of the Lord[1] grew and multiplied.

25 [Now Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem after they had dis-
charged their mission, taking along with them John who was surnamed
13 1 Mark.] Now in the local Community at Antioch there were
prophets and teachers, Barnabas, Symeon (called Niger), and Lucius the
Cyrenian, besides Manaen (foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch) and
2 Saul. And as they worshipped the Lord and fasted, the holy Spirit
said, "Come! set me apart Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I
3 have called them." Then, after they had fasted and prayed and laid
their hands on them, they let them go.

[1] Reading *κυρίου*.

4 So then, sent out by the holy Spirit, they went down to Seleuceia;
5 and from there they sailed away to Cyprus. And on reaching Salamis
they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews
6 (and they had John also as their attendant). Now on traversing the
whole island as far as Paphos, they fell in with a Jewish magician and
7 false prophet, named Bar-Jesus. He was in the suite of the proconsul
Sergius Paulus, a man of intelligence, who summoned Barnabas and Saul
8 and sought to hear the word of God. But the magician Elymas (for that
is the translation of his name) opposed them, trying to turn aside the
9 proconsul from the faith. And Saul (whose name also is Paul) became
10 filled with the holy Spirit, fixed his eyes on him, and said, "Thou son of
the devil, enemy of all that is upright, full of all guile and all villainy,
11 wilt thou not cease to turn aside *the straight ways of the Lord?* Now then,
lo, the Lord's hand is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, seeing not the
sun for a time." Instantly there fell upon him mist and darkness, and
12 he groped about for some one to lead him by the hand. Then the
proconsul believed when he saw what had happened, astonished at the
teaching of the Lord.
13 Setting sail from Paphos, Paul and his associates reached Perga in
Pamphylia; John, however, departed from them and turned back to
14 Jerusalem. Passing on from Perga they arrived at Pisidian Antioch, and
15 entering the synagogue on the sabbath-day they sat down. After the
reading of the law and the prophets, the presidents of the synagogue sent
to them, saying, "Men and brothers, if you have any word of exhortation
16 for the people, say on." So Paul stood up, and with a movement of his
17 hand said: "Men of Israel, and you who fear God, listen. The God of
this people Israel chose our fathers and raised the people as they
sojourned in the land of Egypt, and *with a high arm led them out of it*. And
18, 19 for about forty years *he nursed them like a father*[1] *in the wilderness; and*
after destroying seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them their land
20 *as an inheritance* for about four hundred and fifty years. And after that
21 he gave them judges, down to Samuel the prophet. Then it was that
they begged for a king; and God gave them for forty years Saul, the son
22 of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin. And after deposing him he
raised up David as their king; to whom he bore witness, saying, '*I have*
found in David, the son of Jesse, *a man after my own heart*, who will do
23 all my commands.' From this man's offspring God brought Israel, as he
24 promised, a saviour—Jesus—after that, previous to his coming, John had
already preached the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel.
25 As John fulfilled his course, he said, 'What do you imagine I am? I
am not he. Nay, behold, he is coming after me! and the sandal of
26 his feet I am not fit to untie.' Men and brothers, sons of
Abraham's race, and those among you who fear God, to us *was the word*
27 of this salvation *sent forth*. For those who dwell in Jerusalem and their
rulers did not know him; and in condemning him they fulfilled the
28 sayings of the prophets which are read every sabbath; yea, although they
found no crime in him deserving death, yet they begged Pilate to have
29 him slain. Then, after fulfilling all that was written about him, they
30 lowered him from the gibbet and laid him in a tomb. But God raised
31 him from the dead. For many days he was seen by those who had come
up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, by those who are now his witnesses
32 to the people. So we bring you glad tidings of the promise made to
33 the fathers, namely, that God made good this promise to the children—

[1] Reading ἐτροφοφόρησεν.

to us,[1] when he raised up Jesus: as it is written also in the first[2] psalm,

My son thou art:
To-day have I begotten thee.

34 And that he raised him up from the dead, to return no more to
corruption, has been thus declared by him: *I will give you the holiness of*
35 *David that fails not.* For it is also said in another psalm,

Thou wilt not let thy holy one see corruption.

36 *David*, indeed, serving God's purpose in his own generation, fell asleep
37 and was laid *beside his fathers;* and he saw corruption. But he, whom
38 God raised up, did not see corruption. Be it known to you
then, men and brothers, that through this man there is proclaimed to you
39 the remission of sins: every one[3] who believes is absolved by this man
40 from all that you could not be absolved from by the law of Moses. Take
care, then, lest what is spoken of in the prophets befall you—

41 *Look, you disdainful, wonder and perish;*
For I do a work in your days,
A work *you will never believe, even were one to inform you.*"

42 [Now as they went out, the people made an appeal to have these words
43 spoken to them on the following sabbath.] And when the synagogue
broke up, many of the Jews and of the devout proselytes followed Paul
and Barnabas, who spoke to them and urged them to hold by the grace
44 of God. [On the next sabbath, nearly all the city met to hear the
45 word of the Lord. But when the Jews saw the crowds they were filled
46 with jealousy, and began to abuse and contradict what Paul said. So
Paul and Barnabas spoke out with confidence, and said, "It was necessary
that the word of God should be spoken to you first. Since you thrust it
aside and adjudge yourselves unworthy of eternal life—lo, we turn to
47 the Gentiles! For the Lord has given us this commandment,

I have placed thee for a light to the Gentiles,
For salvation to the end of the earth."

48 Now as the Gentiles heard it they were glad, and magnified the word of
49 God; and all who had been appointed to life eternal, believed.] And
the word of the Lord spread abroad throughout the whole country.
50 [But the Jews incited the devout women who were of good position, as
well as the leading men of the city; and they stirred up a persecution
51 against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them from their territory. So
they shook off the dust of their feet against them and went to Ikonium.]
52 And the disciples were full of joy and of the holy Spirit.

14 1 Now the same thing happened in Ikonium. They entered the
synagogue of the Jews and spoke in such a way that a large multitude
3 both of Jews and of Greeks believed. So they spent a considerable
time there, speaking out confidently in the Lord, who bore witness to the
word of his grace by granting signs and wonders to be performed by
2 their agency. But the Jews who were disobedient stirred up the minds
4 of the Gentiles, and embittered them against the brothers. And the
multitude of the city was divided; some held with the Jews and some
5 with the apostles. But when they became aware of a movement on the
part both of the Gentiles and of the Jews and their rulers to ill-treat and
6 stone them, they fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbê and to
7 the surrounding country; and there they went on preaching the glad
tidings.

8 And in Lystra there sat a man who was infirm in his feet [lame

[1] Reading ἡμῖν. [2] Reading πρώτῳ. [3] Omitting [καὶ].

9 from his mother's womb]—he had never walked. This man listened [1]
to what Paul said; and he, fixing his eyes on him, and seeing that
10 he had faith to be restored, said with a loud voice, "Stand upright
11 on thy feet!" And up he leapt and began to walk. On seeing
what Paul had done, the crowds raised their voice, saying in the
Lycaonian tongue, "The gods in human guise have come down
12 to us!" Barnabas they called Zeus; and since Paul was the chief
13 spokesman, they called him Hermes. And the priest of the Zeus
whose temple stood in front of the city, brought oxen and gar-
14 lands, intending to offer sacrifice along with the crowds. But when
the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard it, they rent their garments
15 and sprang out among the crowd, shouting, "Men, what is this you
are doing? We are but human, with natures like your own; we
preach the glad tidings to you, namely, that you turn from these
futile things to a living God *who made the sky, the earth, the sea,*
16 *and all that in them is.* In bygone generations he allowed all the
17 nations to go on their own ways. Yet as the bountiful giver he
has not left himself without a witness, giving you rain from heaven
and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and delight."
18 Yet even by saying this, they could scarcely restrain the crowds
19 from sacrificing to them. But Jews arrived from Antioch
and Ikonium, who won over the crowds; and after pelting Paul with
stones, they dragged him out of the city, thinking he was dead.
20 When the disciples gathered round him, however, he stood up and
entered the city. And on the next day he went off with Barnabas
to Derbê.

21 And when they had preached the glad tidings to that city and made
many disciples, they turned back to Lystra, Ikonium, and Antioch,
22 confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to abide by the
faith, and saying, "through many a distress we have to enter God's realm."
23 So, after choosing elders for them in every Community, they entrusted
them with prayer and fasting to the Lord on whom they had believed.
24, 25 Then they passed through Pisidia and came to Pamphylia. And after
26 speaking the word in Perga they went down to Attaleia, and from there
they sailed away to Antioch, whence they had been commended to the
27 grace of God for the work which they had now completed. So when
they arrived and had gathered the Community together, they reported all
that God had done along with them, and that "he opened a door to faith
28 for the Gentiles." And they spent no little time with the disciples.

15 1 And some persons came down from Judaea and taught the
brothers, "Unless you are circumcised after the custom of Moses,
2 you cannot be saved." Now no slight discussion and controversy
arose between them and Paul and Barnabas; whereupon the
brothers appointed Paul and Barnabas and some others of their
number to go up to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem about
3 this question. Sped then upon their journey by the Community,
they passed through both Phoenicê and Samaria, informing them
that the Gentiles had turned, and so causing great joy to all the
4 brothers. On arriving at Jerusalem, they were received by the
Community and the apostles and the elders; and they reported all
5 that God had done along with them. But some of the believers
who belonged to the party of the Pharisees, rose up and said, "It is

[1] Reading ἤκουεν.

necessary to circumcise them and to charge them to keep the law of Moses."

6 Now the apostles and the elders met to investigate this subject.
7 And after a keen controversy, Peter stood up and said to them:
"Men and brothers, you know that from early days God chose me
from among you to let the Gentiles hear through my lips the word of
8 the glad tidings, and so believe. And God who knows the heart bore
them witness, by giving them the holy Spirit even as he gave it
9 to us; nor did he make the slightest distinction between us and
10 them, as he cleansed their hearts by faith. Now then, why do
you attempt[1] to put a yoke on the neck of the disciples that
11 neither our fathers nor we had strength to bear? Nay, it is
through the grace of the Lord Jesus that we believe we shall
12 be saved, just as they." So all the meeting became silent, and
listened to Barnabas and Paul as they recounted what signs and
wonders God had performed through them among the Gentiles.
13 After they had finished speaking, James answered and said:
14 "Listen to me, men and brothers. Symeon has recounted how it
was God's care at the very outset to take from among the Gentiles
15 a people for his name. And with this the words of the prophets
agree; even as it is written,

16 *After this I will come back*
And rebuild David's fallen tent;
Its ruins I will rebuild,
And I will erect it anew,
17 *That the rest of men may seek after the Lord,*
Even all the Gentiles who are called by my name:
18, 19 *saith the Lord, who makes this known from of old.* Therefore
in my opinion we should not molest those who are turning to God
20 from among the Gentiles, but write enjoining them to abstain
from what is contaminated by idols, from fornication, from what
21 is strangled, and from blood; for in every city Moses has had for
generations past those who preach him, as he is read in the
22 synagogues every sabbath." Thereupon the apostles and the
elders, together with the whole Community, determined to choose
some of their number and send them with Paul and Barnabas to
Antioch. These were Judas (called Bar-Sabbas) and Silas, chief
23 men among the brothers. They conveyed a letter to the following
effect:

"The apostles and the elders, as brothers,
to the brothers who belong to the Gentiles throughout
Antioch and Syria and Cilicia: greeting.

24 As we have learned that some of our number[2] have troubled
you with their talk and unsettled your souls (they had no
25 instructions from us), we have now determined with one accord
to choose men from our number and send them to you, along
26 with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, who have risked their lives
27 for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent Judas
and Silas then, who will give you this message orally as well.
28 For the holy Spirit and we have determined to lay on you no
29 greater burden—apart from the following essentials: that you
abstain from food offered to idols, from blood, from things
strangled, and from fornication. Keep yourselves clear of these,

[1] Omitting τὸν θεὸν. [2] Omitting ἐξελθόντες.

30 and you shall prosper. Farewell." So they were allowed
to go, and went down to Antioch, and after gathering the multitude
31 together they handed over the letter. Now on reading it they
32 rejoiced at the exhortation; and as Judas and Silas were prophets
themselves, they exhorted the brothers with many words and
33 confirmed them. Then after some time had passed, the brothers
let them go in peace to those who had sent them.
35 Paul and Barnabas, however, stayed on in Antioch, teaching and
preaching the word of the Lord along with many others.
36 Some days after, Paul said to Barnabas, "Come, let us go back and
visit the brothers in every city where we proclaimed the word of the
37 Lord, and see how they fare." Now Barnabas wanted to take John
38 (who was called Mark) along with them. Paul, however, held it was
wrong to take a man with them who had deserted them at Pamphylia,
39 instead of accompanying them to the work. So in irritation they
separated from one another; Barnabas took Mark with him and sailed
40 off to Cyprus; while Paul selected Silas and departed, commended by the
41 brothers to the grace of the Lord. And he passed on through Syria and
16 1 Cilicia, confirming the communities. Now he also arrived at
Derbê and Lystra. And behold, there was a disciple there named
2 Timotheus, the son of a Jewess who believed, but of a Greek father; he had
3 a good reputation among the brothers at Lystra and Ikonium. This man
Paul desired to go abroad with him; so he took and circumcised him
on account of the Jews in those parts—for they all knew his father had
4 been a Greek. [And on they journeyed through the cities, handing over
the resolutions which the apostles and elders in Jerusalem had decided
5 were to be observed.] [So the Communities were strengthened
in the faith, and increased in number day by day.]

6 Now they passed on through the Phrygian or Galatic region. And
when they were opposite Mysia, as the holy Spirit had forbidden them to
7 speak the word in Asia, they tried to enter Bithynia. But the Spirit of
8 Jesus would not allow them. So ignoring Mysia they went down to
9 Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul by night: a Macedonian stood
and besought him, saying, "Cross over to Macedonia and help us."
10 **Now immediately he had seen the vision, we made efforts to start for
Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the glad tidings to
them.**
11 **Setting sail then from Troas we ran straight to Samothrakê and the
12 following day to Neapolis; and from there we came to a Roman colony,
Philippi, a city which belongs to the first [1] section of Macedonia. In this
13 city we spent some days. And on the sabbath-day we went outside the gate
to the bank of the river, where as usual [2] there was a place of prayer; and
14 sitting down we spoke to the women who had gathered. And a woman
named Lydia, a seller of purple who belonged to the city of Thyatira, a God-
fearing proselyte, was listening. Her heart was opened by the Lord to
15 attend to what Paul said; and when she had been baptized, together with
her household, she besought us, saying, "If you are convinced that I am a
believer in the Lord, come and stay at my house." And she compelled
16 us. Now it came to pass, when we were going to the place of
prayer, that a slave-girl met us, possessed by a spirit—a python,—who
17 brought considerable gain to her owners by soothsaying. She followed
Paul and us, shouting, "These men are slaves of the most High God, who**

[1] Reading πρώτης. [2] Reading ὃν ἐνομίζετο προσευχή.

18 **proclaim to you the way of salvation." This she did for many days.** But
Paul was sorely annoyed, and turning round he said to the spirit,
"I charge thee in the name of Jesus Christ, leave her!" And it left her
19 that very instant. Now when her owners saw that the hope of their gain
had gone, they took Paul and Silas and dragged them into the forum
20 before the magistrates; and when they had brought them to the praetors,
21 they said, "These fellows are Jews who are convulsing our city by
proclaiming customs which it is not lawful for us as Romans to accept or
22 to observe." And up rose the crowd against them, and the praetors
23 tore off their garments and ordered them to be beaten with rods; then
after showering many stripes on them, they threw them into prison and
24 charged the jailor to keep them safely. He, on getting such a charge, put
25 them into the inner prison and secured their feet in the stocks. [Now
about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing praise to God,
26 while the prisoners listened to them. And suddenly there was a great
earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison-house were shaken; all
27 the doors instantly flew open, and everyone's fetters were loosened. And
when the jailor was roused from sleep and saw the doors of the prison
open, he drew his sword and was about to kill himself, supposing that
28 the prisoners had escaped. But Paul cried with a loud voice, "Do thy-
29 self no harm, we are all here!" Then calling for lights he sprang in,
30 fell down in terror before Paul and Silas, and brought them out (after he
had secured the other prisoners),[1] saying, "Sirs, what must I do to be
31 saved?" They said, "Believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shalt
32 be saved, thou and thy house." And they spoke the word of the Lord
33 to him and to all who were in his house. Then he took them at that very
hour of the night and washed their stripes; and he got baptized, he and
34 all his, instantly. Conducting them up into his house, he set food
before them; and he rejoiced with all his family, for he had believed in
35 God.] Now when day broke, the praetors sent the lictors to say,
36 "Release those men." These[2] words were repeated by the jailor to
Paul; "The praetors," he said, "have sent to release you. Now then,
37 come out and go in peace." But Paul said to them, "They flogged us
publicly, unconvicted, though we are Roman citizens. And now they
would expel us secretly? No, indeed! let them come and bring us out
38 themselves." These words the lictors reported to the praetors. Now on
39 hearing that the men were Roman citizens, they were afraid; so they went
and sought to appease them, and after bringing them out they begged
40 them to go away from the city. So they left the prison and went into
Lydia's house; and after they had seen the brothers and exhorted them,
they departed.

17 1 Now when they had travelled along the Roman road through Amphi-
polis and Apollonia they came to Thessalonika, where the Jews had a
2 synagogue. As his custom was, Paul went in to them; and he conversed
with them for three sabbaths, explaining and quoting passages from the
3 scriptures to prove that "the Christ had to suffer and rise again from
the dead," and that "this is the Christ, even Jesus whom I proclaim to
4 you." And some of them were persuaded and threw in their lot with
Paul and Silas, that is, a large multitude of the God-fearing Greeks and
5 not a few of the leading women. But the Jews grew jealous; they got
hold of some worthless loafers, gathered a crowd, and proceeded to
rouse the city; then assaulting the house of Jason they sought to bring
6 them out before the popular assembly. Failing to find them, however,

[1] Adding τοὺς λοίπους ἀσφαλισάμενος. [2] Adding τούτους.

they proceeded to drag Jason and some of the brothers before the politarchs, shouting, "These fellows who have stirred up the world
7 have come here as well! Jason has welcomed them! And they all violate the decrees of Caesar, by saying that some one else—Jesus—is
8, 9 king." On hearing this the crowd and the politarchs were troubled; but after binding over Jason and the rest to keep the peace, they let them
10 go. Now the brothers at once sent Paul and Silas off by night to Beroea; and on arriving there, they betook themselves to the Jewish
11 synagogue. These people were nobler than those in Thessalonika; for they received the word with perfect heartiness, and inquired every day
12 into the scriptures to see if such things were the case. So many of them believed, together with not a few Greeks, women of good position as well
13 as men. But when the Jews of Thessalonika learned that the word of God had been proclaimed by Paul at Beroea also, they went and
14 disturbed and excited the crowds in that place as well. Thereupon the brothers at once sent Paul off on his way to[1] the sea, while Silas and
15 Timotheus remained where they were. Those who escorted Paul took him as far as Athens, and returned with a message from him for Silas and Timotheus, charging them to join him as soon as possible.

16 Now while Paul awaited them at Athens his spirit was irritated
17 within him as he observed that the city was full of idols. Accordingly he began to converse in the synagogue with the Jews and the God-fearing people, and in the marketplace with those who chanced to
18 be there, from day to day. Some of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers also came across him. And some said, "What does this fellow mean with his chatter?" others, "He seems to be a proclaimer of foreign deities" (because he preached "Jesus" and "the
19 Resurrection"). So[2] they took him and brought him before the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is which
20 thou settest forth? Thou speakest of certain matters that are novel to
21 us. It is our wish, then, to know what they mean!" (Indeed, all the Athenians and the foreign visitors occupied themselves with nothing
22 but repeating or listening to the latest novelty.) So Paul stood in the middle of the Areopagus and said: "Men of Athens, I observe you are
23 rather superstitious. For as I passed along and scanned your objects of worship, I actually came upon an altar with the inscription TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. Well, I proclaim to you what you are worshipping in
24 your ignorance. *The God who made* the world *and* all *things in it*—he,
25 Lord *of sky and earth*, dwells not in shrines made by hands; nor is he served by human hands as though he were in need of anything, for he it
26 is that *gives* life to all, and *breath* and all things; and out of one he made every nation of men, that they should dwell all over the earth's surface, defining their fixed periods and the boundaries of their
27 settlement, that they should seek God and by groping (if it might be)
28 find him—nor is he far indeed from any one of us. For in him we live and move and are; as also some of your own poets have said,

His issue too are we.

29 As God's issue, then, we ought not to think that the divine nature resembles gold or silver or stone, engraved by art and man's device.
30 The times of ignorance, it is true, God overlooked; but now he is
31 announcing to men repentance everywhere for all, inasmuch as he has a day set in which he is *to judge the world in uprightness* by a man whom he has appointed. Proof of this he has afforded to all, by raising him

[1] Reading ἐς. [2] Reading δέ.

32 from the dead."—Now on hearing of a "resurrection of dead men," some
sneered, while others said, "We will hear thee yet again upon this
33, 34 matter." So Paul departed from their midst. Some men, however,
joined him and believed; among them was Dionysius the Areopagite, also
a woman named Damaris, besides others.

18 1, 2 After this he withdrew from Athens and went to Corinth. And
falling in with a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus, who had lately
come from Italy, accompanied by his wife Priscilla (as Claudius had
3 ordered all Jews to withdraw from Rome), he accosted them; and as he
belonged to the same trade, he stayed with them, and they worked
4 together. They were workers in leather by trade. And every sabbath he
discoursed in the synagogue, persuading both Jews and Greeks.
5 Now by the time that Silas and Timotheus came down from Macedonia,
Paul was engrossed in the word [testifying to the Jews that Jesus was the
6 Christ. But as they resisted and gave abuse, he shook out his garments
and said to them, "Your blood be on your own head! I am clean!
7 From this moment I go to the Gentiles"]. And removing from there he
went into the house of a God-fearing proselyte named Titus Justus,
8 whose house adjoined the synagogue. And Krispus, the president of the
synagogue, believed along with his whole household in the Lord; many
also of the Corinthians believed as they listened, and had themselves
9 baptized. And the Lord said to Paul in the night by a vision,

"*Fear not,*
Speak on and be not silent:
10 *For I am with thee*, and no one shall set on thee to ill-use thee;
For I have many people in this city."

11 So he settled there for a year and six months, teaching the word
12 of God in their midst. But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the
Jews rose up with one accord against Paul and brought him before the
13 tribunal, saying, "This fellow incites men to worship God contrary to the
14 law." However, just as Paul was on the point of opening his lips, Gallio
said to the Jews, "Had it been a misdemeanour or villainous crime, O
15 Jews, there would be some reason for me putting up with you. But as
it is a question of words, and of names, and of your law, you can see to
16 it yourselves. I decline to be a judge in these affairs." And he drove them
17 from the tribunal. Then all the Greeks[1] seized hold of Sosthenes the pre-
sident of the synagogue, and beat him before the tribunal; but Gallio took
18 no notice. For many days after this, Paul still waited on. Then,
taking leave of the brothers, he began his voyage to Syria, accompanied
by Priscilla and Aquila (as the latter was under a vow, he had his head
19 shaved at Kenchreae). On arriving at Ephesus, Paul left them there.
20 For himself [he entered the synagogue and conversed with the Jews;
21 and] instead of consenting to remain longer when they asked him, he
took leave of them, saying, "I will return to you again, if God wills."
22 Setting sail from Ephesus he reached Caesarea, went up to the capital
23 and saluted the Community, and then went down to Antioch. After
spending some time there, he departed on a journey through the Galatic
region and Phrygia in order, establishing all the disciples.

24 Now a Jew named Apollos arrived at Ephesus; he was a native of
25 Alexandria, a learned man, mighty in the scriptures, who had been
instructed in the way of the Lord. He spoke with fervour of spirit and
taught with accuracy upon the subject of Jesus [[acquainted merely with
26 the baptism of John. And in the synagogue he started to speak out con-

[1] Adding οἱ Ἕλληνες.

fidently]]. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him they took him
27 home, and unfolded to him the way of God still more accurately. Then,
as he wanted to pass over into Achaia, the brothers encouraged him and
wrote to the disciples to welcome him. And on his arrival he proved of
28 great use to those who had believed through grace; for he publicly con-
futed the Jews with might and main, demonstrating by means of the
19 1 scriptures that Jesus was the Christ. Now it came to pass
while Apollos was at Corinth that Paul passed through the upper-lying
districts and came to Ephesus. There he fell in with some disciples,
2 and said to them, "Did you receive the holy Spirit when you believed?"
"No," they said to him, "we did not even hear whether there was a holy
3 Spirit." "Then what," said he, "did you get baptized into?" "Into
4 John's baptism," they said. And Paul said, "John baptized with the
baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe on One who was to
5 come after him—that is, on Jesus." When they heard this, they had
6 themselves baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus [; and after Paul
laid his hands on them, the holy Spirit came on them, and they began to
7 speak with tongues and to prophesy]. They amounted in all to about
8 twelve men. Now he entered the synagogue and for three months spoke
out confidently, discoursing and persuading with regard to God's reign.
9 But, as some became stubborn and disobedient, decrying the Way before
the multitude, he departed and separated the disciples from them, dis-
coursing day by day from the fifth to the tenth hour[1] in the lecture-room
10 of Tyrannus. This went on for two years, so that all who resided in
Asia, Jews as well as Greeks, heard the word of the Lord.

11, 12 God also worked uncommon miracles by the agency of Paul, so
that people even carried away napkins or aprons from his body to the
sick; thus their diseases quitted them and the evil spirits went out.
13 Now some of the strolling Jewish exorcists also undertook to pro-
nounce the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits;
"I adjure you," they said, "by the Jesus whom Paul preaches!"
14 (There were seven sons of a man Scevas, a Jewish high priest, who
15 did this.) But the evil spirit answered and said to them, "Jesus I
16 recognise, and Paul I know, but you—who are you?" And the man
in whom was the evil spirit, leapt on them, mastered both of them,
and belaboured them. So out of that house they fled, stripped and
17 wounded. Now this became known to all the residents of Ephesus,
Jews as well as Greeks; and fear fell on them all, and the name of the
18 Lord Jesus was magnified. Also, many of those who had believed,
19 kept coming to confess and disclose their practices. And a con-
siderable number of those who had practised magic arts, collected
their books and burned them in the sight of all. (On estimating the
value of these they found it amounted to fifty thousand pieces of
silver.)
20 Thus mightily did the word of the Lord increase and prevail.

21 Now at the close of this, Paul resolved in the spirit to travel through
Macedonia and Achaia, and then journey to Jerusalem. "After going
22 there," he said, "I must also visit Rome." So he despatched two of his
assistants to Macedonia, Timotheus and Erastus, while he himself stayed
23 on for a while in Asia. Now about that time no slight commotion
24 arose over the Way. It came about thus. By making silver shrines of
Artemis, a man named Demetrius, a silversmith, brought no little trade

[1] Adding ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης.

25 to the craftsmen; these he collected, along with the workmen who
belonged to similar trades, and said, "Men, you know that this trade is
26 the source of our wealth, and you see and hear that not merely at Ephesus,
but almost all through Asia, this fellow Paul has drawn away a consider-
able multitude by his persuasions, declaring that gods who are made by
27 hands are no gods at all. Now there is a risk, not merely of our finding
this trade discredited, but also that the temple of the great goddess
Artemis may be made light of, and even her grandeur come to be
28 degraded—she whom the whole of Asia and the world worship!" Hearing
this they were filled with rage and ran into the street,[1] shouting "Great
29 is Artemis of Ephesus!" So the city was filled with confusion; and
they rushed with one accord into the theatre, dragging with them Gaius
30 and Aristarchus, Macedonians who were fellow-travellers of Paul. (Paul
wanted to enter the popular assembly, but the disciples would not allow
31 him. Besides, some of the Asiarchs who were friends of his, also sent
32 repeatedly to entreat him not to venture into the theatre.) Now some
shouted one thing, some other; for the assembly was in confusion, and
33 the majority had no idea what was the cause of their gathering. Some
of the crowd, however, concluded it must be Alexander, as the Jews
pushed him forward; so Alexander waved his hand and intended to
34 defend himself before the people. But when they found out he was a
Jew, a roar broke from them all—for about two hours they shouted,
35 "Great is Artemis of Ephesus! Great is Artemis of Ephesus!"[2] Now
after the Secretary of State had got the crowd quieted, he says: "Men of
Ephesus, who on earth does not know that the city of Ephesus is
custodian of the temple of the great Artemis, and of the image that fell
36 from heaven? The thing is undeniable. Well then, you should keep
37 quiet and do nothing reckless; whereas you have brought these men here
38 who are neither guilty of sacrilege nor blasphemers of our goddess. Now
if Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen have a grievance against anyone,
let both parties make their charges; assizes are held, and there is always
39 a proconsul. If you desire anything further, the case must be settled in
40 the regular assembly. For there is a risk of our being charged with
riot in regard to this day's assembly; not a single reason exists which will[3]
41 enable us to account for the present disorderly concourse." Saying this, he
20 1 dismissed the assembly. Now after the tumult had ceased, Paul sent
for and exhorted the disciples; then after saluting them, he went off on
2 his journey to Macedonia. After passing through those districts and
3 exhorting the people with many a word, he came to Greece. There he
spent three months, and was on the point of sailing for Syria, when the
Jews laid a plot against him. He determined therefore to return through
4 Macedonia. His company, as far as Asia,[4] consisted of Sopater of Beroea
(the son of Pyrrhus), Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonika, Gaius
5 of Derbê, and Timotheus, with Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia. When
6 they[5] got the length of Asia, they waited for us at Troas; while we
sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and in
7 five days joined them at Troas. There we spent some days. Now when
we had met on the first day of the week to break bread, Paul proceeded
to converse with them, as he was to leave on the morrow; and he prolonged
8 his discourse till it was midnight. (There were large lamps in the upper
9 chamber where we were gathered.) In the window sat a young man
called Eutychus, who became overpowered with drowsiness as Paul's dis-

[1] Adding ῥάμενοτις εἰς τὸ ἀμφοδον. [2] Adding μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων.
[3] Omitting οὐ. [4] Adding ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας. [5] Reading προσιλθόντες.

course went on and on; dropping asleep, he fell down from the third storey,
10 and was picked up a corpse. But Paul went down, fell on him, and
11 embraced him, saying, "Wail not: his life is in him." Then he went
up, broke bread, and ate; and after conversing with them for a good
12 while, till it was dawn, finally went off. (As for the lad, they took him away
13 alive, and were extremely relieved.) Now we had gone on before-
hand to the ship and set sail for Assos, with the intention of taking Paul
on board there. This indeed was his own arrangement, as he intended to
14 travel himself by land. He met us then at Assos. Taking him on board,
15 we went to Mitylênê, and sailing thence on the following day we arrived
off Chios; in the evening [1] we crossed over to Samos, and after stopping at
16 Trogyllium [2] went on, the next day, to Miletus. This was because Paul
had decided to sail past Ephesus, so as to avoid loss of time in Asia; he
was hastening to reach Jerusalem—if he could manage it—by the day of
Pentecost.

17 From Miletus, however, he sent to Ephesus and summoned the elders
18 of the Community. And when they came to him, he said: "You know
yourselves the way in which I lived with you during all the time since
19 the day that I first set foot in Asia, serving the Lord with all humility
and tears and trials which I encountered through the plots of the Jews;
20 and how I did not shrink from disclosing anything profitable to you, or
21 from teaching you in public and from house to house, bearing witness to
Jews and Greeks alike of repentance to God and faith to our Lord Jesus.[3]
22 And now, mark! I go to Jerusalem fettered in spirit, not knowing
23 what is to befall me there. Only, in city after city the holy Spirit
24 testifies to me that fetters and distresses await me. But then, I set no
value on my life, provided that[4] I may complete my course and the
ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to attest the glad tidings
25 of the grace of God. And now, mark! I know that none of you
shall ever see my face again—you among whom I went about and preached
26 the Reign. [Therefore I do protest to you this day, I am clean from the
27 blood of all; I did not shrink from disclosing to you all God's purpose.]
28 Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock of which the holy Spirit has
appointed you overseers: be shepherds to *the Community of God* which *he*
29 *has purchased* with his own blood. I know that after my departure fierce
30 wolves shall enter your midst and spare not the flock; from your own
midst also shall men rise up with perverse words, to draw the disciples
31 away after them. Watch therefore, and remember that for three years
night and day I ceased not to admonish everyone with tears.
32 And now I entrust you to God and to the word of his grace, who is able
to build you up and give you the *inheritance* among *all who are sanctified*
33, 34 [Silver, gold, or apparel, I never coveted. You know yourselves that these
35 hands provided entirely for my needs and my companions. I showed
you an example of how you ought thus to labour and give succour to the
weak, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus—for he said himself,
36 'To give is happier than to get']." And saying this he knelt down and
37 prayed with them all. But all burst into loud weeping, and fell on
38 Paul's neck and fondly kissed him, sorrowing chiefly because he had told
them they were never to see his face again. Then they escorted him to
the ship.

21 1 **Now it came to pass, when we had torn ourselves away from them
and set sail, we made a straight run to Kos, the next day to Rhodes, and**

[1] Reading ἰσσίρᾳ.
[2] Adding καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ.
[3] Omitting [[χριστόν]].
[4] Reading ὥστε τελειῶσαι.

2 thence to Patara. And as we found there a ship crossing over to Phoenicê,
3 we went on board, and set sail. After sighting Cyprus and leaving it on
our left, we sailed for Syria, and landed at Tyre; for there the ship was to
4 unload her cargo. So we found out the disciples, and stayed there for seven
days. These disciples told Paul through the Spirit not to set foot in
5 Jerusalem. But when it came to pass that our time was completed, we
departed on our journey, escorted by them, women and children and all,
till we were outside the city. Then, kneeling down on the beach we
6 prayed, and bade each other farewell; we went on board, and they returned
7 home. From Tyre, then, we continued our voyage and reached
Ptolemais; and after saluting the brothers we stayed one day with them.
8 Starting on the morrow we came to Caesarea, and entering the house of the
9 evangelist Philip (who was one of the Seven) we stayed with him. [He had
10 four unmarried daughters who prophesied.] While we remained there for
11 several days, a prophet named Agabus came down from Judaea. And he
came to us, took Paul's girdle and bound his own feet and hands, saying,
"The holy Spirit speaks thus: 'so shall the Jews bind the man who owns
this girdle at Jerusalem, and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.'"
12 Now when we heard this, both we and the people of the place appealed to
13 Paul not to go up to Jerusalem. Then answered Paul, "What do you
mean by weeping and disheartening me? I am ready not only to be bound
14 but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus." So, as he
would not be persuaded, we held our peace, and said, "The will of the
Lord be done."
15 Now after these days we made our preparations and went on our way
16 up to Jerusalem. Some of the disciples from Caesarea also accompanied us,
and conducted us to the house of Mnason, a Cypriote, with whom we were to
17 lodge (he was a disciple of long standing). Now when we arrived
18 at Jerusalem, the brothers welcomed us gladly. On the next day Paul went
19 in with us to James; the elders also were all present. And after saluting
them he recounted in detail what God had done among the Gentiles by
20 means of his ministry. On hearing it they magnified God[; and they
said to him, "Brother, thou seest how many thousands of believers there
21 are among the Jews, all of them zealots for the law. Now they have
been informed with regard to thee, that thou art teaching apostasy from
Moses, to all the Jews who live among the Gentiles, telling them not to
22 circumcise their children nor to walk by the prescribed customs. Well,
23 what is to be done? They will be sure to hear thou hast come; so do
24 what we tell thee. We have four men here who are under a vow: take
them, have thyself purified along with them, and pay their expenses, so
that they may be able to have their heads shaved. Then everybody will
understand that his information about thee is worthless, and that, on
the contrary, thou art thyself walking in the regular observances of the
25 law. As for the Gentiles who have believed, we wrote them our decision,
that they should keep themselves from food offered to idols, from
26 blood, from what is strangled, and from fornication." Therefore Paul
took the men next day, had himself purified along with them, and
went into the temple to give notice of the time when *the days of purification* would be completed—the time, that is to say, until the sacrifice
should be offered on behalf of each one of them].
27 Now the seven days were almost brought to a close, when the Jews
from Asia saw him in the temple, and proceeded to stir up all the crowd;
28 then they laid hands on him, shouting, "To the rescue, men of Israel!
Here is the man who teaches everyone everywhere against the people and

the law and this place! Yes, and actually he has brought Greeks into
29 the temple and defiled this holy place!" (For they had previously seen
him in the city with Trophimus the Ephesian, and supposed that Paul
30 had brought him into the temple.) And [the whole city was thrown into
turmoil;] the people ran together, and seizing Paul they dragged him
31 outside the temple; whereupon the doors were immediately shut. While
they were trying to kill him, tidings came up to the military tribune of the
32 cohort that the whole of Jerusalem was in confusion. He at once took
some soldiers and centurions and ran down to them; and when they saw
33 the tribune and the soldiers, they stopped beating Paul. The tribune
then came near and seized him, ordered him to be bound with a couple
of chains, and proceeded to inquire, "Who is he?" and "What has he
34 done?" But some in the crowd roared one thing, some another; and as
he could not ascertain the truth owing to the tumult, he commanded him
35 to be brought into the barracks. By the time that he reached the stairs
he had actually to be carried by the soldiers, on account of the violence
36 of the crowd; for the multitude followed, shouting, "Away with him!"
37 And as he was on the point of being brought into the barracks, Paul said
to the tribune, "Can I speak a word to thee?" "Dost thou know
38 Greek?" he said. "Then thou art not the Egyptian who in days gone
by raised the four thousand Assassins, and led them out into the
39 wilderness?" Paul said, "I am a Jew, a man of Tarsus in Cilicia, a
citizen of no mean city; I pray thee, permit me to speak to the people?"
40 As he gave his permission, Paul stood on the stairs and waved with his
hand to the people; then, during a great hush, he addressed them in the
22 1 Hebrew language, saying: "Brothers and fathers, listen to the defence
2 which I now make to you."—Now when they heard him address them in
3 the Hebrew language they became still more quiet; so he proceeds—"I
am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city, educated
at the feet of Gamaliel according to the rigorous law of the fathers; a
4 zealot for God, as you all are this day. I persecuted this Way to the
5 death, chaining and delivering up to prison men and women alike, as
also the high priest and all the assembly of the elders can testify for me.
It was from them too that I received letters for the brothers, and
journeyed to Damascus to bind those who were there, and bring them
6 also to Jerusalem for punishment. Now it came to pass that as I
journeyed and drew near to Damascus, suddenly, about noon, a great
7 light from the sky flashed round me; and I dropped to the earth, and
heard a voice saying to me, 'Saul, Saul, why art thou persecuting me?'
8 I answered, 'Who art thou, sir?' And he said to me, 'I am Jesus the
9 Nazarene, and thou art persecuting me.' (Now my companions beheld
10 the light, but they did not hear the voice of him who spoke to me.) And
I said, 'Lord, what shall I do?' And the Lord said to me, 'Rise, and
go into Damascus, and there thou shalt be told of all that is appointed
11 thee to do.' So, as I could not see for the brightness of that light, my
12 companions led me into Damascus by the hands. And there came to me
a certain Ananias, a devout man according to the law, who had a good
13 reputation among all the Jewish residents; standing by me, he said,
'Saul, my brother, see again!' At that very moment I saw again, and
14 looked up at him. And he said, 'The God of our fathers has appointed
thee to know his will, and to see the upright One, and to hear a voice
15 from his own lips; for thou shalt be a witness for him to all men, of
16 what thou hast seen and heard. And now, why linger? Rise, have
17 thyself baptized and wash away thy sins, calling upon his name.' Now it

came to pass when I had returned to Jerusalem, and was praying in the
18 temple, I fell into a trance, and saw Him saying to me, 'Make haste and
depart from Jerusalem quickly, for they will not admit any evidence of
19 thine regarding me.' And I said, 'But, Lord, they know it was I who
imprisoned and flogged those who believed on thee, in synagogue after
20 synagogue; and when the blood of thy witness Stephen was being shed,
I stood by also and approved, and took charge of the garments of those
21 who slew him. Yet he said to me, 'Depart: I will send thee forth afar
22 to the Gentiles—.'" Up to this sentence they had listened to him;
then they raised a cry of, "Away with such a fellow from the earth! He
23 is not fit to live!" As they went on clamouring, tossing their garments,
24 and throwing dust into the air, the tribune commanded him to be
brought into the barracks, giving orders to have him examined by
scourging, so as to ascertain the reason why they shouted at him in this
25 way. But after they had strapped him up for the lash, Paul said to the
centurion who was standing by, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a Roman
26 citizen, and that too unconvicted?" On hearing this, the centurion went
to the tribune and told him, saying, "What is to be done? this man is a
27 Roman citizen." So the tribune went to him and said, "Tell me, art
28 thou a Roman citizen?" And he said, "Yes." The tribune answered,
"I purchased this citizenship for a large sum?" Paul said, "But I was
29 born in it?" Then those who were going to examine him left him alone
at once. Moreover, the tribune himself was alarmed to find that he was
a Roman citizen, and that he had bound him.

30 [Now on the morrow, in his desire to ascertain the true reason why he
was accused by the Jews, he unbound him and ordered the high priests and
all the Sanhedrin to assemble; then he brought Paul down and set him
23 1 before them. Fixing his eyes on the Sanhedrin, Paul said: "Men and
brothers, I have borne myself towards God down to this day with a
2 perfectly good conscience." And the high priest Ananias commanded
3 those who stood beside him to strike him on the mouth. Then Paul said
to him, "God shall strike thee, thou white-washed wall! What! art
thou sitting to judge me according to the law and yet ordering me against
4 the law to be struck?" The bystanders said, "Revilest thou the high
5 priest of God?" "Brothers," said Paul, "I did not know he was high
priest." (For it is written, *thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy*
6 *people*.) But when Paul discovered that the one half were Sadducees
and the other half Pharisees, he cried out in the Sanhedrin, "Men and
brothers, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees! For the hope—for the
7 resurrection of the dead I am on trial!" Hardly had he said this, when
a discussion broke out between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and the
8 meeting was divided. For while the Sadducees say there is no
9 resurrection, no angel or spirit, the Pharisees acknowledge both. So a
mighty clamour broke out, and some of the scribes who belonged to the
Pharisaic party stood up and hotly maintained, "We find no evil in this
10 man. What if a spirit has spoken to him, or an angel —?" Now as
the discussion grew violent, the tribune became afraid they would tear
Paul asunder; so he ordered the troop of soldiers to go down and carry
11 him from their midst by force, and bring him into the barracks.] The
following night the Lord stood by him and said, "Be of good cheer: as
thou hast borne witness in Jerusalem to me, so too must thou witness in
12 Rome." When day broke the Jews formed a conspiracy, binding
themselves by a curse to neither eat nor drink until they killed Paul.
13, 14 There were more than forty who formed this intrigue. They went to

the high priests and the elders, and said, "We have bound ourselves by
15 a solemn curse to taste nothing until we kill Paul. Now then, make
you representations to the tribune along with the Sanhedrin, inducing
him to bring him down to you on the plea that you propose to investigate
his case more accurately; we are all ready to slay him on the road."
16 Now the son of Paul's sister heard of their ambush, and getting entrance
17 into the barracks he told Paul. And Paul summoned one of the
centurions and said, "Take this young man to the tribune, for he has
18 some news to give him." So he took and brought him to the tribune,
saying, "The prisoner Paul summoned me, and asked me to bring this
19 young man to thee, as he has something to tell thee. Taking him by the
hand the tribune retired, and proceeded in private to ask him, "What
20 news hast thou to give me?" He said, "The Jews have agreed to
ask thee to bring Paul down to-morrow to the Sanhedrin on the plea
21 that it is proposed[1] to make a more accurate inquiry into his case. Now,
do not let them persuade thee. For an ambush is being laid against him
by more than forty men, who have bound themselves by a curse to
neither eat nor drink until they slay him. They are all ready at this
22 very moment, expecting thou wilt consent." The tribune then dismissed
the young man with the injunction, "Let nobody know that thou hast
23 disclosed this to me." And summoning two of the centurions, he said,
"Get ready two hundred infantry to march as far as Caesarea, also
seventy troopers and two hundred spearmen, at the third hour of
24 the night." Beasts were also to be provided, on which they were to
25 mount Paul, and conduct him in safety to Felix the procurator. Then
he wrote a letter in this style:

26 "Claudius Lysias,
to the most excellent procurator Felix:
greeting.

27 This man had been arrested by the Jews and was on the point of being
slain by them when I came upon them with the troop of soldiers and
28 delivered him, on learning he was a Roman citizen. [In my desire to
ascertain the reason why they accused him, I brought him down to their
29 Sanhedrin. Then I found he was accused about questions of their law,
30 but not impeached for anything that deserved death or bonds.] As I am
informed that a plot is to be laid against the man, I am sending him to
thee forthwith, at the same time enjoining his accusers to impeach him
31 before thee." The soldiers then, in obedience to their instructions,
32 took Paul and brought him by night to Antipatris; on the morrow they
33 returned to the barracks, leaving the troopers to go on with him. They
reached Cæsarea, presented the letter to the procurator, and also handed
34 Paul over to him. On reading the letter, he asked what province he
35 belonged to; and when he ascertained that it was Cilicia, "I will hear
thy cause," said he, "so soon as thy accusers have also arrived." His
orders were that he was to be kept in the praetorium of Herod.

24 1 Five days later the high priest Ananias came down with some elders
and Tertullus, a barrister. They made representations to the procurator
2 against Paul; and after he had been called, Tertullus began to accuse
him, saying: "As owing to thee we are in the enjoyment of great peace,
and as it is owing to thy forethought that this nation has secured reforms
3 everyway and everywhere, we accept these, most excellent Felix, with
4 all gratitude. But—not to detain thee too long—I entreat thee to grant
5 us, in thy courtesy, a brief hearing. We have found this man is a pest,

[1] Reading μέλλον.

an inciter of riot among all the Jews throughout the world, a ringleader
6 of the party of the Nazarenes. He even tried to desecrate the temple ;
but we seized him,[1] and intended to try him according to our own
7 law. However, Lysias the tribune came forward and took him out of
8 our hands with great violence, ordering his accusers to go to thee.
Examine Lysias for thyself and thou wilt be able to ascertain from him
9 about all these accusations that we bring against the prisoner." The Jews
10 also joined in the attack, alleging that such was the case. Then the pro-
curator nodded to Paul to speak, and he answered : "As I know thou
hast been judge to this nation for a number of years, I am greatly encour-
11 aged in making my defence. As thou canst ascertain, not more than
12 twelve days have passed since I went up to worship at Jerusalem. They
never found me in the temple or in the synagogues or in the city disput-
13 ing with anyone or causing a riot in the crowd ; nor can they offer thee
14 any proof of the accusations that they now bring against me. This I
certainly own to thee, that according to the way which they call a 'party'
I serve our fathers' God ; for I believe all that is written throughout the
15 law and in the prophets, cherishing the hope towards God that these men
also entertain themselves, namely, that there will be a resurrection of
16 the just and of the unjust. Hence I too take constant pains to keep my
17 conscience clear towards God and men. Now after several years
18 I came with alms and offerings for my nation ; and it was in presenting
these that they found me in the temple, a man who had been purified,
19 with neither crowd nor tumult. But some Jews from Asia—and they
ought to have been here before thee to accuse me of whatever charge
20 they have against me ! Or, let these men here speak for themselves !
21 What fault did they find in my appearance before the Sanhedrin ?—unless
it was in my one cry as I stood among them, 'For the resurrection of the
22 dead I am on trial to-day before you.'" However, as Felix had a somewhat
accurate knowledge of the Way, he put them off, saying, "When Lysias
23 the tribune comes down, I will decide your case." He also gave instruc-
tions to the centurion to keep him in custody, but to allow him relaxation,
and not to prevent any of his associates from waiting on him.
24 Some days afterwards, Felix arrived with his wife Drusilla, a Jewess ;
and sending for Paul he listened to what he said upon faith in Christ Jesus.
25 But as he reasoned upon uprightness, self-control, and the judgment to
come, Felix became uneasy and answered, "Leave me for the present.
26 When I get an opportunity, I will summon thee." At the same time he
hoped Paul would give him money, and so he sent for him all the more
27 frequently, and conversed with him. But when two years were
completed, Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus ; and as he wished to
ingratiate himself with the Jews, Felix left Paul in bonds.
25 1 So Festus entered on his province, and after three days went up from
2 Caesarea to Jerusalem. And the high priests and leading men of the
Jews made representations to him against Paul ; also, they besought and
3 begged him, as a favour, to send for him to Jerusalem [while they lay in
4 ambush to kill him on the road]. Festus thereupon replied that Paul
was in custody at Caesarea ; and as he was himself to leave before long
5 for that place, "Let the principal men among you," said he, "go down
6 with me and accuse the man of whatever harm is in him." Now,
after staying among them for eight or ten days at the most, he went down
to Caesarea. On the next day he seated himself upon the tribunal and

[1] Adding καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρίνειν· παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλίαρχος μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγε, κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγόρους αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ.

7 ordered Paul to be brought. When he arrived, the Jews who had come
down from Jerusalem stood round him and brought many weighty
8 charges against him, which they were unable to prove, Paul arguing in
his defence, "Neither against the Jewish law, nor against the temple, nor
9 against Caesar, have I sinned at all." Wishing to ingratiate himself with
the Jews, Festus answered Paul and said, "Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem
10 and be tried there on these charges before me?" Paul said, "I stand
before Caesar's tribunal, and there I should be tried; I have committed
no offence at all against Jews, and thou knowest that perfectly well.
11 Now, if I am a criminal and have done anything to deserve death, I do
not object to die; but if none of their charges against me is true, no
12 one can give me up to them. I appeal to Caesar!" Then, after confer-
ring with the council, Festus replied, "Thou hast appealed to Caesar: to
Caesar shalt thou go."
13 Now after the lapse of some days, Agrippa the king and Bernicê
14 reached Caesarea to pay their respects to Festus. As they were spending
a number of days there, Festus laid Paul's case before the king, saying,
15 "There is a man whom Felix has left behind in prison; and when I was
at Jerusalem, the high priests and the elders of the Jews made representa-
16 tions to me about him, asking for sentence to be passed upon him. My
answer to them was, that Romans are not accustomed to give up any man
until the accused meets the accusers face to face, and has had a chance of
17 defending himself against the impeachment. So when they came here
with me, I interposed no delay; the very next day, I seated myself on the
18 tribunal and ordered the man to be brought. But when the accusers came
forward, they laid no accusation of such crimes as I had surmised in this
19 case; their questions in which they opposed him, related to their own
superstition, and to some dead person Jesus, whom Paul alleged to be alive.
20 Perplexed about the method of inquiry into these subjects, I asked if he
21 would go to Jerusalem and be tried upon them there; but as Paul entered
an appeal to be kept and examined by the Emperor, I ordered him to be
22 kept till I could remit him to Caesar." "I should like," said Agrippa to
Festus, "to hear the man myself." "Thou shalt hear him," said he, "to-
23 morrow." So the next day, Agrippa and Bernicê came with great
pomp and entered the hall of audience, accompanied by the military tri-
bunes and the prominent men of the city; and by order of Festus, Paul was
24 brought in. Then says Festus, "King Agrippa and all the company now
present, here you see the man about whom all the Jewish multitude, both
at Jerusalem and in this place, have applied to me, loudly declaring that he
25 must live no longer. However, I found that he had done nothing to
deserve death; and as he entered an appeal himself to the Emperor, I
26 decided to send him. But as I have nothing reliable to write with
regard to him to the sovereign, I have brought him before you; and
especially before thee, king Agrippa, that as the result of an examination
27 I may have something to write. For it seems to me absurd to send a
prisoner without indicating at the same time the particulars of which he
26 1 is accused." So Agrippa said to Paul, "Thou hast permission to speak
for thyself." Then Paul stretched out his hand and proceeded with his
2 defence: "I consider myself fortunate, king Agrippa, in being able
to-day to defend myself before thee upon all that the Jews charge me
3 with, as thou art particularly well informed upon all Jewish questions
4 and customs. I pray thee then to hear me patiently. My general life
from youth up, passed from the outset among my own nation and
5 at Jerusalem, is known to all the Jews. From the very first they

know, if they would own to it, that I lived according to the most rigor-
6 ous party in our religion, as a Pharisee. (And now it is for the hope of
7 the promise which God made to our fathers that I stand here on trial, a
promise which our twelve tribes hope to attain by serving God earnestly
night and day. It is for this hope, O king, that Jews impeach me!—)
9 Well then, I thought to myself that I must actively oppose the name of Jesus
10 the Nazarene. Which indeed I did in Jerusalem, by shutting up many of
the saints in prison, after I got authority from the high priests; also by
11 giving my vote against them when they were put to death; also by attempt-
ing to compel them to blaspheme, by frequently punishing them in every
synagogue. Maddened beyond measure against them, I pursued them
12 actually as far as the foreign cities. In the course of this, as I journeyed
13 to Damascus with the authority and commission of the high priests, I saw
on the road at midday, O king, a light from the sky more dazzling than
14 the sun, flash round me and my fellow-travellers. We all fell to the
ground. And I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew language,
"Saul, Saul, why art thou persecuting me? It is ill for thee to kick
15 against the goad." And I said, "Who art thou, sir?" And the Lord
16 said, "I am Jesus, and thou art persecuting me. But rise and *stand on thy
feet;* for I have appeared to thee in order to appoint thee a servant and
a witness of what thou hast seen, and of the visions in which thou shalt
17 see me. I will *rescue thee* from the people and *from the Gentiles—to whom I
18 send thee for the opening of* their *eyes* that they may turn *from darkness to
light* and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive the remis-
sion of sins and an inheritance among those who are sanctified, by faith in
19 me." Upon this, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly
20 vision, but I brought word first to those at Damascus and at Jerusalem,
then through all the land of Judaea, and also to the Gentiles, that they were
21 to repent and turn to God, by doing deeds that befitted repentance. This is
22 why Jews arrested me in the temple and attempted to murder me. Thanks
then to the succour which I have to this day obtained from God, here I
stand, testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but what the pro-
8 phets and Moses said would come to pass. Why should you judge it incred-
23 ible that God should raise the dead, that the Christ should suffer, that he
first by a resurrection from the dead should proclaim light both to the
24 people and to the Gentiles?" As he made this defence, Festus
said with a loud voice, "Paul, thou art mad! Great learning drives thee
25 insane!" "Most excellent Festus," Paul said, "I am not mad; I utter words
26 of truth and sense. Why, the king knows about these things! To the king
I speak with confidence, for I cannot believe any one of these things is
27 unfamiliar to him; this has not taken place in a corner. King Agrippa,
28 dost thou believe the prophets? I know thou dost."—And Agrippa
said to Paul, "A little more and thou wouldst have me act the Christian!"
29 "A little more or not," said Paul, "I would to God not only thou but
also all who hear me this day might become what I am, except for these
bonds!"
30 Then the king rose and the procurator, also Bernicê and those who
31 sat with them; and on retiring and talking to one another they agreed,
32 "This man has done nothing to deserve death or bonds." As for Agrippa,
he said to Festus, "This man might have been released, if he had not
appealed to Caesar."

27 1 **Now when it was decided that we should sail for Italy, they handed
over Paul and some other prisoners to a centurion of the Imperial cohort
2 named Julius. Embarking in an Adramyttian ship which was bound for**

the Asiatic seaports, we set sail—accompanied by a Macedonian, Aris-
3 tarchus of Thessalonika—and put in, next day, at Sidon. There Julius
acted humanely to Paul, by permitting him to visit his friends and be
4 attended to. Putting to sea from there, we sailed under the lee of Cyprus,
5 as the winds were against us; then sailing for fifteen[1] days through the
Cilician and Pamphylian waters, we came to the town of Myrra in Lycia.
6 There the centurion found an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy, and put us
7 on board of her. For many days we sailed slowly, and only arrived off
Cnidus with difficulty. Then, as the wind checked our progress, we sailed
8 under the lee of Crete off Cape Salmonê, and by coasting along it we reached
with difficulty a place called Fairhavens; near it lay a city called Lasea.
9 When a considerable time had elapsed and sailing had now become
dangerous (for the Fast was now over), Paul gave them his advice in these
10 words, "Sirs, I see that the voyage is going to be attended with hardship and
heavy loss, not merely to the cargo and the ship, but also to our own lives."
11 The centurion, however, was more influenced by the sailing-master and
12 the captain than by what Paul said; and, as the harbour was ill-adapted for
wintering in, the majority proposed to set sail and try, if possible, to reach
Phoenix and winter there—it is a Cretan harbour which looks SW and NW.
13 When a moderate southerly breeze sprang up, they imagined they had
secured their end; and after weighing anchor, they sailed close inshore
14 along the Cretan coast. Presently down rushed a hurricane of a wind from
15 the island, called Euraquilo; and as the ship was caught and unable to
16 face the wind, we gave way and let her drive along. Running under
the lee of a small island called Kauda, we managed with difficulty to
17 get the boat hauled in; and after it had been hoisted up, they made
use of ropes[2] to undergird the ship. Then, in fear of being swept upon
the Syrtis sands, they lowered the sail, and let the ship drive as she was.
18 Terribly were we beaten by the storm. The very next day, they had to
19 jettison the cargo, and on the third day they threw the ship's gear over-
20 board with their own hands. For many days neither sun nor stars were
visible, the storm pressed heavily, and we were at last divested of all hope
21 of being saved. [Then after they had gone without food for some time,
Paul stood up among them and said, "You should have obeyed me, sirs,
and spared yourselves this damage and loss, by not setting sail from
22 Crete. And now my advice to you is, take heart; there shall be no
23 loss of life among you, only of the ship. For this night an angel from
24 God, the God whose I am and whom I serve, stood before me, saying, 'Fear
not, Paul, thou must stand before Caesar. And lo, God has given thee
25 all thy fellow-voyagers!' So take heart, sirs; for I believe God that
26 it shall be exactly as I have been told. However, we must be cast upon
27 some island.'"] When the fourteenth night came, we were drifting
to and fro in the sea of Adria, and about midnight the sailors surmised some
28 land was near. On taking soundings they found twenty fathoms; and a
29 little further on, when they sounded again, they found fifteen. Then
fearing we might get cast upon a rocky coast, they let go four anchors
30 from the stern, and longed for daylight. The sailors, however, tried
to escape from the ship; they had even lowered the boat into the sea
31 on the pretext of going to lay out anchors from the bow, when Paul
said to the centurion and soldiers, "Unless these men stay by the ship, you
32 cannot be saved." Thereupon the soldiers cut away the ropes of the boat
33 and let her fall off. Now before the day broke, Paul besought them all to
take some food. "For fourteen days," said he, "you have been con-

[1] Adding δι' ἡμερῶν δεκάπεντε. [2] Reading βοείαις.

34 stantly on the watch without eating; you have taken nothing. I beseech
you, therefore, to take some food; it will conduce to your safety—for not
35 one hair of your head shall perish." Saying this he took bread, gave
36 thanks to God before them all, broke it and began to eat. Then they all
37 cheered up and took food for themselves (there were about [1] seventy-six
38 souls of us in the ship, all told); and after eating their fill, they started
39 to lighten the ship by throwing out the provisions into the sea. When day
broke, they did not recognise the land; however, they observed a sort
of creek with a sandy beach, where they resolved (if possible) to run the
40 ship ashore. So the anchors were cast off and left in the sea, while at the
same time the men unlashed the fastenings of the rudders, hoisted the
41 foresail to the breeze, and headed for the beach. Coming upon a place
where two seas met, they drove the ship aground; but, while the prow
struck and remained immovable, the stern began to break up under
42 the force of the waves. Now the soldiers' plan was to kill the prisoners,
43 in case of anyone swimming away and escaping. However, as the
centurion wished to save Paul, he hindered them from their purpose,
ordering those who could swim to jump overboard and get first to the land,
44 while the rest were to get upon planks or on pieces of the ship. And
so it came to pass that all escaped safe to land.

28 1 Then after our escape we found out that the island was called Melita.
2 And the foreigners behaved with uncommon humanity to us; for, as rain
had come on and as it was cold, they kindled a fire and welcomed us all to it.
3 Now Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid them on the fire, when
4 a viper came out with the heat and fastened on his hand. When the
foreigners saw the creature hanging from his hand, they said to one
another, "This man is certainly a murderer. He has escaped the sea,
5 but Justice will not let him live." However, he shook off the creature
6 into the fire, and was none the worse. Now they were waiting for him
to swell or drop down suddenly a corpse; but after waiting a long while
and seeing that no harm came to him, they changed their minds and said
7 he was a god. And in the neighbourhood of that place there
were lands belonging to the head man of the island, whose name was
Publius. He bade us welcome and entertained us courteously for three
8 days. Now it so happened that the father of Publius was laid up with
fever and dysentery; but Paul went in to him, prayed, laid his hands
9 on him, and cured him. When this took place, the rest in the island who
10 had diseases also came and got cured. And they paid us many honours,
and furnished us, when we set sail, with necessaries.

11 We set sail, after three months, in an Alexandrian vessel which had
12 wintered in the island (her sign was "The Twin Brothers"), and putting
13 in at Syracuse we stayed for three days. Tacking round from there we
arrived at Rhegium; and as one day later a south wind sprang up, we
14 came upon the second day to Puteoli. There we fell in with brothers,
in whose company we found refreshment during our stay [2] of seven days.
15 And so to Rome we came. As the brothers there had heard about us, they
came out as far as Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae to meet us; and
16 when Paul saw them, he thanked God and took courage. When
we entered Rome, Paul was given permission to stay by himself, with
the soldiers who guarded him.

17 Now it came to pass after three days that he called the leading Jews
together; and when they had assembled, he said to them, "Men and
brothers, though I have done nothing against the People or the customs

[1] Reading ὡς. [2] Reading ἐπιμείναντες.

of our fathers, I have been handed over to the Romans as a prisoner
18 from Jerusalem. They examined me and meant to release me, as I
19 was clear of any crime deserving death. The Jews, however, objected,
and I was compelled to appeal to Caesar—not that I had any charge
20 to bring against my own nation. This, then, is my reason for asking
to see you and to speak with you, namely, because it is for the sake of
21 Israel's hope that I wear this chain." They said to him, "We have had
no letters about thee from Judaea, and no brother has come here with any
22 bad report or tale of thee. However, we think it only right to hear thee
state thy opinions; for, the fact is, we know that everywhere this party
23 is objected to." So they fixed a day with him, and came in large
numbers to meet him in his lodging; and from morning to evening he un-
folded and attested to them the reign of God, trying to convince them
24 about Jesus, from the law of Moses and from the prophets. And some
25 were convinced by what was said, but others disbelieved; so, disagreeing
among themselves, they went away. But not till Paul said one word
more; "Right well did the holy Spirit speak through Isaiah the prophet
to your fathers:

26 *Go to this people and say,*
'You shall hear and hear, yet never understand,
You shall see and see, yet never perceive.'
27 *For dulled is the heart of this people,*
Their ears are heavy of hearing,
Their eyes have they shut,
Lest haply they should see with their eyes,
And hear with their ears,
And understand with their hearts and turn again,
For me to cure them.

28 Be it known to you then, that this *salvation of God* has been sent *to*
30 *the Gentiles:* they will listen." Now for two whole years he
remained in his private lodging and welcomed all who went to see him,
31 preaching the reign of God, and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ
with perfect confidence, unhindered.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

The really cogent data for determining the period of this book's composition are (*a*) the interpretation of special allusions like the "seven heads" (17^{10}), as a historical series of Roman Emperors, the "beast," the number 666, and so forth; (*b*) the evidence of severe and recent persecution, of wars, physical disturbances, occupation of Jerusalem by foreigners, famine, pestilence, etc.; (*c*) the implied condition of the Christian communities addressed. These data have been variously read, and point apparently in different directions, either to the period 68–70 or to the later reign of Domitian, 81–96, when early Christian literature was drawn into the whirlpool of apocalyptic.

The former period was once widely accepted, chiefly on account of the curious and definite way in which the circumstances and personality of Nero seem to fit the apocalyptic conception of the antichrist. Between June 68, when Nero died, and September 70, when Jerusalem fell, it is held that this book was composed. In this event, it reflects the passion of the Christians against Rome (= Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus), the contemporary existence of the temple (11^{1}), and the flight of the Christians to Pella ($12^{6.\ 14}$). So formerly Lücke, Keim (i. 63, v. 227), and Weiss (*INT*, ii. 81–84), followed more recently by Beck (*Erklärung d. Offenbarung Joh.* 1885, who dates the book 65–69); Reuss (pp. 154–162), and Farrar (*Early Days of Christianity*, pp. 404-436); W. H. Simcox (*CGT*, 1890), Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 160 f.), and unfortunately by A. Réville (i. p. 261 f.). It is the period adopted also by Hausrath (iv. pp. 171, 256–282), Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 347–361), and Scholten (*JpTh*, 1883, pp. 608–610); but of course a statement like that made by Mr. T. B. Strong (*DB* ii. 690), that "the majority of modern critics are of opinion that the book was written in the time of Nero," becomes true only if the word "not" be read between "was" and "written." The former popularity of this date was probably due in some degree to Renan's presentment, in what forms the most brilliant volume of his series upon early Christianity, *L'antéchrist* (espec. chaps. xv.-xvii.). Besides, the lapse of years which intervenes between the Neronic period of the apocalypse, and the much later date of the fourth gospel, obviously helped to remove some of the difficulties felt by those who were anxious to accept both as works of the same author.

The true period of the book, however, is indicated by Mommsen (*Provinces of R. E.* ii. p. 199), although he does not come down beyond 69–79 A.D. The book, as he rightly finds, is "written demonstrably after Nero's fall, and when his return from the East was expected. . . . The foundation of the apocalypse is indisputably the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem, and the prospect thereby for the first time opened up of its future ideal restoration." On this view the leading ideas of the book and its situation are (*a*) the Imperial cultus advocated by the provincial authorities of the State, and (*b*) the belief in Nero's reappearance,

which did not prevail to any wide extent earlier than 70, and sprang up to its luxuriant maturity in all likelihood (Suetonius, *Nero*, 57) some twenty years later than his death.[1]

Hence, as the Neronic reference of the "beast"-pictures does not absolutely require the composition of the book *c.* 70 A.D., and as other elements—mainly though not decisively that of the Imperial cultus, which had grown like a fungus beside the earlier local cults (Ac 19^{27})—urge a considerably later date, modern criticism has heartily adopted the traditional date (cp. *e.g.* especially the remark in Euseb. *HE*, v. 8. 6 [Iren. *Adv. Haer.* v. 30, 3]: *οὐδε γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλα σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς*), *i.e.* *c.* 95 A.D. Under Domitian, tradition unmistakably fixed the banishment of John; his retirement, voluntary or compulsory, was due very probably to the acute persecution varying from death to exile,[2] which seems to have attended the enforcement of the Imperial cultus, especially in the Asiatic provinces (Rushforth, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 47, 48). Then it was that Christians were persecuted on definitely religious grounds (13^{15} 14^{9} 20^{4}); and not only, as in Nero's day, was the persecution active in the capital, but also throughout the provinces (Neumann, *Der Röm. Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian*, 1890, I. pp. 9, 11, 15). The situation and prospects of Christianity during the later period of Domitian's reign ("quum jam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni") are the subject of the apocalypse. It reflects the music of humanity, sad but not still, within Christendom, during the earlier stages of that settled and serious policy adopted by Rome towards those who, like the Christians, were indisposed to worship the Emperor as *Deus ac Dominus noster*, and thus incurred the charge of high treason. The full-blown procedure (*Cognitiones de Christianis*) which prevailed under Trajan (Plin. *Ep.* 10^{98}) was little in advance of what must have been experienced during Domitian's reign (Neumann, pp. 13–15). Traces of this age,[3] with its hues of earthquake and eclipse, its current agony and bitterness, are obvious in Apoc 2–3, where the figurative language discloses not merely, as in Hebrews, a considerable retrospect and partial decline, but a persecution (1^{9} 3^{10}), general and varying in severity.[4] Most editors and critics therefore find them-

[1] The belief in Nero's existence and in his return from Parthia was not confined to Roman superstition. It passed into Jewish (cp. especially 4th bk. of Sibyll. iv. 119, 137) and Christian (Apoc 17) circles in Asia Minor during the last quarter of the first century, and lasted till *c.* 100 A.D. (Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 21. 10).

[2] "Plenum exsiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli" (Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44; *Hist.* i. 2). If the allusion in Apoc 1^{9} refers to this, the last note of the prophetic literature resembles in its origin the earliest, and the exiled John is brother across eight centuries to the gagged Amos (Apoc 1^{1}, *ἀποκάλυψις . . . δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ* (10^{7}) = Amos 3^{7}, *ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ*), who sped a written message to the world from under an official ban. On Domitian's attitude to and effect upon the church, cp. Victor Schultze, *RTK*, pp. 787, 788, and Ramsay, *CRE*, chap. xiii.

[3] *τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις* (Clem. Rom. i.). Also Dio Cassius, *Epit.* lxvii. 14. The Apocalypse is the stormy petrel of ancient literature. A rough era produced apocalypses and sent people back to read the older pieces of apocalyptic romance. Prof. Rendel Harris declares that after the recent massacres in Armenia a similar tendency could be observed; the "renewed and devout study" of the people was directed not merely to the Bible but to the apocalyptic parts, and especially the book of Daniel (*Contemp. Rev.* Dec. 1899, p. 812).

[4] Cp. *Church Quart. Rev.* (1898), pp. 39–52; and generally Zahn, *Apok. Studien*, *ZKWL* (1885), pp. 523 f., 561 f.

selves obliged not merely with Mommsen to leave the pre-70 period[1] as a dethroned hypothesis, but to come down as far as the close of the first century. One of the surest results of modern research on the NT is the Domitianic situation of the Apocalypse; and the period of composition cannot be much later. So,[2] besides some of the older editors, Allard (*Hist. d. Persécut.* i. p. 113 f.), Havet (*Le christianisme et ses Origines*, iv. pp. 314–344), L. Schultze (*Handbuch der theolog. Wissenschaften*, Band i. Abth. 2, p. 121 f.), Milligan (*Discussions on the Apocalypse*, pp. 75–148), Salmon (*INT*, pp. 221–245), F. C. Arnold (*Die Neronische Christenverfolgung*, 1888), Neumann (*LC*, 1888, pp. 842, 843, in his review of Arnold), Abbott (*Common Tradition*, p. xv.), Schäfer (*Einl.* pp. 347–355), Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 417–419; *HC*, iv. 2, pp. 296–303), Ramsay (*CRE*, pp. 268–302), Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 179), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 19 f., 173–205), Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 245, 246), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 634 f.), Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 582–616), Adeney (*BI*, pp. 464, 465); but especially Bousset (-Meyer, *Die Offenbarung Joh.* 1896, pp. 1–208), who dates the writing[3] not later than the beginning of Trajan's reign. The Apocalypse, then, unites two elements: the experience of a persecution which has already claimed its martyrs, and the outlook upon a future of final distress and victory. The question at issue between Rome and the Christians is the worship of the Emperor as God. The Christians are no longer within Judaism, though Jewish phrases and ideas are very naturally caught up in the crisis; they are independent of the older religion. These indications converge and point to one period—the later years of Domitian, where inner and outer evidence, conceptions and tradition alike, combine to place the writing.

The Domitianic date, however, implies less the composition than the final editing of the book. Probably enough a nucleus (*e.g.* visions like those in 11, 13, 17)[4] originally referred to Nero, if not to Caligula. The whole writing in its extant form was put together some thirty years later, and forms—like its contemporary, the Apocalypse of Baruch—a composite book. So far as the question of the date is concerned, it is practically immaterial whether the book is considered as an earlier work which has been largely interpolated and recast at a later day, or as a composition of the last decade of the century, in which older apocalyptic pieces have been incorporated. Both processes are congenial to this class

[1] Among many internal traces of a comparatively late period, cp. *e.g.* the phrase *ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα* (Apoc 1^{9}) which only displaced the earlier Jewish expression (1 Co 16^{2}, Ac 20^{7}) at an advanced stage of the church consciousness.

[2] Apparently also the late Dr. H. R. Reynolds (*DB*, ii. p. 707), and *Church Quart. Rev.* (1894), pp. 446–472. The Apocalypse cannot be much later than the opening of the second century, as it was early accredited by Papias and Justin, and is possibly used even in the Ignatian epistles (*Ad. Eph.* 15, *Ad Philad.* 6^{1}). This gives a *terminus ad quem* within the first quarter of the century.

[3] The author wrote in the time of the tenth head (chap. 13), *i.e.* in the beginning of the reign of Trajan, after whom he expected Nero redivivus. Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 388–408), at the other extreme, abides by Vespasian's reign (75–80 A.D.) as the period of the book's composition, neglecting the various strata in the book.

[4] Holtzmann, "if the beast-sketch is originally Jewish, it dates from the time of Caligula; if, on the other hand, its reference to Nero or Domitian is demonstrable, then it is Christian." The words (13^{6}) *βλασφημῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ* are certainly suitable to Caligula. Chap. 17 contains two aspects of Nero, as the returning monarch and as the beast rising from the abyss. Like chap. 18, it is silent upon the great question that dominates the Apocalypse, namely, the idolatrous cult of the Caesars; and Bousset accordingly prefers to find the roots of the fragment in Vespasian's reign.

of literature, and either would explain the facts. It was characteristic of writers in apocalyptic literature to borrow and reproduce from older pieces, as well as to adapt earlier writings to subsequent emergencies. There is every likelihood that the Apocalypse of John was affected by this contemporary practice of incorporating fragments. For all the unity of style and spirit with which it is pervaded, as well as the freshness of its main conceptions, the book is in several passages—to resume Professor Masson's phrase for *Paradise Lost*—full of flakes from all that is greatest in the preceding literature. Some hypothesis like this is required to explain the very divergent lines of historical reference and religious temper within a writing which, as a whole, springs indubitably from the soil of 90–100 A.D. Consequently, a large part of the modern interest in research upon the Apocalypse has passed to discussions[1] upon the composite origin of the book, the number, character, and date of the component parts, or of the successive revisions which are imbedded in its pages. A common feature of these and other theories is their recognition of Neronic references in the Apocalypse, either in the original nucleus or in some incorporated fragments; and one or two critics, like O. Holtzmann, K. Erbes, and Spitta, are disposed to trace even earlier pieces which fall within Caligula's reign. But, apart from details, the composite origin, like the Domitianic period of the Apocalypse, may be regarded as a postulate of criticism; although it is easier to fix the time, than to determine the character or the extent, of its final redaction.

Upon two other points, indefiniteness seems to be necessary. An exact correspondence is not to be looked for between the traits and feelings of such a book and the actual career of any historical figure. The fabric of the visions has its starting-point in history, and that is all; their scope is not local or definite, any more than Dante's travel into Purgatory from the Tiber's mouth. It is true that sanity is being slowly introduced into the criticism of the Apocalypse by adopting the principle which attempts not to explain history from the prophecy, but to read the prophecy by the aid of history. Still, from the nature of the book, one cannot fairly expect to find the apocalyptic enigmas precisely reproduced among the personages and forces of the age. "Events in history are not carried on by sevens or by twelves." Such an endeavour neglects the supernatural or ideal element in the book, and its consequently blurred, vague outlines. "The conflict in it, though waged on earth, is not a human warfare; it is waged by combatants who are divine or diabolical. Satan gave his power to the beast. All these interpretations, therefore, . . . which find actual human persons in the beast or false prophet, are manifestly untrue to John's idea."[2] Indeed, this indefiniteness attaches to Jewish conceptions throughout their apocalyptic books. As Mommsen remarks, from the historian's point of view, the facts regularly run away into generalities; and this makes it precarious

[1] Chiefly by G. J. Weyland in Holland, Sabatier and Schön in France, Dr. Briggs in America, and a cohort of Germans (see Appendix). Dr. S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. pp. 176–233) goes on a way of his own; he regards the main body of the Apocalypse as a work composed originally in Aramaic at an early date (after 61 A.D.), and translated with interpolations at a subsequent period; the epistles to the churches were written in Hadrian's reign when sectaries began to swarm, and were prefixed by the translator to the larger work.

[2] Dr. A. B. Davidson, *Exp. Ti.* ii. p. 183. On the apocalyptic temper which accompanied the legal spirit among the Pharisees in the later Judaism, cp. Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*[2] (1892), pt. I.

work to infer much from supposed correspondences.[1] The other point of dubiety is the authorship. It is impossible to name the writer with any certainty. Either the book is like most apocalypses, pseudonymous—"in Saturn's reign, such mixture was not held a stain"—; or, if the "John" of $1^{4.9}$ be the author, it was written by some otherwise unknown Christian prophet (22^{9}) of that name, quite possibly (as Eusebius suggested) the Presbyter. Modern criticism has hardly got beyond the disjunctive canon adopted in the third century by Dionysius of Alexandria, in the striking and sensible criticism which Eusebius has preserved (*HE*, vii. 25. 15, concluding *τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἔκ τε τοῦ ἤθους ἑκατέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἴδους καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι*), namely, that the differences in diction and style between the fourth gospel and the apocalypse prove that the John of $1^{4.9}$ is not identical with John the Apostle. The identification is suggested by nothing in the book itself, and is contradicted indeed by the distant look of the writer's relation to Jesus. The book originated in Asia Minor, probably in the Ephesian community: it is also by a different author from the writer of the fourth gospel, although both shared a common atmosphere of thought and language. The hypothesis that the final editor of the Apocalypse was the author of the fourth gospel, seems to lack either evidence or probability.

Judged from the historical standpoint, then, the Apocalypse is an invaluable piece of literature, not merely for illustrating the methods by which Jewish Christianity originally developed, or for its light upon the political and social situation of Christianity at the close of the first century, but also for showing the amazing vitality of the Christian spirit. If apocalyptic fantasy has always been felt to appear somewhat foreign and strange beside the genuine religion of Israel which appropriated it—*miraturque novas frondes, et non sua poma*—how much more, beside the faith of Jesus? Yet most of the NT writings have their apocalyptic element, even Paul's letters and the gospels. This writer had more stubborn and apparently incongruous materials to work with, however, and his task was immensely harder than theirs. That he succeeded in mastering them, in reducing them to shape, and in partially transforming their uncouth and fantastic contents, is a proof not merely of his own mental grasp, but of the assimilating vigour and energy that possessed men who were still in touch with the simplicity and sanity of Jesus. Compare it even with 4th Esdras, the queen of Jewish apocalypses in that age, and its superiority is evident. The book naturally bears the rough signature of its age. Its religious nobility consists not in the entire absence of such bizarre and weird elements, but in the fact that these are dwarfed by the writer's moral force and controlling piety. He is the sole instance, within the NT literature, of the prophet's strange and honourable rôle including the charism of writing. Hitherto, for the most part, the OT had served as the handbook and textbook of prophecy, although there are passages (Is 49^{1} = Gal 1^{15}) in Paul's writings (*e.g.* 1 Th $4^{13\,f.}$, 2 Th $2^{1\,f.}$, 1 Co 13, 2 Co $4^{1\,f.}$, Ro 9–11, Eph $6^{10\,f.}$, Philipp $3^{2\,f.}$) which could only have been composed by one who was himself "among the prophets." To these, it is true, may be added pieces expressed in the spirit and language of prophecy, like parts of Hebrews, some early speeches in "Acts," possibly—as Dr. Hatch suggested—the later epistles of Judas and 2 Peter. Yet the Apocalypse is really the first definite

[1] But Gunkel's remarks (*Schöpf. und Chaos*, p. 230 f.) on the bankruptcy of the historical method are surely too pessimistic and severe (cp. also *KAT*, ii. p. 343).

composition of that class. It marks a stage at which the older spontaneous, passionately impulsive, utterances were yielding to less irregular visions transcribed by their authors in artistic shape. The Apocalypse is written by a prophet (22^9), and like Ephesians (2^{20} 3^4) singles out prophets for honour, ranking them with the saints (16^6 18^{20}); it is the prophetic impulse set to the further task of recording its own utterances for the sake of edification (1 Co 14^4, *ὁ δὲ προφητεύων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ*), and claiming for this fresh method the old authority ($22^{7.\ 9.\ 18\ f.}$). The seer writes to quiet and fortify the church in a crisis. But he is more than a teacher. His aim is to produce a permanent and effective impression, and for this purpose he has collected and composed pieces of literature saturated with the spirit of genuine prophecy, which are comparable only to the book of Daniel, that prototype and Magna Charta (Baldensperger) of the apocalyptic school in Judaism.

The occasion demanded such an effort. Apart from the political situation, the condition of the Christian communities (Clem. Rom. i., and the retrospective evidence of Pliny's letters), especially in Proconsular Asia Minor, during the closing years of the century, was one of moral laxity and general exposure to the deteriorating influences of heresy. Censure and comfort are intermixed in chaps. 2 and 3, to meet the dual situation. In striking contrast to Corinth, where at that period (Clem. Rom. iii.) partisanship, dissension, and restlessness under church-authority seem to have been rife, the main mischief in these Asian churches comes from the Jews. They stir up trouble from the outside at Smyrna and Philadelphia, and are denounced as a devilish association (= Jo 8^{44}, 1 Jn $3^{8\text{-}10}$). To the author the unbelieving Jews are no Jews at all. The genuine Jew is the Christian. At Thyatira, a party, or an individual pagan prophetess, is at work seducing even the Christians. Under the rather appropriate sobriquet of Jezebel,[1] she is denounced with passionate vehemence, quite in the spirit and speech of the OT prophets. A discreditable[2] libertine party is disowned at Ephesus, but partly tolerated at Pergamos, where the pagan cultus of Asklepios was influential and popular. The Balaamites may be similar to those Nikolaitans, whom Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III. 11. 1) stamps as precursors of Cerinthus. But the heresies at any rate are as a whole practical (yet cp. $2^{14.\ 15.\ 22}$ for their *διδαχή*) in character and issues. Throughout the book the demand is for loyalty and perseverance. The author's[3] reiterated, unswerving encouragement is a promise of the second advent of Jesus with reward and relief; but the circumstances of his readers in the churches[4] vary from lukewarmness to zeal, from comparative insigni-

[1] Cp. Schürer's essay, *ThA*, pp. 37–58, on "the prophetess Jezebel in Thyatira," whom he identifies with the Chaldean Sibyll, Sambathê.

[2] Seesemann still traces back the Nikolaitans to Nikolaos (Ac 6^5) the deacon (*SK*, 1895, pp. 47–82).

[3] Renan aptly describes him as, in all respects—apart from serenity and harmony—a brother of Deutero-Isaiah, that marvellous poet, "whose luminous soul seems as it were impregnated, six hundred years in advance, with all the dew and all the perfumes of the future." The moral grandeur of his aim overwhelms the cryptography and fantasy in his materials and even in his methods. We forget the frog-faced imps and weird beasts of the drama, when the light falls on One who wipes the tears from every eye.

[4] "All of them either in Lydia itself, or on the frontier of it: in nature Lydian all—richest in gold, delicatest in luxury, softest in music, tenderest in art of the then world" (Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera* (Letter lxxxiv.)). On their Imperial status, cp. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, I. pp. 340–342; and on Laodiceia, Hierapolis, and Colossai, see Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I., pp. 32 f., 84 f., 208 f.

ficance to prominence, from religious decline to progress, from stagnation to endurance and even aggressive propaganda.

No form of early Christian literature answers so well as the Apocalypse to the Baconian definition of the service rendered by genuine poetry in raising and erecting the mind above the tyranny of mere appearances. Emphatically the Apocalypse aims at "submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind." It reads history under the light of faith and hope; it floods the evil present with transcendent anticipations; it reasserts the supremacy of the ideal and of the Spirit, against depressing memory and forebodings. It is a pictorial expansion of the Christian principle (2 Co 4^{16}–5^{10}): *διὰ πίστεως περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἴδους.*

From Pliny's account of the Imperial policy in Bithynia some years later (Epp. x. 98, 99), we may infer what it was earlier and elsewhere in Asia. To clear oneself of the charge of Christianity, it was necessary to (*a*) worship and sacrifice to the statue of the Emperor, and (*b*) curse Jesus. Although in Pliny's day and earlier, some of the Bithynian Christians had recanted, the outstanding feature of the "superstition" was the obstinate tenacity with which most of its members clung to it (*pertinaciam et inflexibilem obstinationem*). He incidentally confirms the evidence of the Apocalypse upon the gradual revival of Paganism in Asia Minor, especially as the local cults were associated with the Imperial worship.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

The Apocalypse constitutes the classic example of that bitter enmity for the empire with which many disciples returned the latter's hostility, and it constitutes at the same time the classic example of the way in which persecution led the church to lay emphasis upon the approaching consummation and upon the blessedness and glory to be enjoyed by Christ's followers in his kingdom. This, in fact, was the second marked effect of persecution. The original expectation that Christ would speedily return to establish his kingdom, could not fail to be enhanced by the terrible experiences of the latter part of the first century. . . . But the hostility of the State had the effect also of compacting the church and broadening the line which separated it from the world at large. One of the notable facts to which the literature of the late first and early second centuries bears testimony, is the increasing realisation of the ideal of Christian unity and the growing effort to give that ideal practical expression and visible embodiment.—**McGiffert.**

1^{1-8}	**Prologue:** John in Patmos—a vision of Jesus.	
1^{9}–3^{22}	**Seven letters to Asiatic churches:**	(i) Ephesus. (ii) Smyrna. (iii) Pergamos. (iv) Thyatira. (v) Sardis. (vi) Philadelphia. (vii) Laodicea.
4^{1}–6^{17}	**Seven seals:** a vision of heaven:	the throne, the Lamb, the sealed book: of (i) the white horse. (ii) the red horse. (iii) the black horse. (iv) the pale horse. (v) the souls of the slain. (vi) the earthquake.
7^{1-18}	Intermezzo [episode of angels: sealing of redeemed]	
8^{1}		(vii) the silence.

8^{2}–9^{21} **Seven trumpets:** a vision of an angel and censer, of seven angels and trumpets for (i) the earth.
(ii) the sea.
(iii) the streams: star Wormwood.
(iv) a darkness.
(v) a woe of locusts.
(vi) a woe of horsemen.

10^{1}–11^{13} Intermezzo [episode of angel and little book: apocalypse of two witnesses]

11^{14-19} (vii) great voices.

12^{1-17} Saga of the woman and the red dragon: a war in heaven.

13^{1-18} Saga of the beasts from sea and land: a war on earth.

14^{1-5} Vision of the Lamb and the redeemed: in heaven.

14^{6-20} Vision of angels and of doom: on earth.

15^{1}–16^{21} **Seven vials:** a vision of seven angels and of their plagues upon
(i) the earth.
(ii) the sea.
(iii) the waters.
(iv) the sun.
(v) the beast's kingdom.
(vi) the Euphrates.
(vii) the air.

17^{1}–20^{10} **Vision of Doom:** on (i) Babylon the great, her fate and fall: the song of wailing on earth. the song of triumph in heaven.

19^{18-21} (ii) the Beast: procession of forces in heaven. doom of beast and his followers in lake of fire.

20^{1-10} (iii) the Dragon, Satan: his final defeat.

20^{11}–22^{5} **Vision of End:** (i) the great white throne: the world's judgment.

21^{1-8} (ii) the new sky and earth: God's consolation.

21^{9}–22^{5} (iii) the new Jerusalem.

22^{6-21} **Epilogue:** the seer and the angel.

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

1 1 The revelation of Jesus Christ
which God granted him to show to his slaves—
even what must shortly come to pass—
2 and he disclosed it, sending by his angel to his slave John, who bore
witness to the word of God and to the testimony of Jesus Christ, to all
that he saw.
3 Happy the reader and the hearers of the words of the prophecy,
Who also keep what is written in it!
For the time is near.

4 John to the seven Communities in Asia:
grace to you and peace
from him *who is* and who was and who is to come,
and from the seven spirits which are before his throne,
5 and from Jesus Christ *the faithful witness*, the *firstborn of the dead*, and the
ruler of the kings of the earth.
6 To him who loves us and *loosed* us *from* our *sins* by his blood—yea, he
made us *a realm of priests to* his *God* and Father—to him be the majesty
and the dominion for ever and ever: Amen.
7 *Lo, he comes with the clouds* and *shall be seen* by every eye,
Even by those who *impaled* him;
And all the tribes of the earth shall wail because of him.
Even so: Amen.
8 "I am the alpha and the omega,"
Saith *the Lord God who is* and who was and who is to come, *the almighty.*

9 I John, your brother and companion in the distress and reign and
patience which are in Jesus, was in the island called Patmos, on account
10 of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. I was in the Spirit on
the Lord's day, and I heard a loud voice behind me like a trumpet,
11 saying, "Write what thou seest in a book, and send it to the seven
Communities, to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamos and to
12 Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea." And I
turned to see the voice that talked with me. And on turning I saw
13 seven golden lampstands, and in the middle of the lampstands One who
was *like a son of man, clothed with a robe to his feet* and *girt* about his
14 breasts with a *golden* girdle. *White were his head and hair like* white
15 *wool, like snow, his eyes like* a flaming *fire, his feet like burnished brass,*
refined as it were in a furnace, *his voice like the sound of many waters.*
16 In his right hand he had seven stars, and from his mouth issued a sword,
17 sharp, two-edged, and his face was like *the sun* shining *in its might.* And
when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right
hand upon me, saying,

" *Fear not:*
18 *I am the first and the last* and the living one ; and I was dead, and lo, I am
alive for ever and ever,
And I have the keys of death and Hades.
19 Write then what thou hast seen, and what is, and *what is to come to pass*
after this.
20 As for the symbol of the seven stars which thou didst see on my right
hand,
And the seven golden lampstands :—
The seven stars are the angels of the seven Communities,
And the seven lampstands are the seven Communities.

2 1 To the angel of the Community in Ephesus write :
these things saith he who holds the seven stars in his right hand,
who walks in the middle of the seven golden lampstands.
2 'I know thy works and thy labour and thy patience,
And that thou canst not bear wicked men,
And didst try those who allege themselves to be apostles and are not, and
didst find them false ;
3 And thou hast patience, and for my name's sake didst bear and hast not
grown weary.
4 But I have this against thee :
Thou hast left thy first love.
5 Remember then where thou hast fallen from,
And repent and do the first works ;
Else I will come to thee and move thy lampstand out of its place,
Unless thou repent.
6 Yet thou hast this :
Thou hatest the works of the Nikolaitans, which I also hate.'
7 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.
'To him who conquers will I grant *to eat of the tree of life*, which is
in the paradise of God.'

8 And to the angel of the Community in Smyrna write :
these things saith *the first and the last,*
who was dead and became alive.
9 'I know thy distress and poverty (but thou art rich),
And the slander of those who allege themselves to be Jews and are not,
but are a synagogue of Satan.
10 Fear not what thou art to suffer.
Lo, the devil is to throw some of you into prison that *you may be tried,*
And *for ten days* you shall have distress.
Be faithful to death,
And I will give thee the wreath of life.'
11 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.
'He who conquers shall not be injured by the second death.'

12 And to the angel of the Community in Pergamos write :
these things saith he who has the two-edged sword.
13 'I know where thou dwellest,
Where the throne of Satan is ;
Yet thou holdest fast my name

And didst not renounce my faith even in the days of Antipas my faithful
witness who was killed among you,
Where Satan dwells.
14 But I have a few things against thee :
Thou hast some people there who hold to the teaching of Balaam,
Who taught Balak to put a pitfall before *the sons of Israel*,
The eating of food offered to idols, and the committing of fornication ;
15 Even so thou hast some people who hold to the teaching of the
Nikolaitans in the same way.
16 Repent :[1]
Else I will come to thee speedily and fight against them with the
sword of my mouth.'
17 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.
'To him who conquers *I will give* a share of the hidden *manna*,
Also I will give him a white stone,
And written on the stone *a new name*,
Which no one knows save he who receives it.'

18 And to the angel of the Community in Thyatira write :
these things saith the son of God,
with *his eyes like* a flame of *fire and his feet like burnished brass.*
19 'I know thy works,
Even thy love and faith and ministry and patience,
And that thy last works are more than the first.
20 But I have this against thee :
Thou dost tolerate the woman Jezebel who calls herself a
prophetess,
Teaching and seducing my slaves *to commit fornication and to eat
food offered to idols.*
21 And I have given her time to repent,
Yet she refuses to repent of her fornication.
22 Lo, I throw her into a bed,
And her adulterers into great distress, unless they repent of her
works,
23 And her children I will utterly slay :
So all the Communities shall know that I am *the searcher of
reins and heart*,
And *I will give to each* of you *according to* your *works.*
24 But to you, to the rest in Thyatira, I say,
Even to all who hold not this teaching,
Who do not (in their phrase) "know the depths of Satan"—
I put no other burden on you.
25 Only, hold to what you have, until I come.
26 And as for him who conquers and who keeps my works until the
end,
I will give him authority over *the nations*
27 (And *he shall shepherd them with a rod of iron, as a potter's vessels are
broken to shivers*),
As I also have received it from my Father :
28 Also I will give him the star of the morning.'
29 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.

[1] Omitting οὖν.

3 1 And to the angel of the Community in Sardis write:
these things saith he who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars.
'I know thy works:
Thou hast the name of being "alive,"
And thou art dead.
2 Be wakeful and establish the things that remain,
That are on the point of dying,
For I have not found thy works completed before God.
3 Remember then that thou hast received and heard;
Yea, keep it and repent.
If thou art not wakeful then,
I will come like a thief,
Nor shalt thou know at what hour I will come upon thee.
4 Yet thou hast a few souls in Sardis, who have not defiled their garments:
And they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy.
5 He who conquers shall thus be clad in white garments,
And *I will* not *blot* his name *out of the book of life*,
But will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.'
6 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.

7 And to the angel of the Community in Philadelphia write:
these things saith the holy One, the true,
he who has *the key of David*,
he who opens and none shall shut,
and shuts and none shall open.
8 'I know thy works.
Lo, I have set before thee an open door,
Which none is able to shut.
For thou hast little strength,
Yet thou didst keep my word and didst not disown my name.
9 Lo, I make those of the synagogue of Satan, who allege they are Jews and are not, but are liars—
Lo, I will make them *come and do reverence before thy feet*,
And learn that *I have loved thee.*
10 Because thou didst keep my word of patience,
I also will keep thee from the hour of trial,
Which is about to come upon the whole world to try the dwellers on the earth.
11 I come speedily:
Hold to what thou hast, that no one seize thy wreath.
12 As for him who conquers,
I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God,
And nevermore shall he go out of it;
Also, I will write the name of my God on him,
And *the name of the city* of my God, the new Jerusalem,
Which comes down out of heaven from my God,
And my own *new name.*'
13 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities.

14 And to the angel of the Community in Laodicea write:

these things saith the Amen,
the faithful and true *witness*,
the origin of God's *creation*.
15 'I know thy works:
Thou art neither cold nor hot—
Would thou wert either cold or hot!
16 So, because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot,
I am soon to vomit thee out of my mouth.
17 Since thou sayest "I am rich and *have grown rich* and am in need of nothing,"
And knowest not that thou art the one who is wretched, beggared, blind, and naked—
18 I counsel thee to buy from me gold refined out of the furnace,
That thou mayest gain riches,
And white garments,
That thou mayest be clad, and that the shame of thy nakedness be not disclosed,
And salve,
To rub on thine eyes for sight.
19 *Those whom I love, I reprove* and *chasten*:
Be zealous therefore and repent.
20 Lo, I stand at the door and knock!
If anyone hears my voice and opens the door,
I will come in and sup with him, and he with me.
21 As for him who conquers,
I will grant him to sit down with me upon my throne;
As I also conquered,
And sat down with my Father upon his throne.'
22 He who has an ear,
Let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Communities."

4 1 After this I looked, and lo, a door stood open in heaven! And the voice like *a trumpet*, which I had heard first talking with me, said, "*Come up* hither, and I will show thee *what must come to pass* after
2 this." Immediately I was in the Spirit,
And lo, a throne stood in heaven,
And *one sat on the throne*,
3 And he who sat was in appearance like a jasper and sardius stone;
And *round the throne* was a *rainbow* like an emerald in appearance.
4 And round the throne were four and twenty thrones,
And on the thrones four and twenty elders sitting,
Clothed in white garments with golden wreaths upon their heads.
5 And out of the throne *issue lightnings and voices* and *thunders*,
And seven torches of fire were burning before the throne,
Which are the seven spirits of God.
6 And before the throne there was as it were a sea of glass, *like crystal*.
And in the midst of the throne and *round the throne were four living creatures, full of eyes* before and behind:
7 *The first* creature was like *a lion*,
The second creature like *a calf*,
The third creature had *a face* like *a man's*,
The fourth creature was like *an eagle* flying.
8 And the four living creatures, *with six wings apiece, are full of eyes round them* and inside them;

And they cease not day and night to say,
"*Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God the almighty,*
Who was and *who is* and who is to come."
9 And whenever the living creatures give [1] praise and honour and thanks
To him *who sits upon the throne, who lives for ever* and ever,
10 The four and twenty elders fall down
Before him *who sits upon the throne,*
And they worship
Him *who lives for ever* and ever,
And they cast their wreaths
Before the throne, saying,
11 "Worthy art thou, our Lord and God,
To take the praise, the honour, and the power:
For all things thou didst create,
Yea, by thy will they existed and were created."

5 1 And I saw on the right hand of him *who sat upon the throne, a book*
2 *written inside and on the back, sealed fast with seven seals.* Also I saw a
strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the
3 book and unloose the seals of it?" And no one in heaven or on the
earth or under the earth was able to open the book or to look at it.
4 And I wept greatly, because no one was found worthy to open the book
5 or to look at it. And one of the elders says to me, "Weep not; lo,
the lion which is from the tribe *of Judah, the scion* of David, has con-
6 quered, so that he can open the book and the seven seals of it." And in
the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst
of the four and twenty elders, I saw *a Lamb* standing as if *slain*, with seven
horns and *seven eyes*, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all
7 the earth. And he came and took the book from the right hand of him
8 *who sits upon the throne.* And when he had taken it, the four living
creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb,
each holding a harp and golden bowls full of *incense* (which is *the*
9 *prayers* of the saints). And *they sing a new song*, saying,
"Worthy art thou to take the book
And to open the seals of it,
For thou wast slain and hast bought for God by thy blood
Men from every tribe and language and people and nation,
10 And hast made them *a realm* and *priests* to our *God*,
And they shall reign [2] on the earth."
11 And I looked, and round the throne and the living creatures and the
elders, I heard [3] the voice of many angels (and their number was *ten*
12 *thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands*), saying with a loud
voice,
"Worthy is *the Lamb which has been slain,*
To take the power and riches and wisdom and might
And honour and majesty and blessing."
13 And I heard every creature in heaven and on the earth and under the
earth and on the sea, and all things in them, saying,
"To him *who sits upon the throne* and to the Lamb
Be the blessing and the honour
And the majesty and the dominion
For ever and ever."
14 And the four living creatures said "Amen," and the elders fell down and
worshipped.

[1] Reading δώσωσιν. [2] Reading βασιλεύσωσιν. [3] Omitting [[ὡς]].

6 1 And I looked when the Lamb opened one of the seven seals, and I
heard one of the four living creatures say, as with a voice of thunder,
2 "Come." And I looked, and lo, *a white horse:* and he who sat on it had a
bow, and a wreath was given him, and he went out conquering and to conquer.
3 And when he opened the second seal, I heard the second living
4 creature say, "Come." And another horse went out, *a red horse:* and it
was granted him who sat on it to take peace from the earth, and to make
men slay one another, and a great sword was given him.
5 And when he opened the third seal, I heard the third living creature
say, "Come." And I looked, and lo, *a black horse:* and he who sat on it
6 had a pair of scales in his hand. And I heard as it were a voice in the
middle of the four living creatures, saying, "A measure of wheat for a
denarius, and three measures of barley for a denarius; and injure not the
the oil and wine."
7 And when he opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth
8 living creature say, "Come." And I looked, and lo, a pale horse: and he
who sat on it was called "*Death*," and "*Hades*" followed him. And he [1]
was given power over the fourth part of the earth, *to kill with the sword
and with famine and with plague*, and by means of *the wild beasts of the earth.*
9 And when he opened the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the
souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the
10 testimony which they bore. And they cried with a loud voice, "*Master*,
holy and true! *how long* wilt thou refrain from *charging and avenging* our
11 *blood on those who dwell upon the earth?*" And they were given each a white
robe, and they were told to rest a little while yet, until their number should
be completed [2] by their fellow-slaves and their brothers also, who were to
be killed like themselves.
12 And I looked when he opened the sixth seal, and a great earthquake
took place; and *the sun* became black as hair sackcloth, and *the* full *moon*
13 became like *blood*, and *the stars of the sky fell* to the earth, *as a fig-tree*
14 shaken by a strong wind casts her unripe figs. *And the sky* was put aside
like a book when it is folded up, and all mountains and islands were moved
15 out of their places. And *the kings of the earth and the magnates* and the
generals and the rich and the strong and every slave and freeman, *hid*
16 *themselves in the caves and among the rocks* of the mountains; *and they say
to the mountains and the rocks,*

"*Fall upon us* and *hide us*
From the face of him *who sits upon the throne*
[And from the wrath of the Lamb];
17 For *the great day of* his [3] *wrath* has come,
And who is able to stand?"

7 1 **After [4] this I saw four angels stand** *at the four corners of the earth* **and
hold fast** *the four winds* **of the earth, to prevent any wind from blowing on
2 the earth or on the sea or on any tree. And I saw another angel come up
from the east with the seal of the living God, and he cried with a loud
voice to the four angels who were permitted to injure the earth and the
3 sea, saying, "Injure not the earth nor the sea nor the trees, till** *we seal* **the
4 slaves of our God** *on their foreheads.*" **And I heard the number of those
who were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand, sealed out of every
tribe of the sons of Israel,**
5 **of the tribe of Judah twelve thousand, sealed:
of the tribe of Reuben twelve thousand, sealed:**

[1] Reading αὐτῷ.
[2] Reading πληρωθῶσιν.
[3] Reading αὐτοῦ.
[4] Omitting [[καὶ]].

of the tribe of Gad twelve thousand, sealed:
6 **of the tribe of Asher twelve thousand, sealed:**
of the tribe of Naphtali twelve thousand, sealed:
of the tribe of Manasseh twelve thousand, sealed:
7 **of the tribe of Symeon twelve thousand, sealed:**
of the tribe of Levi twelve thousand, sealed:
of the tribe of Issachar twelve thousand, sealed:
8 **of the tribe of Zebulun twelve thousand, sealed:**
of the tribe of Joseph twelve thousand, sealed:
of the tribe of Benjamin twelve thousand, sealed:

9 After this I looked, and lo, a great multitude which no one could
number, from every nation and from all tribes and peoples and languages,
standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clad in white robes,
10 with palms in their hands, and crying with a loud voice, "Salvation to
11 our God *who sits upon the throne*, and to the Lamb." And all the angels
were standing round the throne and round the elders and the four living
creatures, and they fell on their faces before the throne and worshipped
12 God, saying,

"Amen: May the blessing and the majesty and the wisdom
And the thanksgiving and the honour and the power and the
might
Be to our God for ever and ever: Amen."

13 And one of the elders addressed me, saying, "Those clad in the white
14 robes—who are they, and where have they come from?" And I said to
him, "Sir, thou knowest?" And he said to me,

"These are they who come out of the great distress,
Who *washed their robes* and made them white *in the blood* of the Lamb.
15 Therefore they are before God's throne
And serve him day and night within his temple,
And he *who sits upon the throne* shall spread his tabernacle over them.
16 *They shall hunger* no more, *nor thirst* any more,
The sun shall not beat on them, nor any *heat;*
17 For the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne *shall be their*
shepherd,
And guide them to *fountains of living water,*
And God shall wipe all tears from their *eyes.*"

8 1 And when he opened the seventh seal, a silence reigned in heaven for
2 about half-an-hour. And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and
3 seven trumpets were given to them. And another angel came and
stood at the altar with a golden censer, and much incense was given him to
be added to the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar before the
4 throne. And the smoke of *the incense* rose up from the angel's hand to
5 aid *the prayers* of the saints before God. And the angel took *the censer*
and *filled* it with *the fire of the altar*, and threw it on the earth; and there
came *thunders* and *voices and lightnings* and an earthquake.

6 And the seven angels who held the seven trumpets made themselves
ready to blow.

7 And the first blew; and *there came hail and fire* mixed with *blood*,
and they were thrown *on the earth*. And the third part of the earth was
burnt up, and the third part of the trees was burnt up, and all green
grass was burnt up.

8 And the second angel blew; and *as it were a* great *mountain burning*
with fire was thrown into the sea. And the third part of the sea *became*

9 *blood*, and the third part of the creatures in the sea—of living things—
died, and the third part of the ships was destroyed.
10 And the third angel blew; and there *fell from the sky a* great *star*
burning like a torch, and it fell on the third part of the rivers and on the
11 fountains of the waters. And the name of the star is called "Worm-
wood." And the third part of the waters became wormwood, and many
men died of the waters, because they had become bitter.
12 And the fourth angel blew; and the third part of the sun was smitten,
with the third part of the moon and the third part of the stars, so as to
darken the third part of them, and prevent a third of the day from
shining, and of the night likewise.
13 And I looked, and I heard an eagle flying in mid-heaven and saying
with a loud voice, "Woe, woe, woe to the dwellers on the earth, for the
rest of the trumpet-voices of the three angels who are about to blow."

9 1 And the fifth angel blew;
And I saw a star fallen from the sky to the earth,
And he was given the key of the pit of the abyss.
2 And he opened the pit of the abyss,
And *smoke rose up* out of the pit *like the smoke of a* great *furnace*,
And *the sun* and the air were *darkened* with the smoke from the pit.
3 And out of the smoke came *locusts on the earth*,
And they were given power like the power of the scorpions of the earth.
4 And they were told not to injure *the grass of the earth* or *any green thing*
or *any tree*,
But only such men as had not *the seal* of God *upon their foreheads*.
5 And they were permitted, not to kill but to torture them for five months,
And their torture was like the torture of a scorpion stinging a man.
6 And in those days men shall seek death,
Yet they shall not find it:
Yea, they shall desire to die,
Yet death flees from them.
7 And *in likeness* the locusts were *like horses* armed *for battle*,
And on their heads they had as it were wreaths like gold,
And their faces were like men's faces.
8 And they had hair like women's hair,
And *their teeth* were *like lions' teeth*,
9 And they had coats of mail, as it were iron coats of mail,
And the sound of their wings was *like the sound of chariots* with many
horses *rushing into battle;*
10 And they have tails like scorpions, and stings,
And their power of injuring men for five months is in their tails.
11 They have a king over them, the angel of the abyss,
Who is called in Hebrew "Abaddon," and in Greek "Apollyon."
12 The first woe has passed:
Lo, after this, two woes are still to come.
13 And the sixth angel blew; and I heard a voice from the four [1] horns
14 of the golden altar before God, saying to the sixth angel with the trumpet,
15 "Unloose the four angels bound at *the great river Euphrates*." And the
four angels were unloosed, who had been in readiness for the hour and
16 day and month and year, to kill the third part of men. And the number
of the troops of the cavalry was twice ten thousand times ten thousand;
17 I heard their number. And I saw the horses in the vision and those
who sat on them, thus: they wore coats of mail the colour of fire and

[1] Reading τεσσάρων.

jacinth and brimstone; the heads of the horses were like lions' heads, and
18 from their mouths issue fire and smoke and brimstone. By these three
plagues the third part of men was killed, by the fire and the smoke and
the brimstone issuing from their mouths.
19 For the power of the horses is in their mouth and in their tails:
Their tails are like serpents, they have heads and with them they
do injury.
20 And the rest of men, who were not killed by these plagues, did not[1]
repent of *the works of their hands*, to give up worshipping *the daemons* and
the idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood, which can neither
21 *see nor hear nor walk*; and they did not repent of their murders, nor of
their *sorcery*, nor of their *fornication*, nor of their thefts.
10 1 And I saw another strong angel come down from heaven, clad in
a cloud; the rainbow on his head, his face like the sun, his feet
2 like columns of fire, and in his hand a little book open. And he
3 set his right foot on the sea and his left on the earth, and cried
with a loud voice, as a lion roars; and when he cried, the seven
4 thunders spoke aloud. And when the seven thunders had spoken,
I was going to write; but I heard a voice from heaven saying,
"*Seal* what the seven thunders have spoken, and write it not."
5 And the angel whom I saw standing on the sea and earth, *lifted*
6 *his right hand to the sky and swore by him who lives for ever* and ever,
who created the sky and the things in it, and the earth and the things
in it, and the sea and the things in it, that there shall not be a
7 respite any longer, but that in the days of the seventh angel's voice,
when he is to blow, then shall *the secret of God* be finished, according
8 to the glad tidings which he gave to *his slaves the prophets*. And
the voice which I had heard from heaven talked once more with me
and said, "Go, take the book that lies open in the hand of the angel
9 who stands on the sea and on the earth." So I went away to the
angel and bade him give me *the little book; and he says to me*,
"Take *and eat it*, and it shall make *thy belly* bitter, but *in thy mouth*
10 it shall be sweet as honey." And I took *the little book* from the
hand of the angel *and ate it, and it was sweet as honey in my mouth;*
11 yet, when I had eaten it, my belly became bitter. And they say to
me, "*Thou must* again *prophesy of many peoples and nations and*
languages and kings."
11 1 **And there was given to me** *a reed* **like a staff, with the words,**
"Rise and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and those who
2 **worship there; yet leave out the court which is outside the temple;**
measure it not, for it has been given to *the nations*, **and they** *shall*
3 *trample on* **the holy city for two and forty months. And I will**
permit my two witnesses to prophesy for one thousand two hundred
4 **and sixty days, clad in sackcloth. These are** *the two olives* **and the**
two *lampstands* **which** *stand before the Lord of the earth.*
5 **And if anyone would injure them,**
Fire issues from **their** *mouth* **and** *devours* **their** *enemies;*
Yea, if anyone should wish to injure them,
So must he be killed!
6 **These have the power of closing the sky,**
So that no rain falls during the days of their prophesying;
And they have power over *the waters*,
To turn them *into blood*,

[1] Reading *οὐ*.

And to *smite* the earth
With every plague, as often as they wish.
7 And when they finish their testimony, *the beast* who *ascends out of the*
abyss shall make war against them *and conquer them* and kill them.
8 And their corpses lie in the street of the great city which is called
spiritually 'Sodom' and 'Egypt,' where their Lord also was crucified.
9 And men from the peoples and tribes and languages and nations
look on their corpses for three days and a half, and will not allow
10 their corpses to be laid in a tomb. And the dwellers on earth
rejoice over them and *are glad*, yea, they shall exchange presents;
11 for these two prophets tortured the dwellers on the earth. And after
the three days and a half, *the spirit of life* from God *entered them and*
12 *they stood on their feet*, and great *fear fell on* those who saw them. Then
they heard a loud voice from heaven saying to them, "Come up hither."
And they ascended *into heaven* in the cloud, and their enemies saw them.
13 And at that hour *a great earthquake* came, and the tenth part of the
city *fell;* and in the earthquake seven thousand persons were killed,
and the rest became terrified and did honour *to the God of heaven.*"
14 The second woe has passed:
Lo, the third woe is coming speedily.
15 And the seventh angel blew; and there followed loud voices in
heaven saying,
"*The realm* of the world has become our *Lord's and his Christ's*,
And *he shall reign for ever and ever.*"
16 And the four and twenty elders who sit upon their thrones before God,
17 fell on their faces and worshipped God, saying,
"We give thanks to thee, *Lord God the almighty*,
Who art and who wast,
For thou hast taken thy great power
And *entered on thy reign.*
18 And *the nations were wroth;*
Then thy wrath came,
And the time for the dead to be judged,
And for their reward to be given *to thy slaves the prophets*,
And to the saints[1] *who fear* thy name,
The small and the great,[2]
And for the destroyers of the earth to be destroyed."
19 And the temple of God in heaven was opened,
And *the ark* of his *covenant* was seen *in his temple;*
And there came *lightnings and voices* and *thunders* and an earthquake and
great hail.
12 1 And a great sign was seen in heaven, a woman clad with the sun,
beneath her feet the moon, and on her head a wreath of twelve stars;
2 and being with child, she *cries out in her pangs of travail, in anguish for*
3 *delivery.* And another sign was seen in heaven: lo, a great red dragon
4 with seven heads and *ten horns*, and on his heads seven diadems; and his
tail dragged the third part of *the stars of the sky and threw* them *to the*
earth. And the dragon stands before the woman who is on the point of
being delivered; so that when she is delivered, he may devour her child.
5 And she *bore* a son, *a male*, who is to *shepherd* all *the nations with an iron*
6 *rod;* and her child was caught up to God and to his throne. Then the
woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God,
that they may nourish her there for one thousand two hundred and sixty

[1] Omitting καὶ. [2] Reading τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις.

7 days. And war broke out in heaven, *Michael* and his angels
8 *warring* with the dragon. And the dragon and his angels fought, yet
they prevailed not; and there was no longer any place for them in heaven.
9 And the great dragon was thrown down, *the* old *serpent*, who is called
the "*Devil*" and "*Satan*," who seduces the whole world—he was thrown
10 down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him. And I
heard a loud voice in heaven saying,

"Now has come the salvation and the power,
And the reign of our God and the authority of his Christ,
Because the accuser of our brothers is thrown down,
Their accuser day and night before our God.
11 And they conquered him by the blood of the Lamb,
And by the word of their testimony;
Yea, they loved not their life to the death.
12 *Be glad* for this, *O heavens*,
And ye that dwell in them!
Woe to the earth and the sea!
Since the devil has gone down to you greatly enraged,
For he knows that his time is short."

13 And when the dragon saw that he was thrown down to the earth, he
14 pursued the woman who had borne the male child. But the woman had
the two wings of the great eagle given her, to fly into the wilderness to
her place, where she is nourished for *a time and times and half a time*,
15 away from the serpent. And out of his mouth the serpent threw water
16 after the woman like a river, to get her swept away by the stream. But
the earth helped the woman, and opened its mouth, and swallowed up
17 the river which the dragon threw out of his mouth. And the dragon was
wroth at the woman, and went off to make war with the rest of her
offspring, with those who keep the commandments of God, and hold the
testimony of Jesus.

13 1 And I stood[1] on the sand of the sea and saw *a beast coming up out of the
sea* with *ten horns* and seven heads, and on his horns ten diadems, and
2 on his heads a blasphemous name.[2] And *the beast* which I saw was *like a
leopard*, and his feet were *like a bear's*, and his jaws *like a lion's* jaws; and
the dragon gave him his power and his throne and great authority.
3 And I saw one of his heads, as it were slain and dead; yet his mortal
wound was healed.
And the whole earth went after the beast in wonder:
4 And they worshipped the dragon for having given his authority to the
beast,
And they worshipped the beast, saying,
"Who is like the beast?
And who can fight with him?"
5 And he had *a mouth given him with big* and blasphemous *words*,
And he had authority given him to exercise for two and forty months.
6 And he opened his mouth for blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his
name and his dwelling and[3] the dwellers in heaven.
7 And he was permitted *to make war with the saints and to conquer them*,
And he had authority given him over every tribe and people and
language and nation.
8 And he shall be worshipped by all the dwellers on the earth,
By everyone whose name has not been *written* from the foundation
of the world *in the book of life* [of the *slain Lamb*].

[1] Reading ἐστάθην. [2] Reading ὀνόματα. [3] Adding καί.

9 If anyone has an ear,
Let him hear.
10 *If anyone makes captive,*
Captive shall he go:
If anyone kills *with the sword,*
With the sword must he be killed.
Here is room for the patience and the faith of the saints.
11 And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth, and he
12 had two horns like a lamb, and he spoke like a dragon. And he exercises
the entire authority of the first beast, in his presence, and makes the earth
and the dwellers on it worship the first beast, whose mortal wound was
13 healed. And he performs great signs, so as even to make fire come
14 down from the sky upon earth before men. And he seduces the
dwellers on earth by the signs which he was permitted to perform in
presence of the beast, bidding the dwellers on the earth make an image
15 for the beast who has the wound of the sword and yet lives. And he was
permitted to give breath to the image of the beast, that the image of the
beast should speak, and should also cause *all who do not worship the image*
16 of the beast to be killed. And all, the small and the great, the rich and
the poor, the free men and the slaves, he causes to have a mark set on
17 their right hand or on their forehead, so that [1] no one can buy or sell unless
he is marked with the name of the beast or the number of his name.
18 Now for "wisdom": let him who has understanding count the number
of the beast, for it is the number of a man; and his number is 666.

14 1 And I looked,
And lo, the Lamb stood on the mountain of Zion,
And with him one hundred and forty-four thousand, who had his name
and his Father's name written *on* their *foreheads.*
2 And I heard a voice from heaven *like the sound of many waters* and the
sound of loud thunder,
And the voice which I heard was like the sound of harpers harping on
their harps;
3 And *they sing a* [2] *new song* before the throne and before the four living
creatures and the elders;
And no one could learn the song, except the hundred and forty-four
thousand who are bought from out of the earth.
4 These are men who have not defiled themselves with women; they
are celibates.
These are men who follow the Lamb, wherever he goes.
These are bought from among men as firstfruits to God [and to the
Lamb].
5 And *in* their *mouth no lie was found;* they are faultless.
6 And I saw another angel flying in mid-heaven with an eternal gospel
for the inhabitants of the earth, and for every nation and tribe and
7 language and people, saying with a loud voice,
"Fear God and do him honour,
Because the hour of his judgment is come;
And worship *the maker of the sky and earth, the sea* and fountains of
waters."
8 And another, a second, angel succeeded, saying,
"*Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,*
She who *has made all the nations drink*
Of the wine of the passion *of her* fornication."

[1] Omitting [[*καὶ*]]. [2] Omitting *ὡς.*

9 And another, a third, angel succeeded them, saying with a loud voice,
"If anyone worships the beast and his image,
And accepts the mark on his forehead or on his hand,
10 He too *drinks of the wine* of God's wrath,
Poured out unmixed in the cup of his anger,
And shall be tortured with *fire and brimstone*
In the presence of the holy angels [and in presence of the Lamb];
11 *And the smoke* of their torment *goes up for ever* and for ever,
And they have no rest by *day or night*,
The worshippers of the beast and of his image,
And he who accepts the mark of his name.
12 [Here is room for the patience of the saints,
Of those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."
13 And I heard a voice from heaven saying, "Write:
'Happy the dead who die from henceforth in the Lord!
Yea, saith the Spirit, happy to rest from their labours!
For their works follow after them.'"]
14 And *I looked*: *and lo*, a white cloud, and *on the cloud* one sitting *like a son of man*, with a golden wreath on his head, and in his hand a sharp
15 sickle. And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him who sat upon the cloud,
"*Thrust in thy sickle*, and reap:
For the reaping hour is come,
For the harvest of the earth is ripe and dry."
16 Then he who sat on the cloud threw his sickle on the earth, and the earth
17 was reaped. And another angel came out of the temple which is
18 in heaven, he too with a sharp sickle. And another angel came out of the altar, with [1] power over the fire; and he cried with a loud voice to him who had the sharp sickle, saying,
"*Thrust in* thy sharp *sickle*
And pluck the clusters of the vine of the earth;
For her grapes are fully ripe."
19 Then the angel threw his sickle to the earth and plucked the vintage of
20 the earth and threw it into the great winepress of God's wrath. And *the winepress was trampled* outside the city; and out came blood from the winepress, high as horse-bridles and covering two hundred miles.

15 1 And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous; seven angels with *seven plagues*—the last plagues, because in them the wrath of God is
2 finished. And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and those who came off conquerors from the beast and from his image and from the number of his name, standing beside the sea of glass with harps
3 of God. And *they sing the song of Moses the slave of God* [and the song of the Lamb], saying,
"*Great* and *marvellous are thy works*,
Lord God the almighty!
Just and true thy *ways*,
King of the nations!
4 *Who shall not fear, O Lord*, and *magnify thy name?*
For thou alone art *holy*,
For *all nations shall come and worship before thee*,
Because thy judgments have been disclosed."

[1] Omitting [[*ἐκ*]].

5 And after this I looked, and the temple of *the tent of the testimony* in
6 heaven was opened; and out of the temple came the seven angels with
the seven plagues, arrayed in pure dazzling *linen*, and their breasts girt
7 with golden girdles. And one of the four living creatures gave the seven
angels seven golden bowls, full of the wrath of the God who lives for ever
8 and ever. And *the temple was filled with smoke* from *the splendour* of God
and from his power, and *no one could enter* the temple till *the seven* plagues
16 1 of the seven angels were finished. And I heard *a* loud *voice out
of the temple* saying to the seven angels, "Go and *pour out* the seven bowls
of God's *wrath on the earth.*"

2 And the first went off and poured out his bowl on the earth; *and a*
noisome and *painful ulcer came upon the men* who had the mark of the
beast and who worshipped his image.

3 And the second poured out his bowl on the sea; *and it became blood*
as of a dead man; and *the things* in the sea, every living soul, *died.*

4 And the third poured out his bowl on *the rivers* and the fountains of
5 the waters; and they *became blood.* And I heard the angel of the waters
say,

"*Just* art thou,
Who art and who wast, *O holy One,*
Because of these thy judgments!
6 *Blood* of saints and prophets *they poured out,*
And *blood* thou hast given *them to drink,*
As they deserve."

7 And I heard the altar say,
"Yea, *Lord God the almighty!*
True and *just are thy judgments!*"

8 And the fourth poured out his bowl upon the sun; and he was per-
9 mitted to scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat,
and they blasphemed the name of the God who has the power over these
plagues; yet they did not repent and do him honour.

10 And the fifth poured out his bowl on the throne of the beast; and
11 his realm *was darkened*, and men gnawed their tongues for pain and
blasphemed *the God of heaven* for their pains and for their ulcers; yet
they did not repent of their works.

12 And the sixth poured out his bowl on *the great river*[1] *Euphrates;*
and its *water was dried up*, to prepare the way for the kings *from the east.*
13 And I saw issuing from the mouth of the dragon and from the mouth of
the beast and from the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits
14 like *frogs:* they are spirits of daemons, performing signs, and they go forth
to the kings of the whole world to muster them for the war of the great
15 day of *God the almighty.* [Lo, I come like a thief. Happy the man who
is wakeful and keeps his garments, not to go naked and have his shame
16 seen!] And they mustered them at the place called in Hebrew, "Har-
Magedon."

17 And the seventh poured out his bowl on the air; and there came *a*
18 loud *voice out of the temple*, from the throne, saying, "It is done." Then
came *lightnings and voices* and *thunders;* and a great earthquake took
place, so great, so mighty an earthquake *as has not been since* man *was*
19 *upon earth.* And the great city parted in three, and the cities of the
nations fell. So God remembered *Babylon the great*, to give her *the cup*
20 *of the wine of the wrath* of *his* anger. And every island fled away, and the
21 mountains were not to be found. And *great hail*, stones about a talent's

[1] Omitting [[τὸν]].

weight, dropped from the sky upon men ; and men blasphemed God for the plague of the hail, because the plague of it is *terribly great.*

17 1 And one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls came and talked with me, saying, "Come hither, I will show thee the judgment of the great harlot who sits *upon many waters:*

2 *The kings of the earth*
Committed fornication with her,
And the dwellers on *the earth*
Were made drunk with the wine of her fornication."

3 And in the Spirit he bore me away into a wilderness. And I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet *beast*, which was full of blasphemous names,
4 with seven heads and *ten horns.* And the woman was clad in purple and scarlet, and she had ornaments of gold and precious stones and pearls, with *a golden cup* full of abominations, the impurities
5 of her fornication, in her right hand, and on her forehead a name
8 written which is a symbol: "BABYLON THE GREAT, MOTHER OF
6 THE HARLOTS AND THE ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints [and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus]. And mightily I wondered, when I saw
7 her. And the angel said to me, "Why wonder? I will explain to thee the symbol of the woman, and of the beast with the seven heads
8 and the ten horns that carries her. *The beast* which thou didst see, was, and is not, and is to *come up out of the abyss*, and to perdition he goes.[1] And the dwellers on the earth shall wonder (all *whose* names *are* not *written* from the foundation of the world *in the book of life*) when they
9 find that the beast was and is not and comes again. Now for the mind which has 'wisdom':—the seven heads are seven mountains where the
10 woman sits. And there are seven kings ; five are fallen, one is, the other has not yet come, and when he comes, he must remain but a little
11 while. And the beast which was and is not, is the eighth, and also belongs
12 to the seven ; and to perdition he goes. And *the ten horns* which thou didst see *are ten kings*, who have received no royal power as yet, but
13 receive authority for an hour as kings along with the beast. These have one purpose, and their power and their authority they give to the beast.

14 These shall fight with the Lamb
And by the Lamb shall they be conquered—
Because *he is Lord of lords and King of kings*—
And by those who are with him, called and chosen and faithful."

15 And he said to me, "*The waters* which thou didst see, where the harlot
16 sits, are peoples and throngs and nations and languages. As for the ten horns which thou didst see, and the beast, these shall hate the harlot, and make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh, and burn her up with
17 fire. For God has put it in their hearts to execute his purpose, to agree upon one purpose and also to give their royal power to the beast, till the
18 words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman whom thou didst see, is the great city whose reign is over *the kings of the earth.*"

18 1 After this I saw another angel come down from heaven with great
2 authority, and the earth was lit up with his brightness. And he cried with a mighty voice, saying,

"*Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great,*
And become *a dwelling of daemons,*

[1] Reading ὑπάγει.

And a prison of every spirit unclean,
And a prison of every bird unclean and hateful;
3 Because *of the wine of* the passion of *her* fornication
All the nations have drunk,
And the kings of the earth
Have committed fornication with her,
And the merchants of the earth
Have become rich by her wealth of wantonness."
4 And I heard another voice from heaven say,
"*Come out of her, my people,*
That you share not in her sins,
And that you partake not of her plagues;
5 *For heaped up to the sky are her* sins,
And God has remembered her misdeeds.
6 *Render to her even as she rendered,*
Yea double her measure *according to her works;*
In the cup that she mixed, mix for her double:
7 As she magnified herself and wantoned,
Give her as much torture and mourning.
Because *in her heart she says,* "*A Queen I sit,*
No widow am I, and mourning I shall not see;"
8 Therefore *in one day* her plagues *shall come,*
Death and mourning and famine,
And with fire she shall be burned up;
For *strong* is *the Lord* God her *judge.*
9 *And over* her *shall weep and wail the kings of the earth,*
Who committed fornication with her and wantoned,
When they look on the smoke of her burning—
10 Standing far away in dread of her torture,
Saying "Woe, woe for *the great* city,
Babylon the strong city!
For in one hour has thy judgment come."
11 And the *merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn* over her,
For no one buys their merchandise any more:
12 Merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones and pearls,
And fine linen and purple and silk and scarlet,
And all citron-wood and every article of ivory,
And every article of most precious wood,
And of brass and iron and marble:
13 And cinnamon and amomum and incense and perfume and frankincense,
And wine and oil and fine flour and wheat,
And cattle and sheep and horses and chariots,
And slaves and *human souls.*
15 The merchants of these things, who gained wealth by her,
Far away shall they stand in dread of her torture,
Weeping and mourning:
16 Saying, "Woe, woe for the great city,
Clad in fine linen and purple and scarlet,
With ornaments of gold and precious stones and pearls!
17 For in one hour all this wealth has come to ruin."
And every *shipmaster* and every coasting mariner,
And sailors and all whose business is on *the sea,*

18 Stood far away and cried, as they looked on the smoke of her burning,
"*What is like* the great city?"
19 *And they threw dust on their heads and cried,*
Weeping and mourning; "Woe, woe for the great city,
Where *all* who had *ships in the sea gained riches,*
By means of her wealth!
For in one hour she has come to ruin."
20 *Be glad* over her, *O heaven,*
Ye saints, apostles, and prophets:
For God *has judged* her with your judgment."
21 And a strong angel took up *a stone* like a great mill-stone, *and threw it into* the sea, saying,
"*So* shall *Babylon the great* city be thrown down with sudden onset,
And never be found any more.
22 *And the sound* of harpers and *musicians* and fluteplayers and trumpeters
Shall never be heard in thee more:
And a craftsman of any craft
Shall never be found in thee more:
And *the sound of a mill-stone*
Shall never be heard in thee more:
23 *And the light of a lamp*
Shall never be seen in thee more:
And the voice of bridegroom and bride
Shall never be heard in thee more.
14 And the ripe fruit of thy soul's desire
Has gone from thee!
And all things rich and radiant
Have perished from thee.
Nevermore shall they be found!
For thy *merchants* were *the magnates of the earth;*
For *by thy sorcery* all the nations were seduced.
24 [And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints,
And of *all who have been slain* upon *the earth.*]"
19 1 After this I heard as it were a loud voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying,
"*Hallelujah!*
The salvation and the majesty and the power belong to our God,
2 For *true* and *just are his judgments:*
For he has judged the great harlot,
Who destroyed the earth with her fornication,
And has *avenged the blood of his slaves*
At her *hand.*"
3 And a second time they said,
"*Hallelujah!*
And the smoke of her goes up for ever and ever!"
4 And the four and twenty elders and the four living creatures fell down and worshipped the God who *sits upon the throne*, saying, "Amen:
5 *Hallelujah.*" And a voice came out of the throne, saying,
"*Extol* our God, *all ye* his *slaves,*
Ye who fear him, small and great."
6 And I heard *as it were the voice of a* great *multitude*, and as it were *the sound of many waters*, and as it were the sound of mighty thunders, saying,

"*Hallelujah!*
For *the Lord our God almighty is king.*
7 *Let us joy* and rejoice
And give him due honour;
For the marriage of the Lamb has come,
And his wife has made herself ready,
8 And she is permitted to put on fine linen, dazzling and pure
(The fine linen is the upright deeds of the saints)."
9 And he says to me, "Write: 'Happy those who are called to the marriage-
supper of the Lamb!'" And he says to me, "These are the [1] true words
10 of God." And I fell down before his feet to worship him. But he says
to me,
"Not so! beware!
I am a fellow-slave of thine,
And of thy brothers who hold the testimony of Jesus.
Worship God!
[For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.]"
11 *And I saw heaven opened:*
And lo, a white horse!
And he who sits on it is called "Faithful" and "True,"
And *with uprightness he judges* and fights.
12 *His eyes* are a flame of *fire,*
And on his head are many diadems.
And he has a name which none knows, save himself;
13 And he is clad in a garment dipped in blood
[And his name is called "The Logos of God"].
14 And the troops in heaven followed him on white horses,
Clothed in fine linen, white and pure.
15 And from *his mouth* issues a sharp sword, wherewith *to smite* the
nations:
And he shall *shepherd them with an iron rod.*
And he *tramples the winepress* of the wrath of the anger *of the almighty God.*
16 And on his garment and on his thigh he has a name written,
"King of Kings and Lord of Lords."
17 And I saw an angel stand in the sun, and he cried with a loud voice
to all the birds that fly in mid-heaven, "*Come, gather to the* great supper of
18 God, *to eat* the flesh of *kings,* and the flesh of generals, and the *flesh of the*
strong, and the flesh of *horses* and of their riders, and the flesh of all men,
19 free and slaves and small and great." And I saw the beast and *the*
kings of the earth and their troops, *gathered* to make war against him who
20 sat on the horse and against his troops. And the beast was caught, and
along with him the false prophet, who performed in his presence the signs
by which he seduced those who had accepted the mark of the beast and
who worshipped his image; they were thrown down, these two, alive
21 into the lake of fire *that burns with brimstone.* And the rest were killed
by the sword of him who sits on the horse, by the sword which went out
of his mouth; and *all the birds were glutted with* their *flesh.*
20 1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven with the key of the
2 abyss and a great chain upon his hand. And he seized the dragon, *the*
old *serpent,* who is "the *Devil*" and "*Satan,*" and bound him for a
3 thousand years, then threw him into the abyss, and shut and sealed it on
the top of him, that he should no more seduce the nations until the
thousand years were finished; after this he must be unloosed for a little

[1] Reading *οἱ ἀληθινοί.*

4 while. And *I saw thrones*, and *they sat* on them and they were *permitted to judge;* yea, I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God, who did not worship the beast or his image, and did not accept the mark on their forehead and on their hand; and they lived and reigned with the Christ for a thousand
5 years. The rest of the dead lived not until the thousand years were
6 finished. This is the first resurrection. Happy and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection! Over such the second death has no power; they shall be *priests of God* and of the Christ, and shall reign with
7 him for the thousand years. And when the thousand years are
8 finished, the Satan shall be unloosed from his prison, and he shall come out to seduce the nations *in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog*, to muster them for the war; and their number is as the sand of the sea.
9 And they went up *over the broad earth* and encircled the camp of the saints and *the beloved* city. *And fire came down from the sky and devoured*
10 them. And the devil, their seducer, was thrown into the lake of *fire and brimstone*, where the beast and the false prophet also are; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

11 *And I saw* a great white *throne*,
And him *who sat* thereon:
Earth and sky *fled from his face*,
And *no place was found for them.*
12 And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne;
And there were books opened,
And another *book* was opened, which is the book of *life.*
And the dead were judged from what was written in the books,
According to their works.
13 And the sea gave up the dead in her,
And death and Hades gave up the dead in them;
And they were judged each
According to their works.
14 And death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire.
This is the second death, the lake of fire.
15 And he who was not *found* written *in the book of life*, was thrown into the lake of fire.

21 1 And I saw *a new sky and a new earth*,
For the first sky and the first earth have passed away:
And the sea is no more.
2 And I saw *the holy city*, new *Jerusalem*, come down out of heaven from God,
Prepared *like a bride adorned* for her husband.
3 And I heard a loud voice out of the throne, saying:
"*Lo, the tabernacle* of God is with men,
And he shall dwell with them;
And they shall be his peoples,
And God himself *shall be with them.*
4 *And he shall wipe all tears from* their *eyes*,
And death shall be no more,
Nor shall *mourning* or *crying* or pain be any more;
For *the first things* have passed away."
5 And he *who sits upon the throne* said, "*Lo, I make* all things *new*." And
6 he says, "Write: 'these words are sure and true.'" And he said to me,

"It is done. I am the alpha and the omega,
The beginning and the end.
I will give to *him who is athirst*, of the fountain of *the water of life freely.*
7 He who conquers shall inherit these things,
And *I will be his God,*
And he shall be my son.
8 But as for the timid and faithless and abominable and murderers and
fornicators and sorcerers and idolaters and all liars—their part is in the
lake *that burns with fire and brimstone*, which is the second death."
9 And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full
of the *seven* last *plagues;* and he talked with me, saying, "Come hither,
10 I will show thee the bride, the wife of the Lamb." *And* in the Spirit *he
bore me away to a* great and *high mountain, and* showed me *the holy city
11 Jerusalem* coming down out of heaven from God, with *the splendour of God;*
her brilliance is like a very precious stone, as it were a jasper, crystal clear;
12 she has a great and high wall with twelve *gates*, and at the gates twelve
angels, and *names* inscribed which are the names *of the* twelve *tribes of the
13 sons of Israel. Three gates on the east, and three gates on the north, and three
14 gates on the south, and three gates on the west.* And the wall of the city
has twelve foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles
15 of the Lamb. And he who talked with me had *a* golden *reed for a
16 measure*, to measure the city with her gates and her wall. And the city
lies *foursquare*, and her length is as great as her breadth. So he
measured the city with the reed, fifteen hundred miles; the length and
17 the breadth and the height of her are equal. And *he measured* her *wall*,
seventy-two yards by a man's measure, which is that of an angel.
18 *And* her *wall* was constructed of *jasper*,
And the city was pure gold, like pure glass.
19 [*The foundations* of the city were adorned with every *precious stone;*
the first foundation was jasper, the second sapphire, the third chalcedony,
20 the fourth emerald, the fifth sardonyx, the sixth sardius, the seventh
chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chrysoprasus, the
eleventh jacinth, the twelfth amethyst.]
21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls,
Each of the gates was formed of a single pearl.
And the street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass.
22 And I saw no temple in her,
For *the Lord God the Almighty* and the Lamb are her temple.
23 And the city needs not *the sun or the moon to shine* on her,
For *the splendour of God* is her *brightness*,
And her lamp the Lamb.
24 *And the nations shall walk in* her *light*,
And the kings of the earth bring their *splendour* into her.
25 *And* her *gates shall never be shut by day*
(For night shall be there no more),
26 And *they shall bring the splendour* and honour *of the nations*
into her.
27 (Yet *never shall anything unclean enter* her,
Nor anyone who practises abomination and falsehood:
But only *those who are written in the* Lamb's *book of life.*)
22 1 And he showed me *a river of the water of life*, clear as crystal,
2 *Issuing* from the throne of God and of the Lamb, *in the midst of*
her street.
And *on either side of the river* was *the tree of life*,

Bearing twelve fruits, yielding *its fruit according to each month:*
And the leaves of the tree were *for the healing* of the nations.
3 *And there shall be no more anything accursed.*
And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in her,
And his slaves shall serve him:
4 And *they shall see his face,*
And his name shall be on their foreheads.
5 And there shall be night no more.
And they need *no* lamplight or *sunlight,*
For *the Lord God shall be* their *brightness.*
And they shall reign for ever and ever.

6 And he said to me:
"These words are sure and true; and the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets has sent his angel to show his slaves *what must shortly come to pass.*
7 And *lo, I come* speedily!
Happy he who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book."
8 And I John am he who heard and saw these things. And when I heard and saw, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel who
9 showed these things to me. But he says to me,
"Not so! Beware!
I am a fellow-slave of thine,
And of thy brothers the prophets,
And of those who keep the words of this book.
Worship God!"
10 And he says to me:
"*Seal* not the words of the prophecy of this *book,*
For *the time* is near.
11 Let the wicked still be wicked,
Let the filthy still be filthy,
Let the upright act uprightly still,
Let the holy still be holy.
12 *Lo, I come* speedily!
And *my reward* is *with* me,
To render to every man according as his work is.
13 *I am* the alpha and the omega,
The first and the last,
The beginning and the end.
14 Happy they who *wash their robes,* that theirs may be the right to *the tree of*
15 *life,* and that they may enter the city by the gates. Outside are the dogs and the sorcerers and the fornicators and the murderers and the idolaters and every one who loves and practises falsehood.
16 I Jesus have sent my angel to testify these things to you in the Communities.
I am *the scion* and the offspring of David,
The bright star of the morning."

17 And the Spirit and the bride say, "Come":
And let him who hears say, "Come":
And *let him who is athirst come,*
Let him who chooses take *the water of life freely.*

18 I testify to every man who hears *the words* of the prophecy of this book:

If any man *add to them*,
God shall add *to him* the plagues *written in this book;*
19 *And* if any man *take away from* the words of the book of this prophecy,
God shall take away his part from *the tree of life* and out of the holy city, written in this book.

20 He who bears this testimony saith:
"Even so, I come speedily!"
Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of the Lord Jesus be with the saints.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE *terminus a quo* for this book is fixed by the date of the synoptic gospels, which it presupposes. As a certain interval must be allowed for their circulation and the rise of so independent a narrative, John cannot be placed earlier than the last decade of the first century. Mark, Matthew, and Luke are all sources for the author of the fourth gospel, who omits, corrects, supplements, and reproduces their narrative and sayings (E. Abbott, *New World*, 1895, pp. 459–483), incorporating as much as proved suitable for his purpose along with his own original materials.[1] This freedom in method is accompanied by an equal freedom in conception. Theological reflection upon the words of Jesus himself, which already was at work in the synoptic gospels, and of which a casual example is given in the Oxyrhyncite Logia, assumes a wider function in the fourth gospel. In its Christology, the fourth gospel is an advance even upon Hebrews, which forms (like the tradition preserved in 1 Ti 3^{16}) an intermediate stage between the later Pauline epistles and the Johannine conceptions. Jesus is pictured in terms of a current metaphysic, and his pre-existence developed to an extent hitherto unparalleled. In fact, the whole spirit of the book points to an advanced period.[2] Mystical reflection and moralising upon reminiscences of Jesus is accompanied throughout by the use of antitheses (light and darkness, life and death, etc.). The treatment of the subject in form and contents constantly exhibits the careful skill and speculative grasp of a trained thinker who lived at a time when he was no longer overpowered by the primitive evangelic tradition, although he naturally professes to base his account upon the direct testimony[3] of an eye-witness (19^{35}). The idealistic[4]

[1] Good summaries in Wendt, *LJ*, i. p. 251 f., *Das Joh. Evglm.* (1900), pp. 8–44, and Wernle, *Die Synopt. Frage*, pp. 234–248; also from another standpoint in Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 498–518. On the supremacy of the fourth gospel in the development of early Christianity, cp. the appreciative paragraphs in T. H. Green, *Works*, iii. pp. 170, 171, 214–220.

[2] Holtzmann puts it in a sentence, "Die johanneische Lehre ist der popularisirte, vereinfachte und durch seine Anwendung auf eine historische Erscheinung, überhaupt durch Combination mit der synoptischen und paulinischen Tradition modificirte Alexandrinismus."

[3] The exact relation of this tradition to the author is hard to understand. If the identity of the eye-witness and the incognito "disciple whom Jesus loved" (13^{23} 19^{25-27} 20^{2-5}) were beyond dispute, it might be concluded (i.) that a historical tradition due to the apostle John lies at the basis of the fourth gospel, and (ii.) that the gospel was written by an adherent of the Johannine school in Asia Minor, possibly by John the presbyter. In both of these conclusions there is pith and moment.

[4] A candid and ingenious attempt has recently been made by Loofs (*Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, 1898, pp. 33–36; *RTK*, iv. p. 29 f.) to explain this feature of the book, by means of psychological considerations drawn from the personality of the apostle John. Loofs frankly admits the lack of historicity in (*a*) the speeches of Jesus, (*b*) the representation of the Jews, (*c*) the miraculous element. On its apologetic and polemical features cp. Baldensperger, *Prolog.* pp. 152–165; and Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 476–492.

method of the author, coupled with his strong mental idiosyncrasies, leads him to treat the preceding[1] tradition of the synoptists in quite a free manner. His attitude to them is independent and unfettered, dominated strongly by the mystic's sense of "repose and hope amid eternal things." Yet all the traces of omission, tacit correction, and variation, shown in his treatment of the earlier histories, are less notable than his adherence notwithstanding to the historical plan, upon which his own work is often a symbolic comment. It evidently constituted an acceptable channel for conveying new Christian teaching. The fourth gospel certainly proves that the first three were not considered adequate or authoritative by the whole mass of Christians at that time, and that they did not satisfy some circles in the church. But it also signifies that, especially for those who were deprived of direct evidence (20^{29}), the historical tradition was a welcome method of instruction and impression, although for the "esoteric"[2] purposes of this writer it had to be freely and freshly handled. If it can hardly be said that his aim was to produce a semi-philosophical romance (*eine philosophische Dichtung mit religiöser Tendenz*), it was at least to furnish an exposition of God's mind and providence in the personality of Jesus, by which these might be accessible and intelligible to his readers as they were defined in terms of a current philosophy, and with reference to an environment of Hellenistic thought and feeling. "Christianity," in fact, at that epoch "had to become speculative, if it was to coalesce with human intelligence" (Denney, *CR*, 1900, p. 258).

It was owing to the Alexandrian culture of the author and his circle that the term λόγος came to be adopted, and adapted as a practical and timely category for the person of Jesus. It was intelligible[3] to

[1] It is most unsafe to imagine that after the fourth gospel (*c.* 100 A.D.) the synoptic gospels were finally edited in so trenchant a style as to permit of the omission of certain discourses and narratives because John had already recorded them (Wilkinson, *Four Lectures*, pp. 99–100). This is to invert what evidence we possess for the historicity of the synoptists. Similarly, all the evidence contradicts clever attempts like those made by Wuttig (*Das Joh. Evglm. und seine Abfassungszeit*, 1897), and independently by Halcombe (*Historic Relation of Gospels*), to date the fourth gospel before the synoptists. Indications of the late period are to be heard unequivocally in passages like 4^{38} 10^{16} $15^{4.6}$ 17^{20}; cp. especially Thoma, *Die Genes. d. Johannes-Evglm.* (1882) pp. 353–372. Discussions on Halcombe's theory in *Exp. Ti.* iii. iv.; reviews of Wuttig by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy (*CR*, 1897, pp. 354–356), Blass (*PG*, 241–243), and Holtzmann (with suitable severity, *ThLz*, 1897, pp. 379–384). Havet remarks of Luke (iv. 296): "Son évangile a été alors par excellence celui des simples, comme le quatrième était celui des raffinés"; and later (p. 367): "Il semble que les premiers évangiles répondent autour d'eux ces fleurs des champs dont ils nous parlent, qui poussent partout, pour la joie de tors; celles du quatrième sont des fleurs de serre d'espèce rare, réservées à quelques unes seulement, qui en sont éblouis ou enivrés."

[2] The expression is Zahn's (*Einl.* ii. p. 528). He lays stress upon the obvious fact that the gospel's purpose were not to introduce the knowledge of Jesus for the first time to men hitherto unacquainted with the synoptic tradition. "It is not the herald of the gospel preaching to the whole people, but the later pastor of individual souls committed to his care, who has drawn it up in order that those who already believe on Jesus may believe more fully, and become truer disciples." Cp. on this E. H. Hall, *Papias* (1889), pp. 199–240.

[3] Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. 226–236), O. Holtzmann (*Das Joh.-Evglm.* 1887, p. 91). Harnack (*HD*, i. p. 329 n.; *ZThK*, 1892, pp. 189–232) carries this a step further. "The prologue to the gospel," he writes, "is not the key to the comprehension of the book, but it prepares the Hellenistic readers for this comprehension. It starts with a familiar object, the Logos, works upon it, transforms it—implicitly opposing false Christologies—in order to substitute for it Jesus Christ as the μονογενὴς θεός, or in

the readers for whom the author wrote, and he employed it as the nearest equivalent in order to suggest to them the standpoint from which they could view Jesus. "Introite, nam et hic λόγος" (*TR*, 1899, p. 295). The affinities of the term were not confined to the idiosyncrasies of the writer's own mind, nor does it follow that the Logos-idea, with its dogmatic substructure of Incarnation-theology, is the final and permanent expression of Christ's person. The historical evidence points to a much more modest scope. It also distinctly indicates Philonic influence, however vague and indirect that influence may have been. There is a modern reaction in many quarters (Loofs, *Leit-faden*, pp. 10–12) against the older view which referred Johannine thought too exclusively to Alexandrian influence, as though Philo were some Alexandrian John the baptizer. The reaction is healthy, especially in its emphasis upon the OT elements[1] in the Johannine theology. But, as Réville has shown, even with these germs or anticipations, the Philonic filiation[2] is unmistakable. The appropriation of the Logos-idea in early Christianity was merely another instance of the way in which Hebrew originality and independence spoiled the Egyptians for the sake of its own purposes, upon the threshold of fresh progress. It was for this fine issue that the genius who composed the fourth gospel was so finely touched, for the translation of the evangelic tradition into a semi-allegorical form, which—although not final—was most timely and vital.

The wider outlook already won in the third gospel and Acts is even more conspicuous in the spacious atmosphere of Hellenism which surrounds the fourth gospel.[3] Yet the passion for exhibiting Jesus as the climax and fulfilment of Messianic Judaism, is as plain here as the corresponding effort to present him under the category of the Absolute,

order to reveal it as this Jesus Christ. The moment this takes place, the Logos-idea is allowed to drop." It is true that the author does not seek to prove Christ's divinity by means of external philosophical and cosmological considerations, but it is doubtful whether the idea of the Logos is so sharply and totally dropped as Harnack argues, in the rest of the gospel: cp. Resch (*TU*, x. 4, p. 41 f.), and Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1893, pp. 385-406; *NTTh*, ii. p. 396 f.; *HC*, IV. i. pp. 40–45), and for the connection of the prologue with the gospel, Prof. R. A. Falconer (*Exp.*[5] March 1897, pp. 222–234), Baldensperger (*Prolog.* pp. 165–171), and Wendt (*Joh.-Evglm.* pp. 205–215).

[1] In A. H. Franke's monograph (*Das Alte Testament bei Joh.* 1885) the author of the gospel is made a Jewish-Christian of legal proclivities: see Riehm's critique (*SK*, 1884, pp. 563–582). The use of italics in the text of the present edition will serve to bring out the facts upon which such theories rest. Yet, even when full allowance is made for these, it must be said that to discard the Philonic atmosphere is to assign early Christianity a self-isolating tendency within distinctly Judaistic lines, for which the evidence is quite insufficient. By the last quarter of the first century, and to some extent before that, outside influences were beginning to make themselves felt on most sides of the primitive faith.

[2] Still, Thoma's standard discussion is not so balanced as that of O. Holtzmann. The latter rightly gives a less academic and more natural view of the book; he takes it, not as the exposition of a religious philosophy in historical guise, but as a life of Jesus written for the purposes of Christian devotion by an author who, in all likelihood of Jewish birth himself, had been influenced by Alexandrian Judaism, and was acquainted with Pauline ideas. This does not exclude the possibility that the Logos-speculations throve in Ephesus almost independently of Alexandria (Sabatier, *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1897, p. 173 f.).

[3] O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* §§ 38–40, pp. 232–245. As Kuenen points out (*Relig. Israel* (Eng. tr.) iii. p. 202 f.), the fruits of Hellenism were plucked by philosophy and Christianity rather than by Judaism. "In the history of the Jewish religion after the year 70 of our era, it may be passed over almost in silence." Cp. Harnack (*ThLz*, 1889, p. 173; *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1900, pp. 126–128).

God's Son in deed and word. These tendencies are alike due to the fact that the book is preoccupied with the semi-Christian and anti-Christian beliefs of the age; and yet it is easier to feel in its pages the contemporary problem of Judaism than even the prevailing errors and needs of Hellenism. Here we have the conception of an antagonism between Jesus and the Jews, which steadily deepens through revelation and unbelief, until it culminates in his rejection and their doom. But this is more than an interpretation of the life of Jesus.[1] It is meant to be a symbol of the actual outcome, in history, of the relation between Christianity and Judaism during the years 30–90 A.D. The experience of Christ[2] is made the microcosm of the church's career (compare Jo 12^{40} with Ac $28^{27\,f.}$). Under the dialogue and discourses there is the underlying consciousness of Judaism as an active and subtle propaganda, whose rivalry and polemic have to be dialectically met. This helps to explain the curiously distant tone in which the Jews are spoken of throughout the book (cp. M. Arnold, *God and the Bible*, pp. 142, 143), and throws light upon theological debates like those in chapters 5–10, which turn upon questions and controversies vital mainly to the age of the Epigoni, when the character and authority of Jesus had come to be openly canvassed by Jewish critics.

After the political overthrow of Judaism, Christianity was free to trace back her origin to the older national faith, without the fear of being misunderstood, and without that need of asserting her distinctiveness and independence, which pressed for example on Paul at an earlier stage (Gal $1^{13\text{-}24}$). Even then Jerusalem had been acknowledged as in a sense the centre of the world (Ro 15^{19}, ἀπο Ἱερουσαλὴμ). But this germ was developed in the later writings, in Acts where the writer's pragmatism leads him to find the start of Christianity in the old capital and in its church (1^{1}–8^{1}), in the apocalypse of John with its "new Jerusalem"—although the language is poetic, and the aim visionary—and especially in the fourth gospel, where Jerusalem absorbs almost all the ministry of Jesus. It is present to a lesser degree in the synoptic gospels, where the Jerusalem tendency is only developing. Christianity in fact came to be more and more put forward (cp. Ep. Barnabas, *passim*) as the fruit and fulfilment of Judaism. This view must have prevailed of course in embryo previous to 70 A.D., but it was only after that epoch that the conception of the new religion as a sublimated Judaism could become characteristic and dominant in the literature (*vide* Hilgenfeld on "the anti-Judaism of the fourth gospel": *ZwTh*, 1898, pp. 507–517).

[1] ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται, ἵνα πιστεύσητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ (Jo 20^{31}). It is curious to read the almost contemporary language of Tacitus at the close of his biography of Agricola, with its grave ethical beauty: "Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum resolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur . . . ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis." God fully and finally revealed in Jesus that is the theme of the fourth gospel. To justify and commend this conviction is the author's purpose, and under this dominating tendency history becomes essentially the handmaiden of faith. See this argued most capably by Schürer in the work cited below, and compare Philo's use of Moses to illustrate the Logos.

[2] Perhaps this helps to account for the argumentative aspect of Christ's self-revelation in the gospel, which contrasts strangely with the synoptic method of self-expression through deeds and dialogue. "Ici le Dieu argumente afin de démontrer sa divinité. C'est la rose se faisant disputeuse pour prouver son parfum" (Renan, *L'Église Chrét.* p. 62). See also above, pp. 35–36.

In regard to the question of the date, then, the Johannine problem has now been brought to a somewhat final if approximate (E. H. Hall, *Papias*, pp. 301–314) conclusion—and that upon fairly traditional lines. Formerly the gospel was put far down into the second century among currents of Gnosticism, Montanism, and the Easter-controversy in Asia Minor (Baur = 170 A.D., Zeller = before 150 *c.*). After Hilgenfeld (pp. 132–140) and Scholten, Thoma (*Die Gen. d. Johan. Evangel.* 1882) came down to 140 *c.*[1] and has been followed more recently by Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, pp. 189–243), H. J. Holtzmann (*HC*, iv. i. pp. 14, 15) and Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 776–786). Still further, 110-115 A.D., or later, was adopted by Reuss, Sabatier, and Renan (*L'Église Chrétienne*, chaps. iv. v., dating gospel and epistles in Hadrian's reign), after Keim (i. pp. 183–207), who subsequently relapsed to 130 A.D. Dr. Cone (*Gospel Criticism*, pp. 224–253) inclines to 125–150; Wendt and Jülicher (*Einl.* pp, 247–250) again choose broadly the first quarter of the second century, while 100–150 is advocated by Oscar Holtzmann (*Das Joh. Evglium.* 1887) and A. Réville (130–150). Forty years ago, however, Ritschl (*Entstehung*, p. 48 n.) had broken quite away from the second-century date, and his instinct has been corroborated by some modern movements in criticism which tend to fix the gospel between 90 and 100. "We may look forward," wrote Lightfoot, "to the time when it will be held discreditable to the reputation of any critic for sobriety and judgment to assign to this gospel any later date than the end of the first century, or the very beginning of the second" (*Exp.*[4] i. 10). The forecast has only been a trifle too sanguine. Besides the fact that a commentary (Herakleon's) could be written upon it, as an authoritative book, by 160 A.D., the use of the gospel by Justin Martyr (147 A.D.) and Basileides (*c.* 125, quoted in the *Philosophumena*, vii. 22) points to its circulation (Zahn, *GK*, i. pp. 220–262) comparatively early in the second century. This furnishes a *terminus ad quem*; and the argument is reinforced, for those who accept the Johannine authorship, by the tradition (but cp. Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 320 f., 656 f.) which extends the lifetime and Ephesian residence of John down to the reign of Trajan, when the apostle would be

> Left alive
> Like a sea-jelly weak on Patmos strand,
> To tell dry sea-beach gazers how I fared
> When there was mid-sea, and the mighty things;
> Left to repeat, "I saw, I heard, I knew,"
> And go all over the old ground again,
> With antichrist already in the world.

Generally between 95 and 115 — nearer the latter year, in all probability, than the former—the gospel may be conjectured to have been written,[2] separated from the period of its subject by an interval which, it is interesting to notice, roughly corresponds with that which lies between Columba and his biographer Adamnan. Sanday,[3] after Godet

[1] Relying on the rather hazardous interpretation of 5^{43} 11^{48} as reflections of the Jewish revolt and annihilation under Bar-kokhba, 135 A.D. For a conclusive rejection of the older idea, that the date of the gospel was affected by its supposed references to the quarto-deciman controversy, cp. Drummond (*JTI*, i. pp. 601–637).

[2] So Wilkinson (*Four Lectures on Early History of Gospels*), attributing the authorship to John the presbyter. Similarly McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 609–614). Apart from the question of authorship (which—if decided in favour of John the apostle—imposes *c.* 100 as a limit), the main help in fixing this approximate date, as has been indicated, comes from the results gained in the criticism of the synoptic gospels.

[3] "The present position of the Johannine Question" (*Exp.*[4] v. 91). Zahn

("John" (Eng. tr.), i. pp. 184–251), limits the date more precisely to 83–89, but it is much safer[1] (with Schanz and Schäfer) to take the closing decade of the century as the earliest limit. So M. Arnold (*God and the Bible*, pp. 135–225), Weiss, Westcott (*John* xxxv.-xl.; *Study of the Gospels*, p. 239), Plummer (*CGT*, 80–95 A.D.), Reith (*Gospel of John*, i. p. xxix), and Adeney (*BI*, p. 337). Harnack, denying the authorship to John the apostle, chooses widely 80–110 A.D. (*Chron.* pp. 655–680); and cp. Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 150 f., 166 f., 206–236; *Untersuchungen*, Erster Theil. The universalism of the writing (17^{18}, *κόσμος* occurs seventy-eight times in John, fifteen times in the synoptists) rests upon the inherent nature of Jesus (1^{9}) and his resurrection (12^{32}): and it is quite in keeping with this "catholic" tendency, which marks the opening of the second century, that the nations share in Christ's kingdom owing to its natural expansion, and not on account of any abrogation of the obstacles in the Jewish law. "It is no longer necessary to discuss terms with the obligatoriness of the law." Christianity is itself a new Law, its conditions not natural but universal, not external but inward. The Jews have set themselves aside by their hostility to Jesus (12^{38-40}); to them in fact he appeared what Julius Caesar had become for Lucan, the embodiment of a hateful and ruinous success. Hence the saying, *ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖσθε* ($8^{21.\ 24}$) is substantially the epitaph of Judaism, written by Christianity as the first century closed.

Evidently also the period was one when the primitive tradition of Jesus, as held by the early church, could no longer suffice by itself ($16^{12.\ 13}$), but required to be supplemented by expansion (16^{25}) into fuller and richer developments through fresh revelations of the Spirit in its continuity ($14^{16.\ 26.}$ etc.). Parallel with this lie traces of extensive activity (4^{38}) and its results (10^{16} 17^{20}), very possibly too of disappointments and failure (10^{12} $15^{6\ f.}$); above all, the need of unity (17).[2] Outward and inward evidence, then, converge to a date ± 100, although they do not permit of any greater precision in regard, at any rate, to the time of this book's composition.

The way in which the Logos-conception is introduced and used, indicates that it was familiar to the writer's audience; for, as Hebrews suggests, the gnostical method had already begun to permeate certain circles of early Christianity. The later literature not merely points to the popularity of the method (*e.g.* Barnabas), but shows that it was not without dangers for the faith. Signs of a reaction are not awanting. The first epistle of John is a protest against certain inferences which were drawn from such gnostical treatment of the evangelic history, and

singularly puts the gospel and epistles between 80 and 90 A.D. (*Einl.* ii. pp. 549–564). Schürer's invaluable paper (*Ueber die gegenwärtigen Stand d. Joh. Frage*), read at the Giessen Conference of 1889, has been reproduced in the *Contemp. Review* for September 1891, pp. 388–417, with a conservative reply from Sanday (*ibid.* pp. 529–544) containing some important admissions on the question of the Johannine style as an exact historical medium.

[1] Especially if it is held that while our synoptic gospels belong to the years preceding 90, and the Johannine gospel came into existence shortly afterwards, the canon of our four gospels rose soon after the publication of the fourth gospel in Asia Minor. So, with Harnack and Zahn, Dr. Paul Rohrbach (*Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums*, p. 66); cp. also Eck (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1898, pp. 25–45), who makes John the presbyter the author of the book.

[2] Compare the fine eucharistic prayer (Didachê) almost contemporary with the fourth gospel: *ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν.*

threatened to dissipate the faith (particularly the human life and death of Jesus) in a subjective spiritualism. So afterwards, *e.g.* in 2 Ti 2^{17}, the resurrection[1] (and with it the return of Jesus) had to be recovered from this thaw of abstract speculation, and in Judas and 2 Peter the distinctive eschatological hopes are reiterated in their archaic forms against the novel disparagement which they suffered at the hands of semi-philosophic conceptions. Thus the fourth gospel marks an epoch in two senses. It denotes the entrance of this Hellenistic gnosis on a large scale into early Christian literature, while it furnishes at the same time a standpoint from which the later literature can be definitely estimated in its varied currents. The strength of the gnostical spirit in early Christianity is shown not merely by the way in which the author of the fourth gospel exploited it for the sake of presenting the historical faith, but by the fact that its fascination soon required a corrective and almost a protest in the very circles where it had first been welcomed (Wendt, *Joh. Evglm.* p. 211 f.). As the first epistle of John indicates, the interests of historical religion and piety alike required a check to be placed upon the tendencies that made for the identification of Philonic conceptions with the Christian doctrines of Jesus and his central personality.

The possibility that all the gospels were finally edited (in Asia Minor, or even Ephesus) during the first quarter of the second century hardly affects the main problem of their dates. Such editing involved the harmonising and supplementing of the synoptic texts, but these—with the exception of one or two obvious passages—already existed in what is substantially their present form. The extent and the nature of this process are questions which belong rather to the literary criticism of the writings or to the history of the canon, than to the chronological determination of the original texts. Upon the latter problem they throw little light. Thus even Zahn, after a rather unsuccessful endeavour to minimise the differences of style between the fourth gospel and the apocalypse, is forced to conclude with the admission that John may have allowed the style of his writings to be revised by more accomplished friends (*Eind.* ii. p. 617). A similar device was adopted by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 9). Wendt again identifies the author of his "source" used in the fourth gospel with the author of the first epistle, but refuses to identify either this author or the fourth evangelist with the author of the apocalypse.

Finally, the terms "genuine" and "Johannine" are out of place in strictly scientific work upon the fourth gospel. It is genuine upon the score not of authorship but of contents—thanks to the fidelity and insight with which it serves to express certain elements of Christianity as the personal spirit and mind of Jesus. Similarly it is Johannine, many critics would admit, upon any theory of its origin. Even although they see no adequate reason for accepting the tradition which assigns the book to the apostle John, and several cogent reasons to the contrary, they would hardly deny that nevertheless the volume is Johannine—in the sense that any historical element throughout its pages may be traced back directly or indirectly to that apostle and his school.

[1] Akin perhaps to the system of Simon Magus' pupil, Menander (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. 23. 5), who taught that his baptism involved freedom from death ("eius discipulos ultra non posse mori, sed perseverare non senescentes et immortales").

The gospel was written under the colours of a primitive apostle. But under cover of that teacher's passionately defended authority we have a new spirit, views that go far beyond those of the primitive church. This teaching does not merely presuppose Paulinism and its consequences, to which indeed there is nowhere a clear reference. It already implies the existence of that Christianity which had begun on heathen soil to develop into an unfettered world-religion, and had carried with it all the healthier elements of Jewish Christianity. . . . The union at so early a date of the personal faith in Jesus with the doctrine of the Logos, in itself became of the greatest significance for the history of Christianity. It meant neither more nor less than that the church had come to regard its religion as universal, and that, in a form which prepared the way for the whole future amalgamation of the Christian idea with the highest thought of Greek philosophy. . . . For a primitive apostle, this is inconceivable. But by one who wrote at second-hand the communications of an apostle could be related to a theology which justified and explained faith in Christ as faith in the Logos of God ; by such a writer the whole life, the whole aspect of it, could be transformed into a great haggadic, didactic work.—**Weizsäcker.**

1–6

1^{1-18} **Prologue:** the Logos, God, and the world.

1^{19-51} **The preparation:** witness borne to Jesus by { John: his ministry and confession. / the first disciples.

The earlier ministry:

2^{1}–4^{42} { Galilee: (i) miracle of water and wine. / Jerusalem: festival of passover. / Samaria: two days.

4^{43}–6^{71} { Galilee: (ii) miracle, cure of officer's son. / Jerusalem: festival, (iii) miracle: speech—the Son and the Father. / Galilee: (iv) miracle of loaves, (v) miracle of walking on sea: speech—Christ and men, the bread of life.

7–12

The conflict:

7^{1}–10^{42} { Jerusalem: festival of tabernacles, renewed opposition of priests and Pharisees: teaching in temple, controversy. (vi) miracle, cure of blind man, fresh controversy. / festival of dedication, debate and controversy. / retirement of Jesus outside Judaea.

11–12 { Judaea: (vii) miracle, resurrection of Lazarus, conspiracy of priests and Pharisees: retirement of Jesus. / triumphal entry and welcome into Jerusalem: close of public ministry.

13–20

13–17 **Jesus and the disciples:** { festival of passover. / the last supper. / the last speeches on { the union of Christ and his disciples. / the Spirit and the future. / the work of Christ in and for his disciples. / the Lord's prayer.

18–19 **Jesus and the passion:** { in the garden—betrayal by Judas. / before Annas and Kaiaphas—denial by Peter. / before Pilate—trial, crucifixion, death, and burial.

20 **After death:** the threefold appearance of Jesus to { Mary Magdalenê. / the ten disciples. / the eleven disciples.

21 [**Appendix:** Jesus and the disciples at the lake of Galilee.]

1 1 In the beginning was the Logos,
And the Logos was with God,
And the Logos was God:
2 The same was in the beginning with God.
3 All things were made through him,
And apart from him not one thing was made that has been made.
4 In him was life,
And the life was the light of men.
5 And the light shines in the darkness,
Yet the darkness has not extinguished it.
6 There appeared a man sent from God, whose name was John.
7 The same came to bear witness,
To witness concerning the light,
That all might believe through him.
8 He was not the light,
But he came to witness concerning the light.
9 The true light which lightens every man was coming into the world.
10 In the world he was,
And through him the world was made,
Yet the world knew him not:
11 He came to his home,
Yet his own people did not welcome him.
12 But to all who accepted him he gave the power of becoming God's children—
Even to those who believe on his name—
13 Who were born, not of blood, nor of the inclination of the flesh, nor of the inclination of man, but of God.
14 And the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us.
And we beheld his majesty, majesty such as the only Son has from the Father,
Full of grace and truth;
15 (John bears witness of him, and cries, saying, "This is he of whom I said:
'He who comes after me is put before me,
For he was earlier than I.'")
16 For out of his fulness we have all received,
Even grace upon grace.
17 For the law was given through Moses:
The grace and the truth came through Jesus Christ.
18 No one has ever seen God:
The only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, it was he who unfolded him.
19 And this is the witness of John. When the Jews sent priests and
20 Levites to him from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who art thou?" he owned —he would not deny it—he owned, "It is not I who am the Christ."

21 And they asked him, "What then? Art thou Elijah?" And he says, "I
22 am not." "Art thou the Prophet?" And he answered, "No." They
said to him then, "Who art thou? tell us, that we may have a reply to
23 give to those who sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?" He said, "I am
The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
'Make level the way of the Lord';
24 even as the prophet Isaiah said." And it was some of the Pharisees
25 who had been sent; and they asked him, and said to him, "Why art
thou baptizing then, if thou art neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the
26 Prophet?" John answered them, saying,
"With water I baptize.
In the midst of you stands one whom you know not,
27 He who comes after me:
The thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie."
28 This took place in Bethany across the Jordan, where John was baptizing.
29 On the next day he sees Jesus coming to him, and says, "Behold! it is
30 the Lamb of God, who takes the sin of the world away. This is he of
whom I said, 'After me comes a man who is put before me; for he was
31 earlier than I.' And I did not know him myself; but I have come
32 baptizing with water, in order that he may be disclosed to Israel." And
John bore witness, saying, "I have beheld the Spirit descending like a
33 dove out of the sky, and it rested upon him. And I did not know him
myself; but he who sent me to baptize with water, he said to me, 'On
whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and resting upon him,
34 the same is he who baptizes with the holy Spirit.' And I have seen,
and I have borne witness that this is the Son of God."
35 On the next day again John was standing along with two of his
36 disciples, and as Jesus walked he looked at him and says, "Behold! it is
37 the Lamb of God!" And the two disciples heard him speak, and they
38 followed Jesus. Now Jesus turned and observed them following; and
he says to them, "What do you want?" And they said to him,
"Rabbi,"—(that is, when translated, "Teacher")—"where art thou
39 staying?" He says to them, "Come, and you shall see." So they
came and saw where he stayed, and they stayed with him that day (it
40 was about the tenth hour). One of the two men who heard what John
41 said and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. First of all
he finds his own brother Simon, and says to him, "We have found the
42 Messiah" (that is, when translated, "Christ"). He brought him to
Jesus. Jesus looked at him and said, "Thou art Simon, the son of
John. Thou shalt be called Kephas" (that is, when translated, "Peter").
43 On the next day he desired to depart into Galilee, and there
44 he finds Philip. And Jesus says to him, "Follow me." Now Philip
was from Bethsaida, he belonged to the city of Andrew and Peter.
45 Philip finds Nathanael and says to him, "We have found him of whom
Moses wrote in the law, and of whom the prophets wrote, Jesus the son
46 of Joseph, who is from Nazaret." And Nathanael said to him, "Can
anything good come out of Nazaret?" Philip says to him, "Come and
47 see." Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and says of him, "Look!
48 there is an Israelite, to be sure, in whom there is no guile!" Nathanael
says to him, "Whence knowest thou me?" Jesus answered and said to
him, "Before Philip called thee, I saw thee, when thou wast under the
49 fig-tree." Nathanael answered him, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God,
50 thou art king of Israel!" Jesus answered and said to him, "Believest
thou, because I said to thee that I saw thee below the fig-tree? Thou shalt

51 see greater things than these." And he says to him, "Truly, I tell you,
truly, you shall see *the sky* opened, and *the angels of God ascending and*
descending upon the Son of man."

2 1 And on the third day a marriage took place in Kana of Galilee; and
2 the mother of Jesus was there. Now Jesus had also been invited to the
3 marriage, with his disciples. And on the wine running short, the mother
4 of Jesus says to him, "They have no wine." But Jesus says to her,
"Woman, what have I to do with thee? My hour has not come yet."
5, 6 His mother says to the servants, "Do whatever he tells you." Now
there were six stone water-jars lying there, in accordance with the Jews'
7 practice of purification, each holding about twenty gallons. Jesus says
to them, "Fill the water-jars with water." And they filled them up to
8 the brim. And he says to them, "Now, draw some out and take it to
9 the master of the table." And they took it. Now when the master of
the table tasted the water which had become wine, and knew not where
it had come from (but the servants who had drawn the water knew), the
10 master of the table calls the bridegroom and says to him, "Every man
serves the good wine first, and when people have got drunk he serves the
poorer wine. Thou hast kept the good wine until now!"
11 Jesus made this beginning of the signs in Kana of Galilee, and disclosed
his majesty; and his disciples believed on him.
12 After this he went down to Kapharnahum, he and his mother and
his brothers and his disciples; and there they stayed for a few days.
13 And when the passover of the Jews was near, Jesus went up
14 to Jerusalem. And he found sitting in the temple sellers of oxen and
15 sheep and doves, and money-brokers. Then, making a scourge of cords
he drove them all, sheep and oxen together, out of the temple, and he
16 scattered the coins of the money-changers and upset their tables; and he
said to the sellers of doves, "Take these hence. Make not my Father's
17 house a house of trade." (His disciples remembered that it was
18 written, *Zeal for thy house consumes me.*) The Jews then addressed him,
saying, "What sign hast thou to show us, since thou art acting thus?"
19 Jesus answered and said to them, "Destroy this sanctuary, and in three
20 days I will raise it up." The Jews then said, "Six and forty years
this sanctuary took to build. And thou wilt raise it up in three days'
21, 22 time!" But he was speaking of the sanctuary of his body. (So when
he rose from the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this;
and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had
spoken.)
23 Now when he was in Jerusalem at the passover, celebrating the
festival, many believed on his name when they saw his signs which he
24 was performing. But he, Jesus, would not trust himself to them, since
25 he knew them all, and because he required no one to bear witness
3 1 concerning man; for he knew what was in man. Now there
was a man belonging to the Pharisees named Nikodemus, a ruler of the
2 Jews. He came to him by night and said to him,

"Rabbi, we know thou hast come as a teacher from God:
For no one can perform those signs which thou art performing,
unless God be with him."

3 Jesus answered and said to him,

"Truly, I tell thee, truly,
Unless a man be born from above
He cannot see the reign of God."

4 Nikodemus says to him,

"How can a man be born when he is old?
Can he enter his mother's womb a second time and be born?"
Jesus replied,
"Truly, I tell thee, truly,
Unless a man be born of water and Spirit,
He cannot enter the reign of God.
What is born of the flesh is flesh:
And what is born of the Spirit is spirit.
Marvel not that I said to thee,
'You must be born from above.'
The wind blows where it wills, and thou hearest its sound,
But whence it comes and whither it goes, thou knowest not:
So is it with every one born of the Spirit."
Nikodemus answered and said to him, "How can these things be?"
Jesus answered and said to him, "Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest thou not these things? Truly, I tell thee, truly,
We speak of what we know and bear witness to what we have seen,
Yet you accept not our witness.
If I told you earthly things and you believe not,
How shall you believe if I tell you heavenly things?
And no one has ascended into heaven except he who descended from heaven,
The Son of man who is in heaven.
And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,
So must the Son of man be lifted up,
That every one who believes in him may have life eternal.
For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son,
That every one who believes on him might not perish but have life eternal.
For God sent not his Son that he might judge the world,
But that the world might be saved through him.
He who believes on him is not condemned:
Whoever believes not, is condemned already,
Because he has not believed on the name of the only Son of God.
And the condemnation is this; that the light has come into the world,
Yet men have loved the darkness rather than the light,
For their deeds are evil.
For every one who does ill hates the light and comes not to the light,
Lest his works should be exposed.
But he who practises the truth comes to the light,
That his deeds may be disclosed, because they have been wrought in God."

After this, Jesus and his disciples went into the land of Judaea; and there he spent some time with them and baptized. Now John also was baptizing in Aenon near Salim, as there was plenty of water there; and people came and had themselves baptized (for John was not yet thrown into prison). Thereupon a controversy arose between some of John's disciples and a Jew in regard to purification. And they came to John and said to him, "Rabbi, he who was with thee across the Jordan, to whom thou hast borne witness—lo, he is baptizing, and all men come to him!" John answered and said, "A man cannot receive anything,

28 unless it has been given him from heaven. You yourselves bear me
29 witness that I said, 'I am not the Christ, but I am sent before him.' He
who has the bride is the bridegroom. But the friend of the bridegroom
who stands and listens to him, rejoices keenly at the bridegroom's voice:
30 this my joy, then, is complete. He must increase, but I must decrease."
31 He who comes from above is far above all,
He who is of the earth, of the earth he is and of the earth he
speaks:
32 He who comes from heaven[1] bears witness to what he has seen
and heard,
Yet no man accepts his witness:
33 He who has accepted his witness has certified that God is
truthful.
34 For he whom God has sent speaks the words of God,
For he gives not the Spirit sparingly.
35 The Father loves the Son,
And he has given all things into his hand.
36 He who believes on the Son has life eternal:
And he who is disobedient to the Son shall not see life,
But the wrath of God rests upon him.

4 1 When therefore the Lord learned that the Pharisees had heard of
2 Jesus making and baptizing more disciples than John (though indeed
3 Jesus did not himself baptize, it was his disciples), he left Judaea and
4, 5 went away again to Galilee. Now he had to pass through Samaria. So
he comes to a city of Samaria called Sychar, near the piece of land that
6 Jacob gave to his son Joseph; and Jacob's spring was there. Wearied
8 therefore with his journey, Jesus sat as he was beside the spring; for
his disciples had gone away into the city to buy provisions. It was
7 about the sixth hour. A woman of Samaria comes to draw water.
9 Jesus says to her, "Give me a drink?" The Samaritan woman says to
him therefore, "How is it that thou, who art a Jew, askest drink from
me, a Samaritan woman?" (For Jews did not associate with Samaritans.)
10 Jesus answered and said to her, "Hadst thou known the free gift of God,
and who it is that says to thee, 'Give me to drink,' thou wouldst have
11 asked him, and he would have given thee living water?" The woman
says to him, 'Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep!
12 From whence then hast thou the living water? Thou! art thou greater
than our father Jacob who gave us the well, and drank of it himself, with
13 his sons and his cattle?" Jesus answered and said to her,
"Every one who drinks of this water
Shall thirst again.
14 But every one who drinks of the water that I shall give him,
Shall never thirst at all;
But the water that I shall give him
Shall become in him a spring of water welling up to life eternal."
15 The woman says to him, "Sir, give me this water, that I may not
16 thirst, or have to come here all the way to draw." Jesus says to her,
17 "Go, call thy husband, and come back here." The woman answered
and said,[2] "I have no husband." Jesus says to her, "Thou wert right in
18 saying, 'I have no husband'; for thou hast had five husbands, and he
whom thou hast now is not thy husband. Therein thou hast spoken
19, 20 truly." The woman says to him, "Sir, I see thou art a prophet. Our

[1] Omitting ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν . . . τοῦτο. [2] Omitting [[αὐτῷ.]]

fathers worshipped on this mountain ; and you say that the place where
21 men ought to worship is at Jerusalem." Jesus says to her,
"Believe me, woman, the hour is coming
When neither at Jerusalem nor on this mountain
Shall you worship the Father.
22 You worship what you know not :
We worship what we know
(For salvation comes from the Jews).
23 But the hour is coming and now is,
When the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth ;
For such indeed the Father seeks to be his worshippers.
24 God is a Spirit :
And those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth."
25 The woman says to him, "I know that Messiah (that is 'Christ') is
26 to come. When he has come, he will disclose everything to us." Jesus
27 says to her, "I am he, I who speak to thee." And at this point his disciples came, and they wondered that he was talking with a woman. However, no one said, "What dost thou want?" or "Why art
28 thou talking with her?" So the woman left her water-jar and went
29 away to the city ; and she says to the people, "Come! see a man who
30 told me all that ever I did. Can this be the 'Christ'?" They left the
31 city and went on their way to him. Meanwhile the disciples
32 were begging him, saying, "Rabbi, eat." But he said to them, "I have
33 food to eat, of which you know nothing." So the disciples began to say
34 to one another, "Has anyone brought him something to eat?" Jesus says to them, "My food is to obey the will of him who sent me, and to accomplish his work.
35 Do you not say, 'Four months still, then harvest comes'?
Lo, I say to you, lift up your eyes and look on the fields, they are white for harvest.
36 Already the reaper gets his wages and gathers fruit to life eternal ;
That the sower and the reaper may rejoice together.
37 For herein is the saying true,
'One sows, another reaps' :
38 I sent you to reap what you have not laboured at ;
Others have laboured, and into their labour you have entered."
39 Now many of the Samaritans of that city believed on him, owing to
40 the woman's word of witness : "He told me all that ever I did." So when the Samaritans came to him, they begged him to stay with them.
41 And he stayed there for two days. And many more believed on account
42 of his word ; and they said to the woman, "It is no longer owing to thy story that we believe. For we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this man really is the Saviour of the world."
43, 44 Now after the two days he departed thence to Galilee (for Jesus himself testified that a "prophet has no honour in his own native
45 place"). So when he came to Galilee, the Galilaeans received him, because they had seen all he did in Jerusalem at the festival (for they too went to the festival).
46 So he came once more to Kana of Galilee, where he had made the water wine. And there was a king's officer whose son was ill at
47 Kapharnahum. On hearing that Jesus had arrived in Galilee from Judaea, this man went to him and begged him to come down and cure his son

48 for he was at the point of death. Jesus said to him therefore, "Unless
49 you see signs and wonders, you will not believe." The king's officer
50 says to him, "Come down, Sir, before the child dies." Jesus says
to him, "Go thy way; thy son is alive." The man believed the word
51 that Jesus spoke to him, and went on his way. Now when he was still
on the way down, his slaves met him[1] with the news that his son was
52 living. So he inquired of them the hour at which he began to improve.
They said to him therefore, "Yesterday at the seventh hour, the fever left
53 him." So the father knew it had left him at the very hour at which
Jesus had said to him, "Thy son lives." And he believed, he and the
54 whole of his household. This was the second sign that Jesus performed
once more after coming out of Judaea into Galilee.

5 1 After this there was a festival of the Jews; and Jesus went up to
2 Jerusalem. Now in Jerusalem there is a pool beside the sheep-gate,
3 which is called in Hebrew "Beth-zatha," and has five porticoes. In these
a crowd of invalids used to lie, blind, lame, withered[2] [[, awaiting the
4 bubbling of the water. For an angel of the Lord stepped down from time
to time into the pool and stirred the water. He then who stepped in first
5 was made whole, no matter what disease he was subject to]]. And one
6 man was there, who had been ill for thirty-eight years. When Jesus saw
him lying and learned that he had been ill for a long time now, he says to
7 him, "Wouldst thou be made whole?" The invalid answered him, "Sir,
I have no man to put me into the pool when the water is stirred; and
8 while I am coming myself, another steps down before me." Jesus says to
9 him, "Rise, take up thy pallet and walk." And the man immediately
became whole, and he took up his pallet and began to walk.
10 Now it was the sabbath on that day. So the Jews said to him who had
been cured, "It is the sabbath; and thou hast no right to take up thy pallet."
11 But he answered them, "The man who made me whole, told me, 'Take up
12 thy pallet and walk.'" They asked him, "Who is the fellow who told
13 thee, 'Take it up and walk'?" Now he who had been cured did not know
who it was; for (owing to the crowd at the spot) Jesus had slipped away.
14 After this, Jesus comes upon him in the temple, and he said to him, "Be-
hold, thou hast been made whole: sin no more, lest something worse befall
15 thee." Away went the man and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had
16 made him whole. And for this reason the Jews began to persecute
17 Jesus, because he did these deeds on the sabbath. But Jesus addressed
18 them, "My Father is working up till now, and I am working." For this
reason then the Jews sought all the more to kill him, because he was not
merely breaking the sabbath but also calling God his own "Father,"
19 making himself equal to God. Jesus then answered and said
to them, "Truly, I tell you, truly,

The Son can do nothing of himself,
Unless he sees the Father doing it;
For whatever things he does,
These also the Son does in the same way.
20 For the Father loves the Son,
And shows him all that he does himself.
And he will show him greater works than these—

1 Omitting [καί ἤγγειλαν].

2 Adding [[ἐκδεχομένων τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν· Ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου κατὰ καιρὸν κατέβαινεν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ ἐτάρασσε τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβὰς ὑγιὴς ἐγίνετο οἱῳ δήποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι]].

To your wonder.
21 For as the Father raises the dead and makes them live,
So the Son also makes those live whom he will:
22 For indeed the Father condemns no man,
has given the judgment entirely to the Son,
ll may honour the Son,
as they honour the Father.
o honours not the Son,
ours not the Father who sent him.
tell you, truly,
o hears my word and believes him who sent me,
life eternal, and comes not under condemnation, but has
passed from death into life.
tell you, truly,
our is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice
of the Son of God,
those who hear shall live.
or as the Father has life in himself, so has he granted the
Son also to have life in himself,
nd he has given him authority to execute judgment, because
he is a son of man.
not at this:
e hour comes in which all who are in the tombs shall hear
his voice;
dthey shall come out,
hose who have done good, for a resurrection to life,
And those who have done ill, for a resurrection to con-
demnation.
not do anything of myself. As I hear, I judge:
And my judgment is just, because I seek not my own will but
the will of him who sent me.
31 If I should bear witness concerning myself, my witness is not true.
32 It is another who bears witness concerning me, and I know that
his witness concerning me is true.
33 You have sent to John and he has borne witness to the truth:
34 (The witness I accept is not from man,
But I say this that you may be saved)
35 He was the burning and shining lamp, and for a time you were
pleased to rejoice in his light.
36 But the witness which I have is greater than John's;
For the works that the Father has given me to accomplish, the
very works I am doing,
Bear witness concerning me that the Father has sent me.
37 And the Father who sent me, he has borne witness concerning me.
His voice you have never heard, and his form you have never seen;
38 And you have not his word abiding in you, for you believe not
him whom he sent.
39 You search the scriptures, for you imagine that in them you have
life eternal
(And indeed they are what bears witness concerning me),
40 Yet you will not come to me, that you may have life.
41 I catch at no credit from men,
42 But I know that you have not love to God in you.
43 I have come in the name of my Father, yet you accept me not:

If another comes in his own name, him you will accept.
44 How can you believe, when you catch at credit from one another,
And seek not the credit that is from the only God?
45 Do not imagine I will accuse you before the Father:
There is one who accuses you, even Moses on whom your hope is set.
46 For if you believed Moses, you would believe me; for it was of me that he wrote.
47 But if you believe not his writings, how shall you believe my words?"

7 15 The Jews then marvelled, saying, "How does this man know letters
16 when he has never studied?" So Jesus answered them and said,
"My teaching is not my own, but his who sent me.
17 If anyone chooses to obey his will, he shall know about the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself.
18 He who speaks from himself seeks his own credit:
But he who seeks the credit of him who sent him, he is truthful and no dishonesty is in him.
19 Has not Moses given[1] you the law? yet none of you obeys the law.
20 Why seek to kill me?" The crowd answered, "Thou hast a daemon!
21 Who seeks to kill thee?" Jesus answered and said to them, "One work
22 I did, and you are all marvelling. Moses has given you circumcision (not that its source is Moses, it is the fathers), and on the sabbath you
23 circumcise a man. If a man receives circumcision on the sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken, are you wroth with me, because I
24 made a man entirely whole on the sabbath? Judge not by appearances, judge uprightly."

6 1 After this Jesus went away to the opposite side of the sea of Galilee,
2 (which is the sea of Tiberias). Now a large crowd used to follow him,
3 because they saw the signs he performed among those who were ill. And
4 Jesus went up the mountain, and there he sat with his disciples. (Now
5 the passover, the festival of the Jews, was near.) On lifting up his eyes then, and seeing that a large crowd was coming to him, Jesus says to
6 Philip, "Where are we to buy bread that these people may eat?" (Now he said this to make trial of him; for he knew himself what he was going
7 to do.) Philip answered him, "Two hundred shillings' worth of bread is
8 not enough to enable each of them to get a little." One of his disciples,
9 Andrew the brother of Simon Peter, says to him, "There is a little boy here, who has five barley loaves and two fish. But what are these among
10 so many?" Jesus said, "Make the people lie down." (Now there was plenty of grass at the spot.) So the men lay down, numbering about
11 five thousand. Jesus then took the loaves, and after giving thanks he distributed them to those who were reclining; so also with the fish, as much
12 as they wished. And when they were satisfied, he says to the disciples, "Gather up the fragments that are left over, so that nothing may be lost."
13 So they gathered them up, and filled twelve baskets with fragments of the five barley loaves, which had been left over by those who had
14 eaten. When the people therefore saw the sign which he performed, they said, "This is really the Prophet, who is to come into the
15 world." So on learning that they were about to come and seize him, in order to make him king, Jesus retired once more to the mountain by
16 himself alone. When it was evening his disciples went down
17 to the sea, and after embarking in a boat proceeded across the sea to

[1] Reading δέδωκεν.

Kapharnahum. By this time it had become dark, and Jesus had not yet
18, 19 come to them ; the sea too was rising, as a strong wind blew. Now after
rowing for three or four miles, they see Jesus walking on the sea and
20 drawing near to the boat. And they were afraid. But he says to them,
21 "It is I ; be not afraid." Then they were ready to take him into the
boat. And immediately the boat was at the land for which they were
making.

22 On the next day, the crowd that stood on the other side of the sea saw
that no small boat had been there except one, and that Jesus had not
entered the boat with his disciples, but that his disciples had gone away
23 alone. (Still, small boats had arrived from Tiberias near to the spot
24 where they ate the bread after the Lord had given thanks.) When the
crowd therefore saw that Jesus was not there, nor his disciples, they em-
barked in the small boats themselves and went to Kapharnahum in search
25 of Jesus. And after finding him on the other side of the sea, they said to
26 him, "Rabbi, when didst thou come here?" Jesus answered them and
said, "Truly, I tell you, truly, you are seeking me, not because you saw
signs, but because you ate of the loaves and were satisfied.

27 Work not for the food that perishes,
But for the food that lasts to life eternal ;
And that shall the Son of man give you,
For the Father, even God, has authorised him."

28 Accordingly they said to him, "What are we to do, that we may perform
29 the works of God?" Jesus answered and said to them, "This is the work
30 of God, to believe on him whom he has sent." So they said to him,
"What dost thou perform then as a sign, that we should see and believe
31 thee? What workest thou? Our fathers ate the manna in the wilder-
32 ness ; even as it is written, *He gave them bread out of heaven to eat.*" So
Jesus said to them, "Truly, I tell you, truly,
Moses did not give you the bread out of heaven ;
It is my Father who gives you the true bread out of heaven.

33 For the bread of God is what comes down out of heaven and gives
life to the world."

34, 35 They said to him therefore, "Lord, ever give us this bread." Jesus
said to them,
"I am the bread of life :
He who comes to me shall never hunger,
And he who believes on me shall never thirst any more.

36 But I said to you, that you have seen,[1] yet you believe not.

37 All that the Father gives me shall come to me,
And him who comes to me I never will cast out.

38 For I have come down from heaven
Not to obey my own will but the will of him who sent me.

39 And this is the will of him who sent me :
That I should lose nothing of all that he has given me,
But that I should raise it up at the last day.

40 For this is the will of my Father :
That every one who sees the Son and believes on him, should
have life eternal,
And that I should raise him up at the last day."

41 The Jews then began to murmur about him, because he said, "I am
42 the bread which came down out of heaven." And they said, "Is not this
Jesus, the son of Joseph? We know his father and mother! How is he

[1] Omitting μέ.

43 now saying, 'I have come down out of heaven'?" Jesus answered and
said to them, "Murmur not among yourselves.
44 No one can come to me, unless the Father who sent me draws him:
And I will raise him up at the last day.
45 It is written in the prophets, *and they shall all be instructed by God.*
Every one who has been taught by the Father and has learned,
comes to me.
46 Not that anyone has seen the Father,
Save he who is from God, he has seen the Father.
47 Truly, I tell you, truly,
48 He who believes has life eternal. I am the bread of life.
49 Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died:
50 This is the bread which comes down out of heaven,
That a man may eat of it and may not die.
51 I am the living bread which came down out of heaven:
If anyone eats of this bread, he shall live for ever.
And moreover, the bread that I will give is my flesh,
Which I will give[1] for the life of the world."
52 The Jews then began to wrangle with one another, saying, "How can
53 this man give us his flesh to eat?" So Jesus said to them, "Truly, I tell
you, truly,
Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood,
You have no life in you.
54 He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood
Has life eternal: and I will raise him up at the last day.
55 For my flesh is genuine food, and my blood is genuine drink.
56 He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood
Abides in me and I in him.
57 As the living Father sent me,
And I live owing to the Father:
So he who eats me,
He also shall live owing to me.
58 This is the bread which came down out of heaven—
Not such as the fathers ate and died—
He who eats this bread shall live for ever."
59 This he said in the synagogue, as he taught in Kapharnahum.
60 Many of his disciples then, on hearing it, said, "This is a harsh say-
61 ing! Who can listen to it?" But Jesus, conscious that his disciples
were murmuring at this, said to them, "Does this make you stumble?
62 What then if you see the Son of man going up to where he was before?
63 It is the spirit that makes alive,
The flesh is of no avail.
The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life:—
64 Yet there are some of you who believe not."
(For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who did not believe, and
65 who was to betray him.) And he said, "It is for this reason that I told
you, 'No one can come to me, unless it be granted him by the Father.'"
66 Upon this many of his disciples drew back and walked no longer
67 with him. So Jesus said to the twelve, "You will not leave me, too?"
68 Simon Peter answered him, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast
69 words of life eternal. And for our part we have believed and know that
70 thou art the holy One of God." Jesus answered them, "Have I not
71 chosen you, the twelve? Yet one of you is a devil." (He meant Judas

[1] Adding ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω.

the son of Simon of Kerioth; for it was he who was to betray him, though he was one of the twelve.)

7 1 And after this Jesus walked in Galilee; for he would not walk in
2 Judaea, because the Jews were seeking to kill him. Now the Jews'
3 festival, the festival of tabernacles, was near. So his brothers said to
him, "Depart from here and go away into Judaea, so that thy disciples
4 also may see thy works which thou art doing. For no one who seeks to
be publicly known does anything in secret. If thou really doest those
5 things, disclose thyself to the world." (For even his brothers did not
6 believe on him.) So Jesus says to them, "My time has not yet arrived,
7 but your time is always at hand. The world cannot hate you; but it
8 hates me, because my witness about it is that its deeds are evil. Go you
up to the festival: I am not going up to this festival, because my time
9 is not yet fulfilled." And after saying this to them, he remained in
10 Galilee. But when his brothers had gone up to the festival,
11 then he also went up, not openly but secretly. The Jews therefore
12 were seeking him at the festival, and saying, "Where is he?" And there
was great discussion among the crowds in regard to him; some said, "He
is a good man," but others said, "No: he is leading the mob astray."
13 However, no one spoke of him openly, for fear of the Jews.
14 Now when the festival was by this time half-done, Jesus went up into
25 the temple and proceeded to teach. Some of the Jerusalemites
therefore began to say, "Is this not the man they are seeking to kill?
26 Yet behold, he speaks openly and they say nothing to him! Surely the
27 rulers cannot have really discovered that this man is the Christ? No
indeed, we know where this man is from; but when the Christ comes, no
28 one knows where he is from." So Jesus cried in the temple, as he taught,
and said, "You know me and you know where I am from.

Yet I have not come of myself, but he who sent me is real, and
him you know not.

29 I know him; for I am from him, and he sent me."
30 They sought therefore to arrest him; yet no one laid hands on him,
31 because his hour had not yet come. But many out of the crowd believed
on him, and said, "When the Christ comes, will he perform more signs
32 than what this man performs?" The Pharisees heard the crowd discuss-
ing him thus, and officers were sent by the high priests and the Pharisees
33 to arrest him. So Jesus said,

"A little while yet I am with you;
Then I go to him who sent me.

34 You shall seek me and shall not find me;
And where I am, you cannot come."

35 The Jews then said to themselves, "Where will this man go, that we
shall not find him? Will he go to the dispersion among the Greeks, and
36 teach the Greeks? What is the meaning of this saying that he spoke,

'You shall seek me and shall not find me;
And where I am, you cannot come'?"

37 Now on the last day, the great day of the festival, Jesus stood and
cried, saying,

"If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink.

38 He who believes on me, even as the scripture hath said, 'out of him
39 shall flow rivers of living waters.'" (He said this with reference to the
Spirit, which those who believed on him were to receive—for as yet there
40 was no Spirit present, because Jesus had not yet been exalted.) Some of

the crowd then, on hearing these words, said, "This really is the Pro-
41 phet." Others said, "This is the Christ." But some said, "What! the
42 Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the scripture said that the Christ
comes of *the offspring of David* and *from Bethlehem*, the village where David
43, 44 lived?" So a division arose among the crowd over him. Some of them
45 would have arrested him; yet no one laid hands on him. The officers
therefore came to the high priests and Pharisees; and they said to them,
46 "Why did you not bring him?" The officers answered, "Never did
47 man speak as this man speaks." So the Pharisees answered them, "Are
48 you led astray as well? Has anyone of the rulers believed on him, or
49 anyone of the Pharisees? But as for this mob, with its ignorance of the
50 law—it is accursed." Nikodemus,[1] who was one of them, says to them,
51 "Does our law pass judgment on a man, without first hearing what he
52 has to say and understanding his offence?" They answered and said to
him, "Art thou out of Galilee too? Search and learn that out of Galilee
no prophet ever arises."

53, 8 1 **[[And every one of them went home, but Jesus went to the mount of**
2 **Olives. Now early in the morning he again arrived at the temple, and all**
3 **the people came to him; and he sat down and began to teach them. And**
the scribes and the Pharisees bring a woman who had been caught in
4 **adultery; and after placing her in the midst, they say to him, "Teacher,**
5 **this woman has been caught in the very act of committing adultery. Now**
in the law Moses commanded us to stone such women. What sayest thou,
6 **then?" (Now they said this to make trial of him, that they might have**
something to accuse him of.) Jesus stooped and began to write with
7 **his finger on the ground. But as they persisted with their question, he**
raised himself and said to them, "Let him who is sinless among you be
8 **the first to throw a stone at her." And once more he stooped and went**
9 **on writing with his finger on the ground. Now when they heard that,**
they went out one by one, beginning with the eldest; and he was left
10 **alone with the woman in the midst. Raising himself, Jesus said to her,**
11 **"Woman, where are they? did no one condemn thee?" "No one, Sir,"**
she said. Jesus said to her, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way.
Henceforward sin no more."]]

12 Jesus then spoke to them once more, saying,
"I am the light of the world:
He who follows me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have
the light of life."
13 The Pharisees then said to him, "Thou art bearing witness con-
14 cerning thyself: thy witness is not true." Jesus answered and said to
them,
"Even if ever I bear witness concerning myself, my witness is true,
For I know whence I came and where I go.
But you know not whence I come or where I go.
15 You judge after the flesh: I judge no one.
16 Moreover, even if I do judge, my judgment is true:
For I am not alone, but he[2] who sent me is along with me.
17 Besides, in your law it is written, the evidence of two men is
true:
18 I am one who bears witness concerning myself; also, the Father
who sent me bears witness concerning me."

[1] Omitting ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρότερον. [2] Omitting [[πατήρ]].

19 They said to him then, "Where is thy father?" Jesus answered,
"You know neither me nor my Father:
Had you known me, you would have known my Father also."
20 These words he spoke in the treasury, as he taught in the temple; yet no one arrested him, because his hour had not yet come.
21 Once more then he said to them,
"I go away:
And you shall seek me, yet you shall die in your sin.
Where I go, you cannot come."
22 The Jews therefore said, "Will he kill himself, that he says, 'Where I
23 go, you cannot come'?" And he said to them,
"You are from below,
I am from above.
You are of this world,
I am not of this world.
24 I said to you therefore, 'You shall die in your sins':
For unless you believe it is I, you shall die in your sins."
25 They said therefore to him, "Who art thou?" Jesus said to them,
"How is it that I speak to you at all?
26 Much have I to say and judge regarding you;
But he who sent me is truthful,
And to the world I speak what he has taught me."
27 They did not understand that he was speaking to them of the Father.
28 So Jesus said,
"When you have lifted up the Son of man,
Then shall you know it is I, and that I do nothing of myself,
But that I speak even as the Father has taught me.
29 And he who sent me is with me, he has not left me alone:
Because I always do what pleases him."
30, 31 As he spoke thus, many believed on him. So Jesus said to the Jews who had believed him,
"If you remain in my word, you are really my disciples:
32 So shall you know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."
33 They made answer to him, "We are Abraham's offspring, and never have been slaves to any one. How is it that thou sayest, 'You shall become
34 free'?" Jesus answered them, "Truly, I tell you, truly,
Every one who commits sin is the slave of sin.
35 And the slave abides not in the house for ever:
The son abides for ever.
36 So if the Son shall make you free, you shall be really free.
37 I know you are Abraham's offspring:
Yet you seek to kill me, because you have no room for my word.
38 I speak what I have seen with my Father:
And you do also what you have been taught by your father."
39 They answered and said to him, "Abraham is our father." Jesus says to them,
"If you are Abraham's children,
Do[1] the deeds of Abraham.
40 But, as it is, you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth which God has taught me:
41 Abraham did not do this. You do your father's deeds."
They said to him, "We were not born of fornication: we have one
42 Father, God." Jesus said to them,

[1] Reading ποιεῖτε.

"Were God your Father, you would love me;
For from God I came out and I am here;
Nor have I come of myself, it was he who sent me.
43 Why do you not understand my speech?
It is because you cannot listen to my word.
44 You have a father—the devil,
And the lusts of your father you choose to obey.
He was a man-slayer from the beginning, and stands not in the truth,
For there is no truth in him.
When he tells a lie he speaks from his own nature,
For a liar is he and the liar's father.
45 But because I speak the truth,
You believe me not.
46 Which of you convicts me of sin?
If I speak truth, why not believe me?
47 He who is of God listens to the words of God:
For this reason you do not listen to them, because you are not of God."
48 The Jews answered and said to him, "Are we not right in saying thou
49 art a Samaritan and hast a daemon?" Jesus answered,
"I have no daemon; I honour my Father, yet you dishonour me.
50 Still, I seek not my own credit: there is one who seeks it and he is judge.
51 Truly, I tell you, truly, if anyone keeps my word, he shall never look on death."
52 The Jews said to him, "Now we are sure thou hast a daemon. Abraham
is dead, and also the prophets. Yet thou sayest, 'If anyone keeps my
53 word, he shall never taste death'! Art thou greater than our father
Abraham? He is dead, and the prophets are dead. Whom dost thou
54 make thyself out to be?" Jesus answered, "If I magnify myself, my
credit is a mere nothing. It is my Father who magnifies me; and of him
55 you say, he is your God. But you know him not. I know him; and
were I to say, 'I know him not,' I should be a liar like you. But I do
know him, and I keep his word.
56 Your father Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day:
He did see it, and was glad."
57 The Jews then said to him, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast
58 thou seen Abraham?" Jesus said to them, "Truly, I tell you, truly,
Before Abraham was born, I am."
59 At this they lifted stones to throw at him, but Jesus hid himself by going out of the temple.
9 1 And as he passed by, he saw a man who had been blind from his
2 birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, "Rabbi, who sinned—this
3 man or his parents—so that he should be born blind?" Jesus answered,
"Neither this man nor his parents sinned: he was born blind that the works of God might be disclosed in him.
4 We must perform the works of him who sent me, while it is day:
The night comes, when no man can work.
5 When I am in the world, I am the light of the world."
6 Saying this, he spat on the ground, and made clay with the spittle, and
7 rubbed his eyes with the clay; and he said to him, "Go, wash in the
pool of Siloam" (which is translated, "sent"). So he went away and
8 washed; and he came, seeing. The neighbours then, and those who had

formerly known him by sight as a beggar, began to say, "Is not this the
9 man who used to sit and beg?" Others said, "It is he"; others said,
10 "No, but it is like him." The man said, "It is I." So they said to him,
11 "How then were thine eyes opened?" He answered, "The man who is
called 'Jesus' made clay, and rubbed my eyes, and said to me, 'Go
to Siloam and wash.' So I went away and washed, and I regained
12 my sight." They said to him, "Where is he?" He says, "I do not
13 know." They bring him who had once been blind, to the
14 Pharisees. (Now on the day when Jesus made the clay and opened his
15 eyes, it was the sabbath.) Once more then the Pharisees also asked him
how he had regained his sight. And he said to them, "He put clay
16 upon my eyes; I washed, and I see." Some of the Pharisees therefore
said, "This man is not from God, because he does not keep the sabbath."
But others said, "How can a man who is a sinner perform such signs?"
17 And there was a division among them. So once more they said to the
blind man, "What sayest thou of him, seeing that he opened thine
18 eyes?" And he said, "He is a prophet." Now the Jews would not
believe that he had been blind and had regained his sight, until they
19 called the parents of him who had regained his sight and asked them,
saying, "Is this your son who was born, as you say, blind? How then
20 does he now see?" His parents answered and said, "We know that this
21 is our son, and that he was born blind. But how he now sees, we know
not; nor do we know who opened his eyes. Ask him; he is of age,
22 he will speak for himself." (His parents spoke in this way because they
were afraid of the Jews; for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone
should confess him to be Christ, he should be excommunicated from the
23 synagogue. This was why his parents said, "He is of age, ask him.")
24 So a second time they called the man who had been blind, and said
25 to him, "Give God the honour: we know this man is a sinner." He
answered then, "Whether he is a sinner, I do not know. One thing I
26 do know: blind as I was, I now see." They said to him therefore,
27 "What did he do to thee? How did he open thine eyes?" He answered
them, "I told you already, and you did not listen. Why would you hear
28 it again? Would you also become disciples of his?" They reviled him
29 and said, "Thou art his disciple, but we are disciples of Moses. We
know God has spoken to Moses; but as for this man, we know not
30 where he is from." The man answered and said to them, "Now here
is the surprising thing! You know not where he is from, and yet he
31 opened my eyes! We know that God does not listen to sinners; but
32 that if anyone is religious and obeys his will, he listens to him. Since
the world began it is a thing unheard of, for anyone to open the eyes of
33 a man born blind. Unless this man were from God, he could do
34 nothing." They answered and said to him, "Thou wast born in sins
every whit, and wouldst thou teach us?" And they cast him
35 out. Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and coming upon
36 him, he said, "Believest thou on the Son of man?" He answered and
37 said, "And who is he, Sir, that I may believe on him?" Jesus said to
38 him, "Thou hast seen him, and it is he who is talking with thee." And
39 he said, "Lord, I believe"; and he did him reverence. And Jesus said,

"For judgment I came into this world:
That those who see not may see,
And that those who see may turn blind."

40 Some of the Pharisees, those who were with him, heard this; and they
41 said to him, "Then are we blind too?" Jesus said to them,

"If you were blind,
You would have no sin:
But, as it is, you say, 'We see'—
Your sin remains.

10 1 Truly, I tell you, truly,
He who enters not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbs up elsewhere,
He is a thief and a robber;
2 But he who enters by the door
Is shepherd of the sheep.
3 To him the door-keeper opens, and the sheep listen to his voice,
And he calls his own sheep by name and leads them out.
4 When he has put out all his own, he goes before them; and the sheep follow him,
Because they know his voice.
5 A stranger they will never follow, but will flee from him,
Because they know not the voice of strangers."
6 Jesus spoke this allegory to them, but they did not understand what he
7 was saying to them. Once more then he said to them, "Truly, I tell you, truly,
I am the door to the sheep.
8 All who came before me were thieves and robbers,
But the sheep did not listen to them.
9 I am the door.
If anyone enters by me, he shall be saved,
And he shall go in and go out and find pasture.
10 The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy:
I came that they might have life, and have it amply.
11 I am the true shepherd:
The true shepherd lays down his life for the sheep.
12 The hired servant, who is no shepherd, whose own the sheep are not,
Sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees
—And the wolf snatches and scatters them—
13 Because he is a hired servant, and cares not for the sheep.
14 I am the true shepherd,
And I know my own and my own know me—
15 Even as the Father knows me and I know the Father—
And I lay down my life for the sheep.
16 And other sheep have I, which are not of this fold:
Those I must also bring,
And they shall listen to my voice;
And there shall come to be one flock, one shepherd.
17 For this my Father loves me, because I lay down my life in order to take it again.
18 No one takes it away from me; I lay it down of myself.
I have a right to lay it down, and I have a right to take it again.
This commandment I received from my Father."
19 Once more a division arose among the Jews on account of these words.
20 And many of them said, "He has a daemon, and is mad! Why listen
21 to him?" Others said, "These are not the sayings of one who is possessed by a daemon. Can a daemon open the eyes of the blind?"
22 Now the festival of dedication took place in Jerusalem. It was

23, 24 winter, and Jesus was walking in the temple, in Solomon's portico. So
the Jews surrounded him and kept saying to him, "How long wilt thou
25 keep us in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us frankly." Jesus
answered them,

"I told you,
Yet you believe not.
The works that I do in my Father's name, these bear witness
concerning me;
26 But you believe not, because you are not of my sheep.
27 My sheep listen to my voice,
And I know them and they follow me:
28 I give them life eternal, and never shall they perish,
And no one shall snatch them out of my hand.
29 My Father[1] who has given me them is greater than all,
And no one can snatch aught out of the Father's hand.

30, 31 I and the Father are one—" The Jews again took up stones to
32 stone him. Jesus answered them, "Many good works have I shown you
33 from the Father. For which of these works would you stone me?" The
Jews answered him, "We do not stone thee for a good work, but for
34 blasphemy; because indeed, man as thou art, thou makest thyself out to
35 be God." Jesus answered them, "Is it not written in your law, *I said*,
36 '*You are gods*'? If he called them 'gods,' to whom the word of God
came—and the scriptures cannot be broken—do you say of him, whom
the Father consecrated and sent into the world, 'Thou blasphemest,'
because I said, 'I am God's Son'?

37 If I am not doing the works of my Father, believe me not.
38 But if I am doing them, believe the works, even should you believe
me not;
That you may know and be sure that the Father is in me, and I in
the Father."

39 Once more then they sought to arrest him; but he escaped from their hands.
40 And he went away again across the Jordan to the place where John
41 had baptized at first, and there he remained. And many came to him;
and they said, "John performed no sign, but all that John ever said of
42 this man was true." And many believed on him there.

11 1 Now there was a man Lazarus ill, who belonged to Bethany, the
2 village of Mary and her sister Martha. (The Mary whose brother
Lazarus was ill, was the Mary who anointed the Lord with perfume, and
3 wiped his feet with her hair.) So the sisters sent to him, saying, "Lord,
4 behold, he whom thou lovest is ill." But on hearing it Jesus said, "This
illness is not to death; it is for the honour of God, that the Son of God
5 may be magnified thereby." (Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and
6 Lazarus.) So on hearing that he was ill, he still remained for two days
7 in the place where he was; then, after that, he says to his disciples, "Let
8 us go once more into Judaea." The disciples say to him, "Rabbi, the
Jews sought but recently to stone thee! And art thou going thither
9 again?" Jesus answered, "Are there not twelve hours in the day?

If a man walks in the day, he stumbles not;
For he sees the light of this world.
10 But if a man walks in the night, he stumbles;
For the light is not in him."

11 Thus he spoke. And after that, he says to them, "Our friend Lazarus
12 has fallen asleep; but I am going to wake him from sleep." The

[1] Reading ὃς δέδωκέν . . . μείζων.

disciples therefore said to him, "Lord, if he has fallen asleep, he will
13 recover." Now Jesus had spoken of his death, but they imagined that he
14 was speaking of taking rest in sleep. So Jesus then said to them frankly,
15 "Lazarus is dead. And for your sakes I am glad I was not there, that
16 you may believe. But let us go to him." At this, Thomas (that is, "the
Twin") said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us go too, that we may die with
17 him." Now when Jesus came, he found that he had been four
18 days already in the tomb. (Now Bethany was near Jerusalem, at a
19 distance of nearly two miles; and many of the Jews had come to visit
20 Martha and Mary, to console them about their brother.) So on hearing
that Jesus was coming, Martha went and met him; but Mary sat in the
21 house. Martha then said to Jesus, "Lord, hadst thou been here, my
22 brother would not have died. And even now I know that God will give
23 thee whatever thou shalt ask of God." Jesus says to her, "Thy brother
24 shall rise again." Martha says to him, "I know he shall rise again in the
25 resurrection at the last day." Jesus said to her, "I am the resurrection
and the life;

He who believes on me, though he die, shall live:
26 And whoever lives and believes on me shall never die at all.
27 Believest thou this?" She says to him, "Yes, Lord. I do believe thou
art the Christ, the Son of God, he 'who is to come into the world.'"
28 And after saying this she went off and called her sister Mary, saying
29 to her secretly, "The Teacher is here, and he is calling thee." On
30 hearing it she arose quickly and went to him. (Jesus had not yet
entered the village, but was still in the spot where Martha met him.)
31 The Jews then, who were with her in the house consoling her, saw that
Mary rose up quickly and went out; and they followed her, as they
32 imagined that she was going to the tomb to wail there. Now when Mary
came to where Jesus was and saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying to
him, "Lord, hadst thou been here, my brother would not have died."
33 When Jesus therefore saw her wailing, and the Jews who accompanied
34 her wailing, he groaned in his spirit and was in distress; and he said,
35 "Where have you laid him?" They say to him, "Come, Sir, and see." Jesus
36, 37 wept. So the Jews began to say, "Behold, how he loved him!" But
some of them said, "Could not this man, who opened the blind man's
38 eyes, have also prevented this man from dying?" Jesus then, groaning
once more within himself, goes to the tomb. It was a cave, and a stone
39 lay against it. Jesus says, "Remove the stone." Martha, the dead man's
sister, says to him, "Lord, by this time he is stinking; for he has been
40 four days dead." Jesus says to her, "Did I not tell thee that if thou
41 wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the majesty of God?" So they removed
the stone. And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, "Father, I thank thee
42 for listening to me. I knew indeed that thou ever listenest to me; but I
have spoken for the sake of the crowd which is standing round, that they
43 may believe that thou hast sent me." And after saying this he exclaimed
44 with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!" Forth came the dead man,
his hands and feet swathed with grave-bands, and his face tied round
with a napkin. Jesus says to them, "Loose him and let him go."
45 Many of the Jews, then, who had come to visit Mary, and who saw the
46 deed he had done, believed on him; but some of them went away to the
47 Pharisees and told them what Jesus had done. So the high priests
and the Pharisees gathered a Sanhedrin, and said, "What are we to do? This
48 man is performing many signs. If we let him alone like this, every one
will believe on him; and the Romans will come and take away both our

49 land and our nation." But one of them, Kaiaphas, who was high priest for
50 that year, said to them, "You know simply nothing. You do not keep
in mind that it is for your advantage that one man should die for the
51 people, instead of the whole nation perishing." (Now he did not say this
of himself; he was high priest for that year, and he spoke prophetically,
52 inasmuch as Jesus was to die for the nation, and not merely for the nation,
53 but also for the gathering of God's scattered children into one.) So from
that day forward their plan was to put him to death.
54 Jesus therefore no longer walked in public among the Jews, but went
away from there into the country near the wilderness, to a city called
55 Ephraim, where he remained with the disciples. Now when the passover
of the Jews was near, many went up from the country to Jerusalem
56 before the passover, to purify themselves. So they sought for Jesus, and
said to one another as they stood in the temple, "What do you think?
57 He will not come to the festival." The high priests and the Pharisees
had issued orders that if any person knew where he was, he was to give
them information, so that they might arrest him.
12 1 Six days before the passover, then, Jesus came to Bethany, where
2 Lazarus stayed, whom Jesus had raised from the dead. So they made
him a supper there; and Martha waited upon them, while Lazarus was
3 one of his fellow-guests. But Mary took a pound of expensive pure
nard perfume, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her
4 hair. And the house was filled with the odour of the perfume. But one
5 of his disciples, Judas of Kerioth, who was to betray him, says, "Why
was not this perfume sold for three hundred shillings and given to poor
6 people?" (Now he said this, not that he cared for the poor, but because he
was a thief; and because he pilfered what was put into the purse, of
7 which he had charge.) Then said Jesus, "Let her alone; let her keep it
8 for the day of my burial. For you have the poor always beside you, but you
9 have not always me." Now the common folk of the Jews learned
that he was there; and they came, not merely for the sake of Jesus, but
10 also to see Lazarus whom he had raised from the dead. So the high
11 priests' plan was to put Lazarus also to death, since it was owing to him
that many of the Jews went and believed on Jesus.
12 On the next day, when a large crowd, who had come to the festival,
13 heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, they took branches of the
palms and went out to meet him. And they exclaimed,

"*Hosanna!*
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,
Even the king of Israel!"

14 And Jesus came across a young ass and sat on it: even as it is written,
15 "*Fear not, daughter of Zion:*
Lo, thy king is coming,
Seated on an ass's colt!"

16 (His disciples did not understand these things at first; but when
Jesus was exalted, then they remembered that these things had been
17 written of him, and that they had acted thus to him.) Now witness was
borne by the crowd that was with him when he called Lazarus out of the
18 tomb and raised him from the dead. This indeed was the reason why the
crowd went and met him, because they heard that he had performed this
19 sign. The Pharisees therefore said to each other, "You are helpless, you
see. Behold, the world has gone after him!"
20 Now there were some Greeks among those who came up to worship at
21 the festival. So these men came to Philip (who belonged to Bethsaida of

22 Galilee) and asked him, saying, "Sir, we want to see Jesus." Philip comes
23 and tells Andrew; Andrew accompanies Philip, and they tell Jesus. And
Jesus answers them, saying, "The hour has come for the Son of man to
24 be exalted. Truly, I tell you, truly,
Unless the grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains
by itself alone:
But if it dies, it bears plentiful fruit.
25 He who loves his life, loses it:
And he who hates his life in this world, shall preserve it to life
eternal.
26 If anyone serves me, let him follow me:
And where I am, there also shall my servant be.
If anyone serves me,
Him will the Father honour.
27 Now *is my soul in distress;* and what am I to say?
'Father, save me from this hour'?
Nay, it was for this that I came to this hour.—
28 Father, magnify thy name!'
At this a voice came out of the sky, "I have magnified it, and I will
29 magnify it again." The crowd then, who stood by and heard it, said there
30 had been thunder; others said, "An angel has spoken to him." Jesus
answered and said, "Not for my sake has this voice come, but for yours.
31 Now is this world condemned,
Now shall the ruler of this world be cast out.
32 Yet I, when I am lifted up from the earth,
Will draw to myself all men."
33, 34 (In saying this, he indicated the kind of death he was to die.) The
crowd then answered him, "We have learned from the law that the
Christ abides for ever. How is it then that thou sayest, 'The Son of man
35 must be lifted up'? Who is this 'Son of man'?" So Jesus said to them,
"For a little while yet the light is among you;
Walk while you have the light, that darkness overtake you not.
He who walks in the darkness knows not where he is going;
36*a* While you have the light, believe on the light, that you may
become sons of light."
44 And Jesus cried and said,
"He who believes on me,
Believes not so much on me as on him who sent me:
45 And he who sees me,
Sees him who sent me.
46 I have come into the world as a light,
That whoever believes on me may not remain in the darkness.
47 Yet if anyone hears my sayings and observes them not, I do not
judge him:
For I came not to judge the world, but to save the world.
48 He who rejects me and accepts not my sayings has one to judge
him:
The word I have spoken, that shall judge him on the last day.
49 For I have not spoken of myself,
But the Father who sent me has himself commanded me what
to say and what to speak;
50 And I know his commandment is life eternal.
In my speaking, then, I speak even as the Father has told me."
36*b* After saying this, Jesus departed and hid himself from them.

37 But for all the signs he had performed before them, they would not
38 believe on him; that the word might be fulfilled which Isaiah the
prophet spoke,
Lord, who has had faith in our message?
And to whom has the arm of the Lord been disclosed?
39 This was the reason why they could not believe; because Isaiah had
again said,
40 *He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart,*
That they might not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart,
and turn,
For me to cure them.
41 Isaiah spoke thus because he saw his majesty; indeed he spoke of him.
42 All the same, however, many even of the rulers believed on him; but on
account of the Pharisees they would not confess him, in case of being ex-
43 communicated from the synagogue. For they loved the praise of men
more than the praise of God.

13 1 Now before the festival of the passover Jesus was aware that the hour
had come for him to depart out of this world to the Father; he had
loved his own who were in the world, and he loved them to the end.
2 And at supper-time—after the devil had already put it into the heart of
3 Judas Iskariot, son of Simon, to betray him—as he knew that the Father
had given all things into his hand, and that he had come out from God and
4 was going to God, he rises from supper and lays his garments aside.
5 Then he took a towel and girded himself. Next, he pours water into the
basin, and started to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with
6 the towel which he was girded with. So he comes to Simon Peter.
7 "Lord," says he to him, "thou wash my feet!" Jesus answered and
said to him, "What I am doing thou knowest not now, but afterwards
8 thou shalt understand." Peter says to him, "Never shalt thou wash my
feet." Jesus answered him, "Unless I wash thee, thou hast no part
9 in me." Simon Peter says to him, "Lord, not only my feet but my head
10 and hands as well!" Jesus says to him,
"He who is bathed does not need to be washed,[1] but is wholly clean.
And you are clean—but not all."
11 (For he knew his betrayer; that was why he said, "You are not all
12 clean.") So when he had washed their feet and resumed his
garments and reclined again, he said to them, "Do you know what I
have done to you?
13 You call me 'Teacher' and 'Lord,'
And you say rightly: for so I am.
14 If I, the Lord and Teacher, then, have washed your feet,
You also are bound to wash the feet of one another.
15 For I have given you an example,
That you also should do even as I have done to you.
16 Truly, I tell you, truly,
A slave is not greater than his owner,
Nor is a messenger greater than he who sent him.
17, 18 Since you know this, happy are you if you do it. (I am not speaking
of you all: I know whom I have chosen—but all has happened that
the scripture may be fulfilled, *He who eats my bread, has lifted up his heel*
19 *against me.* In future I tell you before it comes to pass; that when
20 it does come to pass, you may believe it is I.) Truly, I tell you, truly,

[1] Omitting [[εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας]].

He who accepts whomsover I send, accepts me;
And he who accepts me, accepts him whom I sent."
21 On saying this Jesus became distressed in his spirit, and he testified and
22 said, "Truly, I tell you, truly, one of you shall betray me." The disciples
23 looked at one another, puzzled to know whom he meant. One of his
24 disciples, whom Jesus loved, was reclining on the bosom of Jesus. So
Simon Peter nods to him and says to him, "Tell us who it is that he means."
25 He leant back, as he was, on the breast of Jesus, and says to him, "Lord,
26 who is it?" Jesus then answers, "It is he for whom I shall dip the
morsel, and to whom I shall give it." So after dipping the morsel, he takes
27 and gives it to Judas, son of Simon of Kerioth. Thereupon, after the
morsel, Satan entered him. Jesus then says to him, "What thou doest,
28 do quickly." (Now none of the guests knew why he said this to him.
29 Some imagined, because Judas held the purse, that Jesus told him, "Buy
what we require for the festival," or bade him give something to the poor.)
30 He took the morsel therefore, and immediately went out. And it was
31*a* night. So when he had gone out, Jesus says,
15 1 "I am the real vine, and my Father is the vine-dresser;
2 Every branch in me that bears not fruit, he takes it away,
And every branch that does bear fruit he prunes, that it may bear
more fruit.
3 —You are pruned clean already, by the word that I have
spoken to you.
4 Remain in me, and I in you.
As the branch cannot bear fruit by itself, unless it remains in
the vine;
No more can you, unless you remain in me.
5 I am the vine, you are the branches.
He who remains in me—and I in him—he bears plentiful fruit:
For apart from me you can do nothing.
6 If anyone remains not in me, he is cast out like a branch and withers:
And they gather them and throw them into the fire, and
they are burned,
7 If you remain in me, and my words remain in you,
Ask whatever you will, and it shall be done for you.
8 Herein is my Father exalted,
That you bear plentiful fruit and thus show yourselves disciples
of mine.
9 As the Father has loved me, I also have loved you:
Remain in my love.
10 If you keep my commandments,
You shall remain in my love:
As I have kept the[1] Father's commandments,
And remain in his love.
11 (These things I have spoken to you, that my joy may be in you,
And that your joy may be complete.)
12 This is my commandment,
That you love one another as I have loved you.
13 No one has greater love than this,
That one lay down his life for his friends:
14 You are my friends,
If you do what I command you.
15 I call you 'slaves' no longer,

[1] Omitting [[μου]].

For the slave knows not what his owner is doing:
I have called you 'friends,'
For all that I have been taught by my Father, I have made known to you.
16 You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you,
And appointed you to go and bear fruit, and your fruit to remain;
That the Father may give you whatever you shall ask from him in my name.
17 This I command you,
That you love one another.
18 If the world hates you,
Know that it has hated me first.[1]
19 Were you of the world,
The world would love what was its own;
But because you are not of the world
(Nay, I have chosen you out of the world),
For this the world hates you.
20 Remember the word that I said to you,
'A slave is not greater than his owner':
If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;
If they have kept my word, they will keep yours also.
21 But all this they will do to you on account of my name,
For they know not him who sent me.
22 Had I not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin:
23 But now they have no excuse for their sin. He who hates me, hates my Father also.
24 Had I not performed among them the works which none else performed, they had not had sin:
But now they have seen, and they have hated, both me and my Father.
25 Yea, they do so that the word written in their law may be fulfilled,
They hated me without a cause.
26 When the advocate comes, whom I shall send you from the Father,
The Spirit of truth which issues from the Father,
He shall bear witness concerning me:
27 Moreover, do you bear witness also,
Because you have been with me from the beginning.
16 1 I have spoken of these things to you, that you may not be made to stumble.
2 They shall have you excommunicated from the synagogue:
Yea, an hour is coming when every one who kills you shall imagine he is offering a sacrifice—a service to God.
3 And these things they will do,
Because they have known neither the Father nor me.
4 But I have spoken of these things to you, that when the hour for them comes, you may remember that I told you of them.
I did not tell you these things at the beginning; because I was with you.
5 But I am going now to him who sent me; yet none of you asks me, 'Where art thou going?'
6 Nay, because I have spoken of these things to you, sorrow has filled your heart.
7 Yet I am telling you the truth: it is for your advantage that I go away.

[1] Omitting ὑμῶν.

For if I go not away, the advocate will not come to you ;
But if I go, I shall send him to you.
8 And when he comes, he will convince the world of sin, and of
uprightness, and of condemnation ;
9 Of sin, because they believe not on me :
10 Of uprightness, because I go to the Father and you no longer
see me :
11 Of condemnation, because the ruler of this world has been
condemned.
12 I have many things to tell you still ;
But you cannot bear them at this moment.
13 Yet when he comes, the Spirit of truth,
He shall guide you into all the truth ;
For he shall not speak from himself,
But he shall speak all that he hears,
And he shall disclose to you all that is coming.
14 He shall exalt me,
For he shall take of what is mine and disclose it to you.
15 All that the Father has is mine :
Hence I said, he takes of what is mine and shall disclose it to
you.
16 A little while, and you shall see me no longer ;
And again a little while, and you shall see me."
17 Some of his disciples then said to one another, "What is this he
is saying to us ?—'A little while, and you shall not see me ; and again a
little while, and you shall see me,' and 'because I go to the Father'!"
18 They kept saying then, "What is this 'little while' of which he speaks ?
19 We do not understand what he is saying." Jesus understood that they
wished to question him ; so he said to them, "Is this why you are
inquiring one with another, because I said,
'A little while, and you shall not see me,
And again a little while, and you shall see me'?
20 Truly, I tell you, truly,
You shall wail and lament, while the world shall rejoice :
Sorrowful shall you be, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.
21 When a woman is in travail she has sorrow, for her hour has
come ;
But when the child is born, she remembers the distress no
longer,
In her joy that a human being is born into the world.
22 So then with you ; now, you have sorrow,
But I will see you again and your heart shall rejoice,
And no one shall take your joy away from you.
23 And on that day you shall not question me at all.
Truly, I tell you, truly, if you shall ask anything from the Father, he
will give you it in my name.
24 Up till now you have asked nothing in my name ;
Ask and you shall receive, that your joy may be complete.
25 (I have spoken to you of these things in figures.
The hour is coming, when I shall no longer speak to you in figures,
But bring you word of the Father openly.)
26 On that day you shall ask in my name :
And I do not say to you that I will ask the Father for you,
27 For the Father loves you himself,

Because you have loved me and believed that I came out from the Father.
28 I came out from the Father, and I have come into the world :
Again, I am leaving the world and going to the Father."
29 His disciples say,
"Behold, now thou art talking openly and speaking no figure.
30 Now we know that thou knowest all and requirest no one to question thee ;
Hereby we believe thou camest out from God."
31, 32 Jesus answered them, "You now believe ? Lo, the hour is coming (and has come) for you to be scattered, each to his home, leaving me alone. Yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.
33 I have spoken of these things to you that in me you may have peace :
In the world you shall have distress ; but be of good cheer, I have conquered the world.
13 31b Now is the Son of man exalted,
And in him God is exalted !
32 Yea, God shall exalt him in himself,
And shall exalt him immediately.
33 Little children, only for a little while I shall be with you now.
You shall seek me ; but as I said to the Jews, so now I say to you,
'Where I go, you cannot come.'
34 I give you a new commandment, to love one another,
Even as I have loved you, that you also love one another.
35 Herein all men shall recognise that you are my disciples,
If you have love for one another."
36 Simon Peter says to him, "Lord, where art thou going ?" Jesus answered,
"Where I go, thou canst not follow me now ;
But thou shalt follow me afterwards."
37 Peter says to him, "Lord, why cannot I follow thee at this moment ? I
38 will lay down my life for thee." Jesus replies, "Lay down thy life for me ! Truly, I tell thee, truly, the cock shall not crow, till thou hast three times disowned me."

14 1 "Let not your heart be troubled :
Believe in God, believe also in me.
2 In my Father's house are many abodes ;
Were it not so, would I have told you that 'I go to prepare you a place' ?
3 And when I go and prepare you a place,
I am coming again and I will welcome you to my home,
That where I am, you may be also.
4 And you know the way to where I am going—"
5 Thomas says to him, "Lord, we do not know where thou goest ; how
6 then are we to know the way ?" Jesus says to him,
"I am the way, and the truth, and the life ;
No one comes to the Father except through me.
7 Had you known me, you would have known my Father also :
Henceforward you know him and have seen him."
8 Philip says to him, "Lord, show us the Father, and we are satisfied."
9 Jesus says to him, "Have I been all this time with you, and dost thou not know me, Philip ? He who has seen me, has seen the Father. How is it that thou sayest, 'Show us the Father' ?

10 Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?
The words that I speak to you, I speak not from myself;
The Father who abides in me performs his works.
11 Believe me, I am in the Father, and the Father in me:
Or else believe me on account of the works themselves.
12 Truly, I tell you, truly,
He who believes on me, he also shall perform the works that I do:
And greater works than these shall he perform, because I am going to the Father.
13 And whatever you shall ask for in my name, I will do it;
That the Father may be exalted in the Son.
14 If you shall ask[1] for anything in my name, I will do it.
15 If you love me, you will keep my commandments.
16 And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another
17 advocate to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth:—
Which the world cannot receive, for the world neither sees it nor knows it;
But you know it, because it remains with you and is in you.
18 I will not leave you orphans; I am coming to you.
19 A little while yet, and the world no longer sees me;
But you shall see me, since I live and since you shall live.
20 On that day you shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you.
21 He who holds fast my commandments and keeps them,
He it is who loves me:
And he who loves me shall be loved by my Father,
And I will love him and will appear to him."
22 Judas (not the Iskariot) says to him, "Lord, why is it that thou art to
23 appear to us, and not to the world?" Jesus answered and said to him,
If a man loves me, he will keep my word;
And my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him.
24 He who loves me not, keeps not my words:
And the word you are taught is not mine, but the Father's who sent me.
25 I have spoken of these things to you, while I remain with you.
26 But the advocate, the holy Spirit which the Father will send in my name,
He shall teach you all things and remind you of all that I have told you.
27 Peace I leave to you, my peace I give to you:
Not as the world gives, give I to you.
Let not your heart be troubled, or timid.
28 You heard me say to you, 'I am going away, and I am coming to
you.' If you loved me, you would have rejoiced that I am going to the
29 Father; for the Father is greater than I. And now I have told you
before it comes to pass; so that when it does come to pass you may
30 believe. I will no longer talk much with you, for the ruler of the
31 world is coming. In me indeed he can claim nothing; but all this
happens that the world may know that I love the Father, and that I
act even as the Father gave me commandment. Rise, let us be going
hence."
17 1 Thus Jesus spoke; then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said,

[1] Omitting [[με]].

"Father, the hour has come.
Exalt thy Son,
That the Son may exalt thee:
2 Since thou gavest him authority over all flesh,
That he should give to them life eternal—
Even to all whom thou hast given him.
3 [And this is life eternal:
That they should know thee, the only real God,
And him whom thou hast sent, even Jesus Christ.]
4 I have exalted thee on earth,
By accomplishing the work thou hast given me to do:
5 And now, Father, exalt thou me beside thyself,
With the majesty I had beside thee ere the world began.
6 I have disclosed thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world
(Thine they were, and thou gavest me them),
And they have kept thy word.
7 They know now that all thou hast given me is from thee;
8 For I have given them the words thou gavest me,
And they have accepted them;
And they really know that I came out from thee,
And have believed that thou hast sent me.
9 I pray for them;
Not for the world I pray, but for those whom thou hast given me.
For they are thine
10 (And all mine is thine, and thine is mine),
And I am exalted in them.
11 No longer am I to be in the world—
Yet these are to be in the world, and I come to thee.
Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me,
That they may be one, even as we are one.
12 While I was with them, I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me;
Yea, I guarded them, nor did one of them perish—
Except the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled.
13 But now I come to thee.
And I speak thus in the world,
That in themselves they may have my joy complete.
14 I have given them thy word;
And the world hated them,
For they are not of the world,
Even as I am not of the world.
15 I pray not that thou wouldst take them out of the world,
But that thou wouldst keep them from the evil one.
16 They are not of the world,
Even as I am not of the world.
17 Consecrate them by the truth:
Thy word is truth.
18 As thou hast sent me into the world,
So have I sent them into the world.
19 And on their behalf I consecrate myself,
That they also may be consecrated in truth.
20 I pray not for these alone,
But also for those who through their word believe in me,

21 That they may all be one :
Even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee,
That they may also be in us—
That the world may believe that thou hast sent me.
22 Yea, the majesty thou hast given me, I have given them ;
That they may be one, even as we are one,
23 I in them, and thou in me,
That they may be perfected in one—
That the world may know that thou hast sent me,
And hast loved them even as thou hast loved me.
24 Father, I would that they—thy gift to me—may be with me where I am,
To see my majesty which thou hast given me ;
For thou hast loved me before the foundation of the world.
25 Just Father ! while the world knows thee not, I know thee,
And these know that thou hast sent me ;
26 And I have made known and will make known thy name to them,
That the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them,
And I in them."

18 1 On saying this, Jesus went out with his disciples across the ravine of
Kedron to where there was a garden, which he and his disciples entered.
2 Now Judas his betrayer was also acquainted with the place ; for Jesus
3 and his disciples had often met together there. So, after getting the cohort
and officers from the high priests and the Pharisees, Judas comes there
4 with lanterns and torches and weapons. Thereupon, aware of all that
was coming upon him, Jesus went out ; and he says to them, "Whom do
5 you seek ?" They answered him, "Jesus the Nazarene." He says to
them, "I am he." (Now Judas his betrayer was also standing along with
6 them.) So when he said to them, "I am he," they drew back and fell to
7 the ground. Once more then he questioned them, "Whom do you seek ?"
8 They said, "Jesus the Nazarene." Jesus replied, "I told you that I am he.
9 If then it is I whom you are seeking, let these men go" (that the word which
he had spoken might be fulfilled, "Of those whom thou hast given me, I
10 did not lose one"). At this, Simon Peter, who wore a sword, drew it and
struck the slave of the high priest, cutting off his right ear. (The slave's
11 name was Malchus). Jesus then said to Peter, "Put the sword into the
sheath. Shall I not drink the cup which the Father has given me ?"
12 So the cohort and the tribune and the officers of the Jews arrested Jesus
13 and bound him, and led him first to Annas ; he was the father-in-law of
14 Kaiaphas, who was high priest for that year. (It was Kaiaphas who had
counselled the Jews that it was for their advantage that one man should
19 die for the people.) The high priest therefore questioned Jesus
20 about his disciples and about his teaching. Jesus answered him, "I have
spoken openly to the world : I have taught always in synagogue and
temple, where all the Jews gather, nor have I spoken of anything in secret.
21 Why question me ? Question those who have heard me, upon what I said
22 to them. Look, these men know what I said !" Now when he said this,
one of the officers who was standing by gave Jesus a blow, saying,
23 "Answerest thou the high priest so ?" Jesus answered him, "If I have
spoken wrongly, give evidence of the wrong ; but if rightly, why beat
24 me ?" So Annas sent him bound to Kaiaphas the high priest.
15 Now Simon Peter along with another disciple followed Jesus. That
disciple was known to the high priest ; so he entered the high priest's

16 palace along with Jesus, while Peter stood outside at the door. Thereupon
the other disciple (who was known to the high priest) went out, and after
17 speaking to the woman who kept the door, brought Peter in. The maid-
servant therefore who kept the door says to Peter, "But art not thou one
18 of this man's disciples also?" He says, "No." Now the slaves and the
officers were standing at a fire of coals which they had made, because it
25 was cold. And Peter also stood beside them and warmed himself. So they
said to him, "But art not thou one of his disciples also?" He denied it
26 and said, "No." Says one of the slaves of the high priest (who was a
kinsman of the man whose ear Peter had cut off), "Did I not see thee
27 myself along with him in the garden?" At this Peter denied it again.
And immediately the cock crowed.

28 They led Jesus then from the house of Kaiaphas into the praetorium.
Now it was early, and they did not enter the praetorium themselves, in order
that they might be able to eat the paschal lamb instead of being polluted.
29 So Pilate went out to them and says, "What charge do you bring against
30 this man?" They answered and said, "Were this man not a wrongdoer,
31 we would not have delivered him up to thee." Pilate then said to them,
"Take him yourselves and judge him by your law." The Jews said to
32 him, "We have no right to put anyone to death" (that the word which
Jesus had spoken might be fulfilled, when he indicated the kind of death
33 he was to die). Pilate then entered the praetorium once more, and
34 calling Jesus he said to him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus
replied, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell thee about me?"
35 Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Thy nation and the high priests have
36 delivered thee to me. What hast thou done?" Jesus answered, "My
reign is not of this world. Were my reign of this world, my officers
would have fought to prevent me from being delivered to the Jews. But,
37 as it is, my realm is not from hence." Pilate then said to him, "So thou
art a king!" Jesus replied, "Certainly, I am a king. For this have I
been born and for this have I come into the world, to bear witness to the
38 truth. Everyone who is of the truth hears my voice." Pilate says to
him, "Truth! what is truth?" And after saying this he went
out once more to the Jews and says to them, "I cannot discover any
39 crime in him. But you have a custom that at the passover I should
release one man for you. Is it your will then that I release for you the
40 king of the Jews?" At this they cried out again, "Not this man, but
Bar-Abbas!" Now Bar-Abbas was a robber.

19 1, 2 Now after that Pilate took and scourged Jesus. And the soldiers
plaited a wreath out of some thorns and put it on his head; they also
3 arrayed him in a purple robe, and kept going up to him and saying,
4 "Hail, king of the Jews!" giving him blows. And Pilate
once more went outside and says to them, "Look, I am bringing him out
5 to you, to let you know that I cannot discover any crime in him!" So
Jesus came out, wearing the wreath of thorns and the purple robe. And
6 Pilate says to them, "Here is the man!" So, on seeing him, the high
priests and attendants clamoured, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Pilate
says to them, "Take him yourselves and crucify him. As for me, I
7 cannot discover any crime in him." The Jews answered him, "We have
a law, and by the law he ought to die, because he made himself out to be
8 God's son." So when Pilate heard this saying, he was still more afraid;
9 and again he entered the praetorium and says to Jesus, "Whence art
10 thou?" But Jesus made no reply to him. Pilate then says to him,
"Thou wilt not speak to me? Knowest thou not that I have power to release

11 thee and power to crucify thee?" Jesus answered him, "Thou wouldst
have no power at all over me, had it not been given thee from above;
12 therefore he has the greater sin who delivered me to thee." Upon this
Pilate sought to release him; but the Jews kept clamouring, "If thou
dost release this man, thou art no friend of Caesar's: everyone who
13 makes himself out to be a king, is a rebel against Caesar." On hearing
these words then, Pilate brought Jesus outside and sat down on the
tribunal at a place called "The tesselated pavement" (in Hebrew it is
14 "Gabbatha"). Now it was the day of preparation for the passover: it
was about the sixth hour. And he says to the Jews, "Look, it is your
15 king!" At that they clamoured, "Away with him! away with him!
crucify him!" Pilate says to them, "Am I to crucify your king?" The
16 high priests answered, "We have no king but Caesar." Now after that he
delivered him up to them to be crucified.

17 So they took Jesus; and he went out, bearing the cross for himself,
to what is called "The place of a skull" (which in Hebrew is called
18 "Golgotha"), and there they crucified him, and along with him two others,
19 one on each side, Jesus being in the middle. Pilate also wrote a title
and had it put upon the cross; and what was written was, JESUS THE
20 NAZARENE, THE KING OF THE JEWS. This title then was read
by many of the Jews, as the place where Jesus was crucified was near the
21 city, and as the writing was in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. So the high
priests of the Jews said to Pilate, "Write not, 'The King of the Jews';
22 write that 'he said, I am King of the Jews.'" Pilate answered, "What
I have written, I have written."

23 Now when the soldiers had crucified Jesus, they took his garments
and made them into four parts, one part for every soldier. They also
took the tunic. Now the tunic was seamless, woven in one piece from the
24 top. So they said to one another, "Let us not tear it, let us cast lots to
decide whose it is to be"—that the scripture might be fulfilled which says,

They distributed my garments among them,
And over my apparel they cast lots.

25 This then was what the soldiers did. Now beside the cross of Jesus
stood his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Klopas, also
26 Mary of Magdala. So when Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom
he loved standing by, he says to his mother, "Woman, there is thy son!"
27 Then he says to the disciple, "Son, there is thy mother!" And from that
28 hour the disciple took her to his home. After this, aware that
all had now been finished, Jesus says—in order that the scripture might
29 be accomplished—"*I thirst.*" A vessel full of vinegar was lying there.
So they put a sponge full of the *vinegar* upon a lance [1] and held it to his
30 mouth. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, "It is
31 finished." He bent his head and gave up his spirit. As it
was the day of preparation, then, in order to prevent the bodies remaining
upon the cross during the sabbath (for that sabbath-day was a great day),
the Jews asked Pilate to have their legs broken and the bodies taken
32 away. So the soldiers came and broke the legs of the first man, and of
33 the other man who was crucified along with him. However, when they
came to Jesus and saw that he was dead already, they did not break his
34 legs; but one of the soldiers pierced his side with a lance, and im-
35 mediately there came out blood and water. And he who saw it has
borne witness, and his witness is true (yea, he knows he is telling the
36 truth), that you also may believe. For this came to pass that the

[1] Reading ὑσσῷ.

37 scripture might be fulfilled, *No bone of him shall be broken.* And again
another scripture says, *They shall look on him whom they impaled.*
38 Now after this, Joseph of Arimathaea, who was a disciple of Jesus—but
a secret disciple for fear of the Jews—asked Pilate that he might take
away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave him permission. So he went
39 and took away his body; and Nikodemus also went (he who had come to
him at first by night), with about a hundred pounds of myrrh and aloes
40 mixed. So they took and swathed the body of Jesus in linen bandages
41 with the spices, according to the Jewish custom of burial. Now at the
place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new
42 tomb where as yet no man had ever been laid. So on account of the
Jews' day of preparation, seeing that the tomb was close at hand, they
laid Jesus there.

20 1 Now on the first day of the week Mary of Magdala goes to the tomb
very early, when it was still dark, and sees the stone removed from the
2 tomb. So she runs and goes to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple,
whom Jesus loved, and says to them, "They have removed the Lord from
3 the tomb, and we know not where they have laid him." Peter went out
then with the other disciple, and they went on their way to the tomb.
4 They both ran together; but the other disciple ran faster than Peter
5 and reached the tomb first; and on gazing in he sees the linen bandages
6 lying. However he did not go in. Now Simon Peter also comes, following
him; and he went into the tomb, and notices the linen bandages lying,
7 and also that the napkin, which had been upon his head, was not lying
8 with the linen bandages but was wrapped up in a place by itself. Then
the other disciple, who had come to the tomb first, went in and saw and
9 believed. (For as yet they did not know the scripture, that he must rise
10 again from the dead.) Thereupon the disciples went away again to their
11 home. Mary stood outside at the tomb, weeping. Now as she wept, she
12 gazed into the tomb; and she notices two angels in white sitting where
13 the body of Jesus had lain, one at the head and one at the feet. And
they say to her, "Woman, why weepest thou?" She says to them,
"Because they have removed my Lord, and I know not where they have
14 laid him." She said this and turned back; and she notices Jesus
15 standing, yet she did not know it was Jesus. Jesus says to her, "Woman,
why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?" Imagining him to be the
gardener, she says to him, "Sir, if it was thou who didst carry him off,
16 tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." Jesus says
to her, "Mary." She turns and says to him, in Hebrew, "Rabbuni"
17 (that is, "Teacher"). Jesus says to her, "Touch me not, for I have not
ascended yet to the Father; but go to my brothers and say to them: 'I
18 ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.'" Mary
of Magdala goes to the disciples with the news, "I have seen the Lord,"
and that he had said this to her.
19 So when it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and
when the doors at the place where the disciples were had been shut for
fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and says to them,
20 "Peace to you!" And saying this he showed them his hands and his
21 side. Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord. So he[1]
says to them once more, "Peace to you! As the Father has sent me
22 forth, so also am I sending you." And saying this he breathed on them
and says to them, "Receive the holy Spirit;

[1] Omitting [[ὁ Ἰησοῦς]].

23 If you forgive the sins of anyone, they are forgiven;
If you retain them, they are retained."
24 Now Thomas, one of the twelve (that is, "the Twin"), was not with
25 them when Jesus came. So the other disciples told him, "We have seen
the Lord." But he said to them, "Unless I see the mark of the nails in
his hands, and put my finger into the mark of the nails, and put my hand
26 into his side, I will not believe." And after eight days his disciples were
once more within the house, and Thomas with them. Jesus came,
though the doors had been shut, and stood in the midst and said, "Peace
27 to you!" Then he says to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, here are
my hands! Reach thy hand also, and put it into my side; and be not
28 incredulous, but believe." Thomas answered and said to him, "My Lord
29 and my God!" Jesus says to him,
"Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed:
Happy they who have not seen, yet have believed!"

30 Many other signs indeed did Jesus perform in presence of his dis-
31 ciples, which are not written in this book; but these have been written
that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that
believing you may have life in his Name.

THE APPENDIX

21 1 [After this Jesus disclosed himself once more to the disciples at the
2 sea of Tiberias. He disclosed himself in this way. Simon Peter and
Thomas (that is, "the Twin") and Nathanael of Kana in Galilee and the
3 sons of Zebedee and two others of his disciples were together. Simon
Peter says to them, "I am going to fish." They say to him, "We are
coming with thee too." They went out and embarked in the boat, but
4 that night they caught nothing. Now at the break of day Jesus stood
5 upon the beach: however, the disciples did not know it was Jesus. So
Jesus says to them, "Lads, have you caught any fish?" They answered
6 him, "No." And he said to them, "Throw the net on the right side of
the boat, and you shall find something." So they threw the net, and now
7 they could not haul it in for the multitude of fish. That disciple then
whom Jesus loved says to Peter, "It is the Lord." So on hearing it was
the Lord, Simon Peter girt his blouse round him (for he was unclad) and
8 plunged into the sea; meanwhile the other disciples came in the small
boat (for they were not far from the land, but about a hundred yards off)
9 dragging the netful of fish. So when they got ashore, they see a fire of
10 coals laid, and some fish laid on it, and bread. Jesus says to them,
11 "Bring some of the fish you caught just now." Simon Peter then went
on board and hauled the net to land, full of large fish, a hundred and
fifty-three of them; and for all their number, the net was not torn.
12 Jesus says to them, "Come and breakfast." (Now none of the disciples
dared to inquire of him, "Who art thou?" for they knew it was the
13 Lord.) Jesus goes, takes the bread and gives it to them; and so with the
14 fish. This was the third time now, that Jesus was disclosed to the
disciples after he had risen from the dead.
15 So when they had breakfasted, Jesus says to Simon Peter, "Simon,

son of John, lovest thou me more than these do?" He says to him,
"Yes, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee." He says to him, "Feed my
16 lambs." Once more he says to him a second time, "Simon, son of John,
lovest thou me?" He says to him, "Yes, Lord: thou knowest that I
17 love thee." He says to him, "Be a shepherd to my sheep." For the
third time he says to him, "Simon, son of John, lovest thou me?" Peter
was grieved because he said to him, "Lovest thou me?" for the third
time; and he said to him, "Lord, thou knowest all things: thou seest
18 that I love thee." Jesus says to him, "Feed my sheep. Truly, I tell
thee, truly,

When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself and walk where thou didst choose:
But when thou growest old, thou shalt hold out thy hands, and another shall gird thee and bring thee where thou dost not choose."

19 (He said this to indicate the kind of death by which he was to honour
20 God.) And after saying this he says to him, "Follow me." On turning
round, Peter sees the disciple whom Jesus loved, following—the one who
leant back on his breast at the supper and said, "Lord, who is thy
21 betrayer?" So on seeing him Peter says to Jesus, "Lord, and what
22 about this man?" Jesus says to him, "If I choose that he should survive
23 till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me." So this rumour
spread abroad among the brothers, namely, that that disciple was not to
die. Yet Jesus did not tell him he was not to die; he said, "If I choose
that he should survive till I come, what is that to thee?"

24 This is the disciple who bears witness concerning these things and who
has written these things; and his witness, we know, is true.]

25 [[Now there are many other things besides, which Jesus did; were
they written one by one, I suppose that not even the world itself would
have room for the books that would be written.]]

THE LETTERS OF JOHN

For the historical understanding of these letters the data are scanty and ambiguous :—

(*a*) The relative position of the fourth gospel and the first epistle.[1] The remarkable similarities of thought and diction between the two writings indicate a common situation. Both writings are addressed to practically the same condition of things in the Christian community, although they approach it from different sides. The epistle naturally has a more marked polemical tendency than the gospel, and it has been conjectured that the author of the epistle endeavoured in the interests of popular Christianity to recast the ideas of the fourth gospel and thereby introduce them to a wider public.[2] Such a motive and method is quite credible. Whether it involves a dual authorship or not (cp. Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 155–158, and Salmond, *DB*, ii. pp. 737, 738) is a further question, and a question for which no evidence—least of all the stylistic resemblance—supplies a final answer, although probabilities favour unity. At any rate the writing is a product of the Johannine school in Ephesus, a postscript rather than (as *e.g.* Renan and Tolstoi think) a preface to the larger history. Taking the epistle with most (cp. especially Pfleiderer, *Urc.* p. 791 f., and O. Holtzmann, *op. cit.* pp. 166–171, but on other side Bartlet, *AA*, p. 435 f.) as subsequent in time to the gospel, we find that its period lies not earlier than 95–100 A.D. It is the application and reproduction of the Johannine ideas, addressed to some definite and local circle ("non videtur peregre misisse, sed coram impertiisse auditoribus," Bengel), and yet passing beyond these limits to the needs of wider Christendom. Here too, "simple truth" has been "miscalled simplicity." But the verdict is not adequate. Patiently the author turns and repeats his leading themes, like a teacher, with a monotony that wins upon one till it becomes often impressive and—within its own limits—attractive.[3] "The style is not flowing and articulated ; the sentences come like minute-

[1] Exhaustively discussed by Holtzmann, *JpTh* (1881), pp. 690–712, (1882), pp. 316–342, whose arguments are reviewed by Weiss (-Meyer, 1888, *Epp. Joh.* pp. 4–9). The differences are held by numerous critics (*e.g.* in this country S. Davidson, M. Arnold, and Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, pp. 509–512) to be incompatible in a single author. Wendt (*Joh. Erglm.* pp. 158–162) also finds that the resemblances refer to the source, not to the editor of the fourth gospel.

[2] Cp. Schmiedel, *EWK*, II. 34, p. 368. The absence of title or greeting gives this anonymous writing the appearance of a homily, or set of homilies, addressed to an intimate circle ; but there is no evidence to show that the readers owed their Christian faith to the author.

[3] Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 317, 318. "His whole spiritual work is a contemplative sinking of himself in a small circle of great truths." At the same time, in comparison with the preceding and the subsequent letters of the NT, there is no denying that in 1 John the range of interest and ideas is limited if not meagre, and that the treatment is frequently tautological, although the style often approaches limpidity and the conceptions grandeur.

guns, as they would drop from a natural Hebrew. The writer moves indeed amidst that order of religious ideas which meets us in the fourth gospel, and which was that of the Greek world wherein he found himself. He moves amongst these new ideas, however, not with the practical felicity of the evangelist, but with something of helplessness, although the depth and serene beauty of his spirit give to all he says an infinite impressiveness and charm" (Arnold).

(*b*) The evidence of the errors [1] presupposed (1 Jn 4^6 2^{18} 2^{22}). As in the case of the fourth gospel, these have been variously and vaguely interpreted as dualism, doketism, Gnostic, Basilidian, and Montanist tendencies, etc. Consequently 140–150 A.D. has been taken as the period of the first epistle's composition (*e.g.* by Pfleiderer, *Urc.* p. 790 f.), owing to the supposed development of Gnostic errors. The comparative absence of emphasis upon the personalities of the Logos and the Spirit is probably due, upon this theory, to the monarchian dread of approximating to the Gnostic aeons which swarmed between man and the Divine being. After the results reached in regard to the gospel, however, it is unnecessary to look for any period later than the opening decade of the second century, since the religious and moral atmosphere of the one writing is essentially that of the other. Among the incipient forms of the Cerinthian heresy the epistle is accordingly to be placed. So most of the recent editors; Westcott, Haupt, Weiss, Plummer (*CGT*).[2] The two main features of heresy against which the writer sets up the true faith, spring from a loosened hold of the historical tradition; they are (i.) the denial of the divine sonship of the incarnate (4^2) Jesus, and (ii.) a practical libertinism which, as in the later pastoral epistles, was marked by antinomian principles. This false and speculative teaching, with its Christological basis and ethical (3^4) consequences, forms the occasion for the positive statement of Christianity as a body of truth based on tradition and experience, that is conveyed in the pages of this anonymous epistle. The writer, too, like the later author of James, has to face an abuse of Pauline ideas, which failed to maintain the vital connection between uprightness by faith and the exercise of uprightness in moral acts (2^{29} 3^{10} 3^{17} *f*).

The second and third letters are even more elusive than the first. Both spring from the same school of thought and feeling, if not from the

[1] Internal dangers not external persecutions are the topic that absorbs the writer. On other grounds it is highly probable, if not certain, that the epistle falls later than the period covered by the Domitian persecution; but it is scarcely safe to argue that it must have been "written in a time of peace as it contains no allusion to" any such rough experiences (*BI*, p. 454). The cast of the writer's idealism makes it unlikely that he would have cared to notice such temporal and outward circumstances. His interests are elsewhere and higher; his atmosphere is too rarified for such sublunary concerns. The esoteric tone of the gospel is in fact reproduced here, along with a broad and denationalised interest. "It is the view of a temper wrapped in itself, a view which could satisfy and promote the quiet life of an isolated community, but could not render possible the task involved in the grand mission to the world. For that it had no taste" (Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. p. 297).

[2] Cp. Haring *Th.t* (1892), pp. 173–200, besides Weiss, *INT*, ii. pp. 175–197 (and in *Meyer*), and Keim, i. p. 200 f. ("The epistle and the gospel are the evident, acute, and comprehensive answer to this Cerinthus"). On the curious attempt (Jn 19^{34}, 1 Jn 5^{6-8}) at a semi-mystical allegorising of baptism, after the Philonic pattern, which is common to both writings, cp. Abbott. *EB*, article "Gospels," pp. 828–830: "It reveals an exaggerated notice of the importance of baptism by water, against which the author feels compelled to contend." But it is also a bit of polemic against Cerinthus and the school of John the Baptist, who laid excessive stress upon the baptism of Jesus.

same author;[1] and both also are unpretending notes evidently subsequent to 1 John, whether they were written by the apostle, or—as was widely and early felt in the church (Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 3)—by the Presbyter John. The doctrinal and ecclesiastical circumstances which they reflect have suggested 130–140 A.D. as the date of their origin. So Hilgenfeld (*Einl.* pp. 682–694), Holtzmann (*HC*, IV. 2, pp. 268, 272), and Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. 239), who reckon the epistles as products of the Johannine school which were composed about the time when the great Gnostic systems began to rise. But this is to interpret far too rigidly their occasional references. Their atmosphere is similar to, though less developed than, that of the "pastorals"; so much at least can be traced in their incidental allusions. Also, the similarity of ecclesiastical life to that portrayed in the Didachê (*c.* 130 A.D.) becomes significant only when it is remembered that the latter implies a system which has been in existence for some time previously. The letters may be put, therefore, into the opening decades of the century[2] when that system was in process of consolidation (J. Réville, *Les origines de l'Épiscop.* pp. 204–208).

The emphasis in the second epistle is on doctrine. But the false teaching which is insidiously permeating the church is apparently none other than that already controverted in the first epistle. Although the third epistle is addressed to an individual, the second seems to imply a community veiled under the semi-poetic, semi-playful title of "the elect Lady." The tenor of the counsels suits the circumstances of those who were the members (or "children") of this church, in their exposure to heresy and uncharitableness. Evidently, ultra-spiritualism was also one of the dangers of that critical period. Its failure to do justice to the historical basis of the faith had to be corrected by a sharp recall to the apostolic tradition in which that basis was preserved.

In the third epistle, again, the organisation of the church comes into greater prominence. If Harnack's ingenious theory[3] be correct in the main, it is a ray of light upon the passage of the early church from the earlier and undeveloped state of primitive itinerant preachers to one where the more settled order of monarchical bishops (like Diotrephes) and church-officials was assuming control; though in some aspects Diotrephes seems

[1] Réville (*loc. cit.*) remarks: "Il faut se représenter la coexistence de ces courants intellectuels différents dans les petits cercles mystiques de l'Asie-Mineure grecque, de la même façon que s'associent, dans certaines sociétés mystiques de la fin du moyen âge, le légalisme monastique et la plus large indépendence à l'égard de la théologie ecclésiastique officielle." Eusebius (*HE*, IV. 22) mentions a certain Theobutis (Thebutis) who, according to Hegesippus, corrupted a pure church (παρθένον) with his teaching (ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις), owing to anger at missing a bishopric. A prototype or comrade of Diotrephes! Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 302–306), I observe, agrees that the two smaller epistles are due to one hand; he is not sure if this writer also wrote the first epistle, but in any case it was not the author of the gospel. There is really no reason, however, to doubt the obvious fact—noticed long ago by Erasmus and Grotius, and amply confirmed by modern criticism—that these notes are to be relegated to John the presbyter.

[2] Adeney (*BI*, pp. 455–458), like Weiss and Westcott, puts them towards the end of the first century, a position which is of course necessary if they are ascribed to John the apostle. Zahn goes even earlier, to the 9th decade of the first century (*Einl.* ii. pp. 576–582), and is followed by Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 418–433).

[3] Cp. *TU*, XV. 3. "Es ist der Kampf der alten patriarchalischen und provinzialen Missionsorganization gegen die sich konsolidierende Einzelgemeinde, die zum Zweck ihrer Konsolidierung und strengen Abschliessung nach aussen den monarchischen Episkopat aus ihrer Mitte hervortreibt" (p. 21); also *HD*, i. p. 213 f. But see reviews by Baldensperger (*Prolog.* p. 148), Krüger (*ZwTh*, 1898, pp. 307–311), and Hilgenfeld (*Ibid.* 316–320).

more like the champion of the old order. It is at any rate the private note of an ecclesiastic, varying from irate criticism of an influential rival to generous approval of his correspondent's hospitality and character. Official rights are in the air, and here as in Clem. Rom. (13–15) their possessors insist upon deference. Order and unity are the object of desire within the church, as the Ignatian epistles clearly indicate, although the origin of this movement to hegemony (Palestinian Jewish Christianity, or Asiatic Hellenism) remains far from clear.

Questions of authorship [1] and object apart, however, the three Johannine epistles undoubtedly follow in the wake of the fourth gospel. It is safest to print them immediately after it, as the epistles themselves are so isolated in the NT that they fail to furnish evidence [2] which would enable us to determine their relative position with any more definiteness, from literary affinities with the subsequent records. There is equally little evidence for the supposition that the first epistle was composed after the others.

Evidence for the late stage of development in the apostolic consciousness is furnished incidentally by the use of the collective name ἀντίχριστος. The word, while evidently a familiar term and implying a tradition (1 Jn $4^{3.\ 6}$, ἀκηκόατε), only occurs—and that figuratively—in 1–2 Jn (cp. the quotation and commentary in Polyk. *Ad Philip.* vii.). From denoting, as in 2 Thess and Apoc 13, 17 (probably earlier portions of the book), a personage or world-power, primarily Jewish and secondarily pagan, the idea has become that of a principle, *i.e.* the Gnostic denial of Jesus' true humanity. This heresy [3] (a spirit, 1 Jn 4^3) may again be represented in numerous individuals. These exponents of the idea become "antichrists," as they oppose and displace Christ, by their belief in other divine powers, idolatrous and untrue (vide Baldensperger, *Prolog.* pp. 145–147). In the crisis and change which mark the opening of the second century, this untoward result has already taken place within the sphere of Christianity (καὶ νῦν . . . ἤδη). The "great" church is being driven to the verge of a distinction between the visible and the invisible *ecclesia* (2 Ti 2^{20}). Her increasing self-consciousness demands that the cleavage (Jn 17^9, 1 Jn 5^{16}, 2 Jn 10) be recognised between herself and the heretics of the day. Through her communion, founded on apostolic tradition (1 Jn 1^{1-5} 4^6), communion with God is alone possible for men.

From the point of historical interest, then, these writings help incidentally to corroborate (1 Jn 1^{1-4}, 2 Jn 12) the traditional theory that even alongside of the written gospels oral teaching with its systematic catechism [4] kept a tenacious existence and supplemented the records, just

[1] 2 and 3 John were in all likelihood written by John the presbyter, as Jerome admits. 1 John at any rate cannot have been written by the man who wrote Apoc. 2, 3. The contrast between concrete pregnant advice and abstract review is fatal to identity of authorship.

[2] 2 Jn 7 is too vague to be taken as a reflection of the Domitianic persecution. It could have been written at almost any time after 65 A.D.

[3] The evidence for the existence of a party who perverted Paulinism (1 Jo 3^7, etc.) within the church, is scarcely adequate, although the fact is perfectly probable. The main issues of Paul's epoch are of course ancient history to this writer.

[4] "There must be, we admit, a fairly constant impact. A wandering voice will not fill the mind, it will prove like a fine symphony heard once and then only faintly remembered. . . . But, given a long-continued and sustained personal influence over receptive minds, we think that the power of the living voice as an organ of reason cannot be dispensed with or surpassed" (*Spectator*, March 1899, p. 411, "On the Living Voice and the Printed Page"). Cp. Zahn, *GK*, i. p. 840 f., on oral tradition and the gospels. An interesting instance in Pliny's *Epp.* ii. 3.

as the use of stone implements (Réville) persisted after the discovery and employment of various metals. Through all the Johannine epistles stress falls not on the appeal to scripture or the sayings of Jesus, but on the authority and personality of the writer conveyed usually *vivâ voce* and specially in writing, as well as on tradition (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) and the spiritual conscience. Individually, the notes have a certain distinctiveness. In the first epistle[1] the atmosphere is the antinomian Gnosticism and libertine tendencies of the second century. Between the epistle and the gospel there is a manifest identity of phrases and ideas, and although the former has its own characteristics, these are not psychologically incompatible with the unity of authorship. They are explicable upon the supposition that some years later the author of the gospel had occasion to re-state in another and more polemical form some of his convictions and principles in view of a more developed situation. His main concern is with the inward errors and dangers which were in operation (4[6]) throughout the Christian society in regard to the person of Christ and the moral obligations of faith;[2] the extension and organisation of the church are not upon his horizon. The unimportant, homely notes which have been preserved under the titles 2 and 3 John have quite an ecclesiastical tinge. Evidently they were written by some one familiar with the Johannine circle of ideas, but fortunately their date does not depend upon their authorship. Their world is the world of 1 John, partially of the "pastoral epistles," and they afford but a glimpse into one corner of that world. Like drops of water under a microscope, these tiny letters nevertheless can be made to disclose a teeming activity of life, though it is limited withal and comparatively speaking petty.

[1] Cp. a lucid article by A. Zahn (*Wanderungen durch Schrift und Geschichte*, 1891, pp. 3–74) on the conception of sin in the first epistle of John, especially chap. i., with Wiesinger's analysis of the book in *SK* (1899), pp. 575–581, and Karl's paragraphs (*Johan. Studien*, I. 1898, pp. 97–104).

[2] Häring, *ThA*, pp, 187–200. Evidently the church has been able to shed off the unsound members of her communion (1 Jn 2[19] 4[4]). But the state of matters corroborates the impression of trouble with the Asiatic churches which is left by the earlier record in Ac 20[29. 30].

I. JOHN

1 John is a writing meant to controvert an antinomian Gnosticism. It is a defence of that true Gnosis, which upon the one hand finds in the incarnate Son of God the full knowledge of God and all that pertains to that knowledge (even life eternal), while upon the other hand it feels the need of breaking with sin and showing love; nor can it urge too often against the pride of the so-called "spirituals," that what we possess in religion and morals is a gift of God. Every sentence of our epistle is in aid of such a defence. The author never thinks he has brought forward sufficient arguments. Over and again he comes back to what he has already handled, nor does he fear to contradict himself. Indeed, he brings out from his world of thought whatever will be of service in this battle against moral and religious anarchy, doing so not for its own sake, but simply as he can make use of it in order to strengthen the confidence of his readers in anti-Gnostic Christianity. There is a striking connection between 1 John and the gospel of John, which is explained with the greatest probability when the epistle is regarded as a later composition of the evangelist. His reason for allowing it to follow the earlier work was not to present the main thoughts of that great predecessor in a popular form, or to express them over again as propositions that could be remembered. It was because his gospel and conceptions of Christianity were seriously threatened now by Gnostics, who frankly made a partial use of his formulas to recommend themselves to the ignorant, and indeed found many points in his own views with which they coincided. In composing his defence, he chose the form of an "epistle," which, thanks to Paul, had come into high favour; but this did not materially alter his own style.—**Jülicher.**

1^{1-4} **Introduction:** fellowship with God and man.

1^{5}–2^{17} **Light and darkness:** the conditions of fellowship—
the forgiveness of sins.
the commandment of love.

2^{18-29} **Truth and falsehood:** the dangers of fellowship—
the spirit of antichrist.

3^{1-12} **Children of God and children of the devil:** the character of fellowship—
sinlessness and love.

3^{13}–5^{12} **Brotherly love:** resulting in, confidence towards God.
4^{1-6} moral and spiritual insight.
4^{7-21} union with God.
5^{1-12} based upon faith in the Son of God—the victory of faith.

5^{13-21} **Epilogue:** a résumé.

I. JOHN

1 1 That which was from the beginning:
which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,
which we looked on, and our hands handled:
concerning the word of life—
2 yea, the life was disclosed,
and we have seen and bear witness, and bring word to you of the life eternal,
which was with the Father
and was disclosed to us—
3 of that which we have seen and heard we bring word to you as well,
that you also may have fellowship with us:
yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.
4 And these things we write,
that our joy may be complete.

5 And the message which we have learned from him and disclose to you is this:
"God is light, and in him is no darkness at all."
6 If we say, "We have fellowship with him," and walk in the darkness,
We lie and we do not practise the truth;
7 But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light,
We have fellowship one with another,
And the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin.
8 If we say, "We have no sin,"
We lead ourselves astray,
And the truth is not in us.
9 If we confess our sins,
Faithful is he and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity.
10 If we say, "We have not sinned,"
We make him a liar,
And his word is not in us.
2 1 My little children, these things I write to you
That you may not sin.
Yet if anyone sins,
We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the upright.
2 And he is the propitiation for our sins,
Yet not for ours only, but also for the whole world.
3 And hereby we know that we know him,
If we keep his commandments.
4 He who says, "I know him," and keeps not his commandments,
Is a liar, and the truth is not in him:

5 But whoever keeps his word,
God's love has really been perfected in him.
Hereby we know we are in him:
6 He who says he "remains in him," is bound also to walk himself even as he walked.

7 Beloved, I write no new commandment to you, but an old commandment which you have had from the beginning:
The old commandment is the word which you have learned.
8 Again I write a new commandment to you,
Namely, that which is true in him and in you:
For the darkness is passing away, and already the true light shines.
9 He who says he is "in the light," and yet hates his brother, is still in the darkness:
10 He who loves his brother remains in the light, and in him there is no pitfall.
11 But he who hates his brother is in the darkness, and walks in the darkness, and knows not where he is going, because the darkness has blinded his eyes.
12 Little children, I write to you,
Because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake:
13 Fathers, I write to you,
Because you know him who is from the beginning:
Young men, I write to you,
Because you have conquered the evil one.
Little children, I have written to you,
Because you know the Father:
14 Fathers, I have written to you,
Because you know him who is from the beginning:
Young men, I have written to you
Because you are strong, and the word of God remains in you, and you have conquered the evil one.
15 Love not the world, nor yet what is in the world:
If any man loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him.
16 For all that is in the world,
The desire of the flesh, the desire of the eyes, the proud glory of life,
Is not of the Father but is of the world;
17 And the world is passing away with its desire,
But he who obeys the will of God remains for ever.

18 Little ones, it is the last hour;
And as you have heard that "antichrist is coming," many antichrists have appeared even now.
Hence we know it is the last hour.
19 From us they went out, but of us they were not:
Had they been of us, they would have remained with us,
But they went out, to make it plain that they were none of us.
20 And you have an anointing from the holy One, and you all have knowledge:
21 I have not written to you because you do not know the truth, but because you know it, and because no lie is of the truth.
22 Who is the liar if not he who denies that Jesus is the Christ?
The denier of the Father and of the Son, he is the antichrist.

23 Whoever denies the Son, has not the Father:
He who confesses the Son has the Father also.
24 Let that remain in you which you have learned from the beginning:
If what you have learned from the beginning remain in you, you also shall remain in the Son and in the Father;
25 And this is the promise which he has given us, the life eternal.
26 I have written to you thus concerning those who lead you astray:
27 Yet as for you, the anointing you received from him remains in you, and you have no need of anyone to teach you.
Nay,[1] his anointing teaches you concerning all things, and is true, and is no lie;
And even as it has taught you, you remain in him.
28 And now, little children, remain in him,
That we may have confidence when he is disclosed,
And not shrink from him in shame, at his arrival.
29 As you know that he is upright,
You know that every one who practises uprightness is born of him.
3 1 Look, what a love the Father has given to us, that we should be called "children of God"; and children of God we are.
The world knows us not, for this reason, that it knew not him.
2 Beloved, we are children of God now;
Yet what we shall be has not yet been disclosed.
When he is disclosed, we know we shall be like him,
For we shall see him even as he is.
3 And every one who sets this hope on him
Purifies himself, even as he is pure.
4 Anyone who commits sin commits lawlessness also;
Yea, sin is lawlessness.
5 And you know that he was disclosed to take away sins,
And in him is no sin.
6 Anyone who abides in him sins not:
Anyone who sins has neither seen him nor known him.
7 Little children, let no one lead you astray—
He who practises uprightness is upright,
Even as God is upright:
8 He who commits sin is of the devil,
For the devil has sinned from the beginning.
For this the Son of God was disclosed,
To destroy the deeds of the devil.
9 Anyone born of God commits no sin,
Because his Birth remains in him:
Yea, he cannot sin,
Because he is born of God.
10 Herein the children of God and the children of the devil are to be recognised.
Anyone who does not practise uprightness is not of God,
Nor is he who loves not his brother.
11 For the message you have learned from the beginning is this:
That we should love one another.
12 Not as Kain was of the evil one,
And slew his brother.
And for what reason did he slay him?
Because his own deeds were evil, and his brother's upright.

[1] Reading ἀλλά.

13 Marvel not, brothers, that the world hates you :
14 We know we have passed from death into life,
Because we love the brothers.
He who loves not, remains in death :
15 Every one who hates his brother is a manslayer,
And you know that no manslayer has life eternal remaining in him.
16 Hereby we know love, because he laid down his life for us :
And we are bound to lay down our lives for the brothers.
17 But whoever has this world's resources, and observes his brother in need,
yet shuts up his compassion from him,
How is the love of God to remain in him ?
18 Little children, let us not love with word or with the tongue,
But in deed and truth.
19 Hereby [1] we shall know that we are of the truth,
And so reassure our hearts before him.
20 For, if our heart condemn us,
It is plain that God is greater than our heart, and knows all things.
21 Beloved, if our heart condemn us not,
We have confidence towards God,
22 And whatever we ask we receive from him,
Because we keep his commandments, and do what is pleasing in his sight.
23 And his commandment is this :
That we should believe the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, even as he gave us a commandment.
24 And he who keeps his commandments remains in him, and he in him.
And hereby we know he remains in us, by the Spirit which he gave us.

4 1 Beloved, believe not every spirit,
But test whether the spirits are of God ;
Because many false prophets have gone out into the world.
2 Know the spirit of God by this :—
Every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh,
Is of God ;
3 And every spirit which confesses not Jesus,
Is not of God.
Yea, this is the spirit of the antichrist which you heard was coming,
And at this moment it is already in the world.
4 You are of God, little children, and you have conquered them ;
Because he who is in you is greater than he who is in the world.
5 They are of the world,
Therefore of the world they speak, and to them the world listens.
6 We are of God :
He who knows God listens to us,
He who is not of God listens not to us.
Hereby we know the spirit of truth
And the spirit of error.
7 Beloved, let us love one another :—
For love is of God,
And every one who loves is born of God and knows God :
8 He who loves not knows not God,
For God is love.

[1] Omitting [[καί]].

9 Herein the love of God was manifested for us,
That God sent his only Son into the world, that we might live through him.
10 Herein is love: not that we loved God but that he loved us,
And sent his Son as the propitiation for our sins.
11 Beloved, if God loved us so,
Then we are bound to love one another.
12 As for God, no one has ever beheld him.
If we love one another,
God remains in us and in us his love is perfected:
13 Hereby we know that we remain in him and he in us,
Because he has given us of his Spirit.
14 And we have beheld and bear witness
That the Father sent the Son as the saviour of the world.
15 Whoever shall confess that "Jesus is the Son of God,"
God remains in him and he in God.
16 And we know and have believed the love God has for us:
God is love,
And he who remains in love remains in God, and God remains in him.
17 Herein love is perfected with us,
That we have confidence at the day of judgment;
For even as he is, so are we in this world.
18 In love there is no fear:
Nay, perfect love casts out fear;
For fear goes with punishment,
And he who fears is not perfected in love.
19 We love, because he first loved us.
20 If anyone says, "I love God," and yet hates his brother,
He is a liar;
For he who loves not his brother whom he has seen,
Cannot love God whom he has not seen.
21 And we have this commandment from him,
That he who loves God love his brother also.

5 1 Every one who believes that Jesus is the Christ,
Is born of God.
And every one who loves him who begat,
Loves him [1] who is born of him.
2 Hereby we know that we love the children of God,
When we love God and obey his commandments;
3 For the love of God is this,
That we keep his commandments.
And his commandments are not heavy,
4 Because whatsoever is born of God conquers the world;
Yea, this is the conquest that has conquered the world,
Even our faith.
5 Who is the conqueror of the world?
Who but he that believes Jesus is the Son of God?
6 This is he, Jesus Christ, who came through water and blood,
Not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood.
And it is the Spirit that is witness,
Because the Spirit is the truth.

[1] Omitting καί.

7, 8 For the witnesses are three, the Spirit and the water and the blood,
And the three are at one.
9 If we receive the evidence of men, the evidence of God is greater;
For the evidence of God is this, that he has borne evidence concerning his Son.
10 He who believes on the Son of God
Carries the evidence within himself:
He who believes not God
Has made him a liar,
Because he has not believed in the evidence which God has borne concerning his Son.
11 And the evidence is this,
That God gave us life eternal, and this life is in his Son:
12 He who has the Son has the life,
He who has not the Son of God has not the life.

13 These things I have written to you who believe on the name of the Son of God,
That you may know you have life eternal.
14 And the confidence we have towards him is this,
That if we ask anything according to his will, he listens to us;
15 And if we know he listens to us, in whatever we ask,
We know that we have the requests we have asked from him.
16 If anyone sees his brother committing a sin which is not to death,
He shall ask and so give life to him—to those who sin not to death.
There is a sin to death;
I do not say he is to pray about that.
17 All iniquity is sin;
Yet there is a sin not to death.
18 We know that anyone born of God sins not:
Nay, He who was born of God keeps him,
And the evil one touches him not.
19 We know that we are of God,
And the whole world lies in the power of the evil one.
20 But we know that the Son of God has come,
And has given us understanding to know him who is real,
And we are in him who is real, in his Son Jesus Christ.
Here is the real God and life eternal.
21 Little children, keep yourselves clear of idols.

All points to a period which had to do, not merely with the beginnings of Gnosis, but with the doctrines of the great Gnostics. The Johannine tradition was now defending itself with all its energy against this phase of a speculation which had drawn its support from its own teaching. The second letter of John is neither more nor less than a short extract from the first; it has an external motive, and is addressed to a definite, though unknown, church. Trouble threatened the church from the Gnostic teaching which is now combated.—**Weizsäcker.**

[1-3] Greeting.

[4-11] Counsel of love and warning against errorists.

[12-13] Farewell.

II. JOHN

1 The presbyter
to the choice Lady and her children, whom I sincerely love—and
2 not I alone, but also all who know the truth—for the sake of the truth
which remains in us, and with us it shall be for ever:
3 With us shall be grace, mercy, peace, from God the Father and from
Jesus Christ the Son of the Father, in truth and love.
4 I was overjoyed to find some of thy children walking in truth, even
5 as we received commandment from the Father. And now I entreat thee,
Lady, not as though I wrote thee a new commandment—nay, it is the
commandment which we had from the beginning, that we love one an-
6 other. And love is this, that we walk after his commandments; this is
the commandment, even as you have learned from the beginning, for you to
7 walk in. For many impostors have gone out into the world, men who do
not confess Jesus Christ as coming in the flesh; there is "the impostor,"
8 there "the antichrist." Look to yourselves, that you lose not what you
have worked for, but that you receive a full reward.
9 Every one who is "advanced" and does not remain by the teaching
of the Christ,
Has not God:
He who remains by the teaching,
He has both the Father and the Son.
10 If anyone comes to you and brings not this teaching, receive him not
11 into the house nor give him any greeting; for he who gives him greeting
has a share in his evil deeds.
12 I have many things to write to you, but I do not mean to use paper
and ink; I hope to be with you, and to speak face to face, so that our[1]
joy may be complete.
13 The children of thy choice Sister salute thee.

[1] Reading ἡμῶν.

The great interest of this epistle lies in the insight which it gives us into the ordinary life of the Christian communities of those early times and this wide Asiatic territory. . . . It shows us something of their independence, of the kind of ministry that was in exercise among them, and their relation to it, of their order also and administration. It seems to mark a notable stage in the growth of the church and the history of its organisations. It discloses a condition of things like that with which the *Didachê* has made us familiar. It places us at the point of transition from the apostolic to the post-apostolic, from the primitive simplicity to a more developed constitution.—**S. D. F. Salmond.**

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[1] Greeting.

[2-4] Praise of Gaius' character and

[5-8] . . . . hospitality.

[9-12] Warning against Diotrephes.

Commendation of Demetrius.

[13-14] Farewell.

III. JOHN

1 THE presbyter
to Gaius the beloved, whom I sincerely love.
2 Beloved, it is my desire that in all respects thou mayest prosper and
3 be in health, even as thy soul prospers. I was overjoyed at the coming
of brothers who bore witness to thy truth, even as thou art walking in
4 truth. I have no greater joy than to hear of my own children walking
5 in the truth. Beloved, in any work of thine for those who are brothers,
6 aye and strangers, thou art acting faithfully; they have borne witness
before the Community to thy love, and thou wilt do well to speed them
7 on their journey in a manner worthy of God. For it is for the Name's
sake that they have gone out, not accepting anything from the heathen.
8 We are bound, then, to support such people, that we may show ourselves
fellow-workers with the truth.
9 I have written something to the Community; but Diotrephes, who
10 loves to domineer among them, repudiates us. Therefore, when I come,
I will recall the works he is doing, as he babbles against us with evil
words; and, not satisfied with that, he refuses a welcome to the brothers
himself, prevents those who would give it, and expels them from the
Community.
11 Beloved, imitate not what is wrong but what is right.
He who does what is right, is of God:
He who does what is wrong, has not seen God.
12 Demetrius has witness borne him from all and from the truth itself:
yes, and we bear witness also, and thou knowest that our witness is true.
13 I had many things to write to thee, but I am unwilling to write to
14 thee with ink and pen. I hope, however, to see thee immediately, and we
shall speak face to face.
Peace to thee.
The friends salute thee.
Salute the friends by name.

A FRAGMENT OF EVANGELIC TRADITION [Mk 16$^{9-20}$]

This interesting and detached fragment is to be dated probably within a century after the resurrection, somewhere in the first quarter of the second century. Its regular place in the MSS is at the close of Mark's gospel, which it was evidently designed to supplement.[1] That it did not form the original close to that work, is a conclusion which may be regarded as impregnable.[2] The two points for serious discussion are (*a*) its date, including the question of authorship, and (*b*) the resultant critical question with regard to Mark's gospel. Whether it was originally composed for its present place in the gap (Brückner), or existed independently in whole or part, can scarcely be determined upon the evidence at our command, though the latter is the more probable hypothesis.

(*a*) The date of the fragment has been recently connected with its authorship by Mr. F. C. Conybeare (*Exp.*[4] viii. p. 241 f., and *Exp.*[5] ii. p. 401 f.). From a recently discovered Armenian codex (of 986 A.D.) containing after ἐφοβ. γάρ the verses 9–20, preceded by the words "Ariston Eritzou" (= of the presbyter Ariston) in red uncials, he inferred that the Ariston or Aristion mentioned there was the Christian of the same name mentioned in Eusebius (*HE*, III. 39. 4) as one of the teachers of Papias, and along with the presbyter John as a disciple of the Lord. This is a conjecture which has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by Harnack, Swete (ed. of *Mark*, 1898, pp. xcvi–cv), Eck (*Preussiche Jahrbücher*, 1898, pp. 40–43), and Sanday (*DB*, ii. pp. 638, 639). It is curious that Papias

[1] The "shorter conclusion" printed in most critical editions of the text is poorly attested, and does not fall to be noticed here. As to the origin of [Mk 16$^{9-20}$], there is just a possibility that it formed the close of some narrative of the resurrection, based upon apostolic tradition, the opening of which has been irretrievably lost. Zahn (*GK*, i. p. 922 n.) thinks of the Teaching or Preaching of Peter as a possible source or contemporary document.

[2] All that can, together with a good deal that cannot, be said in favour of the passage and its authenticity, may be seen by the curious in Burgon's well-known treatise (*The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1871). Critical data in Zahn, *GK*, ii. pp. 910–938, and Tischendorf, *NT* (8th ed.), i. pp. 403–407. Apart from the usual editions (cp. recently Swete, pp. xcvi–cv) and Introductions (particularly Zahn, ii. pp. 227–240), there is a popular and frank summary of the case in Abbott's *Common Tradition*, pp. xviii–xxiii, gathering up the cumulative argument from (*a*) textual criticism, (*b*) style, the absence of Marcan characteristics and the presence of unMarcan expressions, and (*c*) internal contents. Literature in *DB*, iii. pp. 252, 253.

Harnack points out (*TU*, XII. 1) that Jerome (*c. Pelag.* II. 15) found in some codices between verses 14 and 15 the following passage (in quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in Graecis Codd.):—"Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub satana (Codd. substantia) est, qui (Codd. quae) non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem, idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam."

should not have mentioned the circumstance, and it is also strange that Aristion should have taken the trouble to compile so second-hand and loose a narrative.[1] Still it may have actually come from his *διηγήσεις* (cf. Lk 1^1), in which case its date would be towards the beginning of the second century or slightly later. Resch (*TU*, x. 2, pp. 449–456; *ThSt*, pp. 109, 110) suggests Ariston of Pella as the author, a Jewish-Christian presbyter who—on Resch's very shaky hypothesis—edited the first canon of the gospels, *c.* 140 A.D. For less conjectural reasons, Warfeld dates the fragment not later than the first thirty years of the second century. He imagines that it was taken, along with the pericopê Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, from the book of illustrations of the gospel narrative composed by Papias, *c.* 120 A.D. (*Textual Criticism of the NT*, pp. 199–205). Rohrbach, again, conjectures 110–120 A.D. as the period when the incomplete gospel was furnished in Asia Minor with its unauthentic conclusion, at the same time as the appendix (21), in which that conclusion was used, was added to the fourth gospel.

Here as elsewhere, however, while there is plenty of good argument to prove that the passage is an interpolation, signs fail for its date. Further, it must be borne in mind that a passage may have existed in written form before it was inserted in its present place in the MSS, as is the case with the Homeric catalogue of the troops in the second book of the *Iliad* (lines 484–877); also, that it represents in all likelihood a tradition older than itself. Relatively, indeed, limits can be fixed within which it must lie. The fragment presupposes Luke ($\left(\text{cp. } \begin{matrix} 12\text{–}13 \text{ with Luke } 24^{13\text{-}33} \\ 17\text{–}18 \text{ with Ac } 2^{1\text{-}13}\ 28^{3\text{-}6} \end{matrix}\right)$),[2] if not John. It is an echo of the preceding traditions, inserted at the close of Mark by an early editor in order to supplement the defective resurrection-narrative.[3] Upon the other side, if its use can be traced in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 45), a *terminus ad quem* would be established. The evidence for this, however, is too indefinite.[4]

[1] So much so that Zahn, who had already (*GK*, i. p. 913 f.) referred vers. 15, 16 to an extra-canonical source, now prefers to confine Aristion's share to vers. 14–18. He appeals, in confirmation of this, to the marginal gloss written by a Scholiast in Rufinus's translation of Eusebius, which quotes Aristion's authority for a story of Justus, surnamed Bar-Sabbas (Ac 1^{23}), who miraculously recovered after drinking some deadly poison (= Mk 16^{18}). Bacon (*Journ. Bibl. Lit.* 1898, pp. 176–183) now conjectures that Papias's description of Aristion and John the presbyter as disciples *τοῦ κυρίου* originally read *τούτων* (*i.e.* *τῶν ἀποστόλων*). In any case the oral tradition from which a fragment like this sprang, must have been exposed to contamination. Even Papias was tainted with millenarianism, and we may be sure this penchant was not in conflict with the teaching of the elders upon whom he leaned so heavily and from whom he repeated legendary tales like that of Justus Bar-Sabbas and his poison, besides *ξένας τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα*, if we can trust the unsympathetic notice of Eusebius (*HE*, III. 39).

[2] Add Jn $20^{1\text{-}18}$ + Lk 8^2 = Mk $16^{9\text{-}11}$, while vers. 19, 20 are a colourless review of previous apostolic history (Lk $24^{50.\ 51}$, Ac $1^{9\text{-}11}$). I do not see any convincing evidence for the use of Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$ in Jn 21.

[3] I append a table, re-arranged from Loofs (*Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, 1898), to bring out the rôle of this fragment in the cycle and growth of the resurrection stories. The correct inference from these in general is that the tradition was largely fluid and for a long time indeterminate, while the Galilaean appearances do not rest upon very adequate historical evidence. For a more conservative statement, cp. Beyschlag, *SK* (1899), pp. 507–539, and Schwartzkopff, *Prophecies of Jesus Christ*, pp. 87–124.

[4] Dr. C. Taylor (*Exp.*[4] viii. pp. 71–80, argues for such a use even earlier, in Barnabas and Clem. Rom., but the evidence is far from conclusive. The same holds true of the gospel of Peter. It is a disputed point whether the resurrection narrat

[*Continued on page* 553.

"A fact so stupendous as the Resurrection needs to be supported by strong evidence, and very strong evidence both as regards quantity and quality is forthcoming; but all parts of it are not of equal value, and it is well that the authorities should be compared with each other and critically estimated. . . . Whichever way we turn, difficulties meet us, which the documents to which we have access do not enable us to remove."—**Sanday.**

JERUSALEM

1 Cor 15. (No locality mentioned.)	Mark.	Matthew.	Luke.	John.	(Mark—Appendix).	Gospel of Peter.	Gospel of Hebrews. (No locality mentioned.)
	Mary Magd. Mary the mother of James, and Salomé	Mary Magd. and the other Mary	Mary Magd. Joanna, Mary the mother of James	Mary Magd.		Mary Magd. and her friends	
	find grave empty	find grave empty	find grave empty	finds grave empty Peter and the other disciple find grave empty		find grave empty	
	see an angel, who refers them to Galilee.	see an angel, who refers them to Galilee, and then	see two angels	Mary Magd. sees two angels		see an angel.	
		meet Jesus.		sees Jesus	Mary Magd. first sees Jesus		
Peter sees Jesus			Peter sees Jesus				
			the two travellers to Emmaus		two travellers see Jesus		
then the twelve			the eleven see Jesus and are parted from him at Bethany.	the eleven (without Thomas) see Jesus	the eleven see Jesus, and are parted from him.		
then 500 brothers							
then James							Jesus appears to James
then all the apostles.				the eleven (with Thomas) see Jesus.			then to Peter and those with him.

GALILEE

		the eleven meet Jesus at the mountain.		(21) Simon Peter and six other disciples see Jesus at Lake Tiberias conversation between Peter and Jesus.		Simon Peter and others (Andrew, Levi) see Jesus in Galilee.	

Dr. Chase (*Syriac Element in Codex Bezae*, pp. 150–157) thinks that a Syriac version of the section can be proved to have existed by the middle of the second century, and that consequently the primitive Greek text is to be dated almost in the first quarter of the century. Upon some such date, at any rate, the various probabilities of the evidence converge. Certainly neither Matthew nor Luke had before them any text of Mark that went beyond 16^{8} (cp. Wernle, *op. cit.* pp. 36, 177, 218, 219), nor does the passage reflect an independent source. It is a vague, meagre, and secondary summary of previous traditions, a *κηρύγμα* or *διήγησις*, though scarcely to be dismissed as a fragment of a thoroughly poetic nature, in keeping with the gospel to which it has been added (W. Brückner).

(*b*) The removal of [Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$] leaves the conclusion of that gospel in a state which demands some hypothesis to account for its unfinished or mutilated condition. On all hands it is admitted that no author could have intended his work to close with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*. Either then, (i.) the original conclusion has been lost, or (ii.) the author was prevented by accident or death from finishing his book. In the former case (i.) the continuation must have been lost at a very early date, previous to the transcription of the earliest copy, as no trace of it exists. This difficulty, however, is not insuperable. A leaf may have been detached, or some accident may have occurred to the original autograph. Zahn, however (*GK*, ii. p. 928 f.), has recently contended for (ii.), principally on the ground that the existence and disappearance of such an *x* as the other theory requires, must be held incredible. Mark, he thinks, was prevented by Peter's death from completing the volume; then, before he could interfere, his friends had read and copied the unfinished work. Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, pp. 372–385) more sensibly concludes that the lost ending could not have been longer than Mt $28^{9\text{-}20}$, as Matthew usually enlarges his sources; also that Lk $24^{9.\ 11.\ 12}$ preserve in their integrity the details which were contained in the lost ending. The verbal contradiction between the one passage (Lk 24^{8}) and the other (Mk 16^{8}) led, as he thinks, to the deliberate rejection of the original conclusion in order to avoid a discrepancy. But it is possible also that if the original ending of Mark was brief, it failed to satisfy the needs of later generations, and was consequently superseded (Réville). When the passage is taken as an integral part of the gospel, its phenomena affect the date of the whole work, and leave no alternative except (with Dr. Salmon, *INT*, pp. 143–151) to bring the gospel down to a period anterior to Matthew and Luke. In face of modern criticism upon the synoptic problem, this is of course an indefensible position.

ive of that gospel goes back to Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$, or—as has even been conjectured—to the lost original conclusion of Mark. The double stream of tradition upon the resurrection is best traced by Réville (II. pp. 428–452), and by Rohrbach in his *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung J. C.* (1898); cp. also Harnack, *ThLz* (1899), pp. 174–176. W. Brückner's articles (*PM*, 1899, pp. 41–47, 96–110, 153–160) give a review and discussion, largely of Rohrbach's position.

[1] Something of this kind occurred in the case of the notes taken by Arrian during the lectures of Epiktetus. Like the first edition of the *Religio Medici*, they were afterwards published surreptitiously, or at least apart from the connivance of the author.

Whether they are historically trustworthy or not, their contents are not such as could have been invented by any scribe or editor of the gospel [of Mark] in his desire to supply the observed defect by a substantial and dignified ending. . . . There is, however, no difficulty in supposing that a scribe or editor, unwilling to change the words of the text before him or to add words of his own, was willing to furnish the gospel with what seemed a worthy conclusion, by incorporating with it unchanged a narrative of Christ's appearances after the Resurrection, which he found in some secondary record then surviving from a previous generation. . . . It is shown by its language and structure to be complete in itself, beginning with the Resurrection and ending with the Ascension. It thus constitutes a condensed fifth narrative of the forty days. It manifestly cannot claim any apostolic authority; but it is doubtless founded on some tradition of the apostolic age.—**Westcott and Hort.**

[Mk 16^{9-20}] After death.

9-11 Jesus seen by Mary Magdalenê.

12. 13 two disciples.

14-18 the eleven: his commission to them.

19. 20 Summary of apostolic preaching.

A FRAGMENT OF EVANGELIC TRADITION

Mk16

9 Now after he had arisen early on the first day of the week, he appeared
10 first to Mary of Magdala from whom he had cast out seven daemons. She
went and brought word to those who had been with him, as they
11 mourned and wept; yet although they heard he was alive and had been
12 seen by her, they disbelieved. Now after this he was disclosed
in a different form to two of them, who were walking on their way into
13 the country. And they went off and brought word to the rest; yet they
14 would not believe even them. Afterwards[1] he was disclosed to
the eleven themselves, as they reclined at table; and he reproached them
for their unbelief and stubbornness of heart, because they would not
15 believe those who had seen him after he rose. And he said to them,

"Go into all the world and preach the glad tidings to all the creation:

16 He who believes and is baptized shall be saved,
But he who disbelieves shall be condemned.
17 And these signs shall accompany those who believe:
In my name they shall cast out daemons,
They shall talk with new tongues,
18 They shall lift serpents,
And if they drink anything deadly, it shall not injure them;
They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

19 So then, after speaking to them, the Lord[2] *was taken up into heaven*, and
20 *sat down at the right hand of God.* But they went out and preached
everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the
signs that followed.

[1] Omitting [[δὲ]]. [2] Omitting [[Ἰησοῦς]].

THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHEUS AND TITUS[1]

THE *terminus ad quem* for these writings is fixed by their probable use in the epistles of Ignatius and Polykarp.[2] The literary affinities between them and Hebrews-Luke-Acts (Simcox, *Exp.*[3] viii. pp. 182, 183; Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 286, 287), Clem. Rom., and Barnabas, imply not so much the dependence of the one upon the other, as a common spirit and atmosphere, so that no serviceable *terminus a quo* can be fixed upon the side of literary relationships. The internal evidence, however, leaves little doubt that in their final and extant form this group of writings belongs to the first quarter of the second century. This is especially clear in view of the heresies and errors denounced. These, the spawn of a Jewish and Gnostic syncretism (Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 1880, pp. 126–158), are at once cognate to and more advanced than those of 1 John (cp. von Soden, *HC*, III. 1, pp. 166, 167, 179), while they are less acute and developed than those of Jud-2 Peter.[3] It is unfortunate in a sense that for insight into the situation of the pastoral epistles as well as of the following NT writings, we have more and more to go outside the NT itself. The problem of their origin is solved, not only upon the ground of the earlier Pauline letters, but also by a study of sub-apostolic writings like the Didachê, Clem. Rom., Polykarp, and Ignatius. Place these side by side with the pastorals, and it is difficult to resist the idea, which returns upon one with almost every sentence, that their world is practically the same, and that the pastorals are astonishingly superior. Their common historical presupposition is incipient Gnosticism, not in a special form but rather in its general climate (Clem. *Strom.* VII. 17), theoretical, practical, mythological, ethical. This is corroborated by the official and ecclesiastical spirit which dominates the three epistles. Christianity is becoming a system of piety (εὐσέβεια) and sound teaching (διδασκαλία) as opposed to moral and intellectual error. Its citadel is the church, whose organisation is a matter of great moment, and whose regulations form the background of the epistles. By the author, Timotheus and Titus are not merely taken as patterns of Pauline scholars, but also as representatives and types of

[1] The inadequate and misleading title "pastorals," under which these writings have suffered for about 90 years, can only be retained (and used as seldom as possible) on the score of convenience.

[2] Cp. Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 480-485. He dates the epistles in their present form substantially between 90 and 100: "Dass die Pastoralbriefe, so wie sie vorliegen, nicht vom Apostel Paulus geschrieben, dass sie aber auf paulinischen Briefen aufgebaut sind, ist ein Ergebniss der Kritik, welches nicht aufs neue beweisen zu werden braucht." The remarkable parallels between the pastorals and the Apost. Constit. in regard to ecclesiastical organisations point, in Harnack's judgment (*ibid.* pp. 483, 484; *TU*, II. 5, p. 49 f.), possibly to the use of a common source.

[3] The striking coincidences between the pastorals and Jud-Peter prove either a similarity of situation or literary dependence, possibly both (von Soden, pp. 166, 167, 179). In Tit and 1 Tim especially, 1 Peter seems to be used (Holtzmann, *Past.* pp. 267–270; Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 57–59, 277–286), and in the latter of the two, Luke's gospel.

the monarchical episcopate which—as 3 John indicates—was now coming to supersede the earlier officials, and had by this time displaced the "spiritual gifts" in ordinary church management.

The criteria of tone and spirit, then, combine to favour and even to demand a date not earlier than the last decade of the first century and probably somewhat later. Formerly, indeed, a period towards the middle of the second century was considered necessary: so Baur, Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 862 ff.), and even Ritschl—to whom the Gnosticism of the apostolic age was still a mere hypothesis (*Entstehung*, p. 242). The recent researches into Gnosticism, together with investigations into the development of church organisation (Holtzmann, *Past.* pp. 190–252, an exhaustive discussion), have allowed scholars to come down nearer the opening of the second century, and here criticism is practically unanimous. Within these decades (95–135) lies the only period known to us when the pastorals actually possess a career and object of their own. They represent a transition from the earlier Paulinism to "catholicism," the original ideas of the apostle being modified and stereotyped under the pressure of ecclesiastical requirements. More definitely, according to Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 3, 4, 501–504), they also help to present the common Christianity as it developed in regions that were dominated by the influence of Paul during the opening of the second century (so Bourquin, *Étude critique sur Past. Épîtres*, 1890, pp. 51–64). Some general verdict of this kind would probably unite the majority of reasonable critics. As it is, the arguments are so detailed and weighty that in a brief note it is fortunately unnecessary, as it is hardly possible, to do more than mention their bearing and refer to their various expositions. The most adequate statement is furnished by Holtzmann's classical monograph, whose positions are recapitulated in his *Einl.* pp. 272–292, and *NTTh*, ii. pp. 259–281. His standpoint is practically shared and reproduced by Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, S. Davidson, Mangold, Sabatier, Hatch [1] (*EB*, articles "Paul" and "Pastorals"), Cone (*Gospel and its Interpret.* p. 327 f.), Réville (*Les origine de l'Episcop.* pp. 262–286), and McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 398–420), etc. The only question which at the present day is seriously in dispute is the precise date. Renan [2] and Mangold go back to the end of the first century, while von Soden (*HC*, III. 1, pp. 155–254) places 2 Tim not earlier than Domitian's reign and the other two after 110. It is better, however, to remain by the first quarter [3] of the second century (so Julicher and Réville). No other position is upon the whole so self-consistent and helpful in solving the contradictory facts presented by a set of writings which otherwise form one of those religious and literary enigmas whose keys have been in the meantime—perhaps for all time—lost.

[1] Chiefly owing to the "difficulty of believing that so elaborate a debasement of Christianity had grown up in the brief interval between Paul's first contact with Hellenism and his death." On the keen prominence given to moral reform and theory by the early part of the second century, cp. Addis, *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, pp. 130–141.

[2] *S. Paul*, p. l. In *L'Église Chrétienne* (chap. vi.) the composition of the pastorals is made synchronous with the publication of Paul's collected epistles at Rome. They are "un premier essai de fausses décrétales."

[3] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17: κάτω δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Βασιλίως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι. The lack of exactness in defining the heresies combated is natural. "L'auteur parlait de quelque chose de courant et, pour être compris par les lecteurs de son temps, il lui suffisait de désigner simplement ses adversaires sans les peindre" (Bourquin).

The natural desire to take these writings for what they literally purport to be, *i.e.* letters written by Paul himself, is rendered impossible not merely by the positive evidence of their contents which has been already outlined, but also by two negative arguments of crucial importance. (*a*) The style, which is somewhat stiff and unelastic, is incompatible with the Pauline authorship.[1] Even when allowance has been made for the difference between public and private letters, for the possible effect of age on Paul, and for the use of phrases caught up from fresh interests and controversies, the only fair verdict upon the anomalous grammar and diction of the pastoral epistles is unfavourable to their Pauline originality. Pauline elements of course occur, but the groundwork is radically different. Fresh groups of words are introduced (*e.g.* the compounds in *a*-privative, *φιλο-*, *σωφρο-*, *διδάσκ-*, *οἰκο-*), familiar Pauline expressions ("*υἱοθεσία*, God our Father") are either dropped or (*πίστις*, *δικαιοῦσθαι*) modified, and out of almost nine hundred words one hundred and seventy-one (one hundred and seventy-six) are *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*. The peculiarities of vocabulary and style point almost unmistakably to a writer who used Pauline phrases to help his own looser and less vigorous methods of expression. "Es fehlt durchweg die ernste, würdige und gedankenschwere Plerophorie der paul. Rede; es fehlen jene charakteristischen Dammbrüche, welche in Folge der schwellenden Gedankenfülle die Construction erleidet" (Holtzmann). Nor is it very probable that Paul would have met false teaching either by repeated and vague denunciation or by falling back upon a traditional crystallised faith, which forms the "sound" teaching of the organised church. Besides, the characteristically Pauline interests are obliterated. The question of the law, the rule of the Jews, adoption, redemption, life in the Spirit, these are no longer central. As even Weiss admits, strange prominence is given to such ideas as those of reward, a good conscience, the individual and social value of Christian morality rather than its religious character. Nor is it easy to satisfactorily explain, on the traditional hypothesis (Zahn, *GK*, i. p. 634 f.), the absence of these epistles from Marcion's canon. He may have rejected them on account of their teaching (*e.g.* on asceticism, doketism, and the OT), which in some points controverts his own principles; but at any rate it tells heavily against them as genuine reproductions of the Pauline spirit, that a Pauline enthusiast[2] ignored them in drawing up his list of epistles. That he omitted them because they were private letters, is refuted by the fact that they are private letters only in a most superficial sense,

[1] "Nirgends eine Spur von dem Schwung des Paulus und seiner Energie, kaum je eine Anakoluthie, eine Inconcinnität, eine Dunkelheit infolge des Vorwärtsdrängen der Ideen; alles ist in Past regelmässig, leicht, aber auch ohne Wucht und Farbe. Viele Worte und wenige Gedanken: von P. dürfte genau das umgekehrte gelten" (Jülicher).

The standard discussion is Holtzmann's (*Past.* pp. 86–118). Prof. G. G. Findlay, in his careful appendix to Sabatier's *Paul*, has been able, like Ramsay (*CRE*, pp. 248-251), to correct a few of Holtzmann's more extreme statements on this and some other points. But while the latter's cumulative argument requires to be modified in one or two details, it remains an irresistible and lucid piece of historical and literary criticism, whose main conclusions are to be accepted as almost axiomatic. Instances have been collected (cp. "Pastoral Epistles," *CGT*, p. xxxix.) which indicate in the pastorals the use of 2 Maccabees, a book of which there is no trace in Paul's writings.

[2] "Un homme qui, malgré l'esprit d' *a priori* dogmatique qu'il porta souvent dans la correction des livres saints, eut souvent des éclairs de vrai critique" (Renan). A similar difficulty is occasioned by the fact that while Marcion's sheet-anchor was the third gospel, he omits Acts altogether from his canon.

and that Marcion had no hesitation in accepting Philemon, which is a genuinely private note.

(*b*) Even more fatal to the traditional hypothesis of the pastorals is the fact (Holtzmann, *Past.* pp. 15–37) that they cannot be fitted into any reasonable scheme of Paul's life.[1] Had they been written by him, they must have dated from a period during which he travelled widely and extended his mission-tours in the Eastern Mediterranean, for the attempts to fix all or any of the epistles previous to his first captivity are not to be seriously mentioned. But this period in Paul's life is a *terra incognita*. It is bound up with the hypothesis of his release from prison and of his second captivity and martyrdom, for which the evidence is decidedly scanty. In recent years, it is true, apart altogether from the question of the pastorals, attempts have been made to rehabilitate this hypothesis.[2] But even were these more successful than they are, the pastorals would still be un-Pauline. Such a hypothesis, if proved, would make the traditional[3] date of the pastorals possible, not by any means necessary. It would merely make room for them between 62 and 67, or, if the earlier chronology be accepted, between 59 and 64. But on other grounds the epistles refuse to meet this situation, and indeed the efforts to adapt them to it may be for the most part characterised as proofs of the ingenuity of exegetical despair rather than of historical investigation.

Substantially identical in texture and spirit as all three are, each has evidently its distinctive characteristics. These idiosyncrasies upon examination seem to give sufficient if not peremptory proof that 2 Tim was the earliest of the three, while 1 Tim was the latest, written to enforce or supplement its predecessors. The evidence for this position is led at length by von Soden and McGiffert, to whose works the reader is referred for a convincing statement of the case. The chief lines are (*a*) the preponderance of Pauline matter in 2 Tim. Most nearly of all the three it attaches to Paul's personality (particularly as that appears in Philippians and Romans), it is richest in references to his character and work, and includes direct reminiscences—perhaps even notes—of the

[1] The demonstration of this is the special merit of Renan's discussion (*S. Paul*, pp. xxviii–xlviii). Cp. also von Soden, *op. cit.* pp. 159–163. Zahn's laboured attempt to construct a world for the epistles in the seventh decade, fails to produce any coherent results, and on the whole the same must be said of Bartlet's scholarly discussion (*AA*, p. 199 f.). Similar attempts up to 1880 are sufficiently exposed by Holtzmann (*Past.* pp. 37–53).

[2] Cp. Spitta, *Urc.* i. pp. 1–108, and R. Steinmetz's monograph, "Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus" (1897). Renan, Harnack, Blass, and Belser (*TQ*, 1894, p. 40 f.) accept the tradition: cp. also von Manen, *Theol. Tijdschrift* (1894), p. 214; J. Weiss, *ThLz.* (1893), 394 f.; and Hesse (*Entstehung*, p. 244 f.). At the same time it is even doubtful whether (i.) Paul died in the Neronian persecution, and (ii.) suffered martyrdom contemporaneously with Peter. The tradition is late and not always self-consistent. Erbes (*TU*, neue Folge, vierter Band, Heft 1, 1899) strongly opposes both ideas, and indeed the whole hypothesis of the second imprisonment. See above, p. 133.

[3] Besides Weiss (-Meyer; *AJT*, i. pp. 393-403 and *INT*, i. pp. 374–420), Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 398–489), and Godet, a number of Anglican scholars are still able to accept the pastorals as totally Pauline, *e.g.* Salmon, Wace (*Speaker's Comm.*), Farrar, Plummer (*Expos. Bible*, 1888), Hort (*Jud. Christianity*, p. 130; *Ecclesia*, p. 171), and J. H. Bernard (*CGT*). The case for the authenticity has been also argued by Fr. Roos (*Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus und die Reden des Herrn Jesu*, pp. 156–202), G. H. Gilbert (*Life of Paul*, 1899, pp. 225–232), Ruegg (*Aus Schrift und Geschichte* (1898), "Theol. Abhandlungen u. Skizzen," pp. 59–108), and Bertrand (*Essai critique sur l'auth. d. Épîtres Past.* 1888). Macpherson (*AJT*, 1900, pp. 23–48) gives up the second imprisonment, but holds to the authenticity of the pastorals.

apostle. One central feature of the writing is its steady adherence to the personality and teaching of Paul, *e.g.* $2^{1.2}$ 3^{10}. A change upon this point can be noticed in Titus, and more so in 1 Tim. There the personality of Paul retires into the background, and church-organisation tends to become the supreme concern. The references to the apostle's individuality are neither so fresh nor so frequent, while at the same time the motives and appeals become more abstract. Correlative to this, however, and quite in the second-century manner of reliance upon the "apostolic" deposit, is the emphasis still laid on Paul's bare authority—in his person no less than in his teaching—with a view to preserve the traditional faith and safeguard the interests of conservative organisation. (*b*) In 2 Tim, again, the situation is less advanced. Titus and 1 Tim represent errors more sharply defined and vigorously combated; the ideas and circumstances are treated with much greater precision and detail. In 2 Tim, *e.g.*, bishops are unmentioned, and Titus is silent upon deacons. In 1 Tim both are provided with official regulations, and other features of organisation abound. Evidently, when the writer came to compose Titus and 1 Tim, he had before him a more copious and advanced state of matters within the church (on which see some evidence from the inscriptions collected by Achelis, *ZNW* (1900), p. 93 f.). 1 Tim, in fact, of all the NT books, shows almost a preoccupation with ecclesiastical interests. (*c*) The supplementary argument from language urges, among other points, the fact that out of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα,[1] while only forty-six occur in 2 Tim, twenty-eight are counted in Titus (a book half the size of the others), and no fewer than seventy-four in 1 Tim. In 2 Tim there is no clear instance of πίστις = *fides quae creditur*, while this use does occur in the others. In 2 Tim σώτηρ is used only of Christ, in Titus of Christ and God (as in Lk 1^{47}, Jud 25), in 1 Tim of God alone. Similar developments are noted in connection with the characteristic words, διδασκαλία and εὐσέβεια. Consequently, though the argument is cumulative, 2 Tim is to be regarded as prior—possibly by some years—to the others, although there are no grounds for doubting that one author wrote all three. The impression of its superiority to the others has been widely felt,[2] and in this case superiority implies a closer proximity to the apostolic tradition (Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh*, 1897, pp. 1–86). Thus Reuss (*Les Épîtres Paulin.* vol. ii.) rejects the other two, but retains 2 Tim as actually genuine; while older critics like Usteri, Lücke, Bleek (§§ 183–187), Neander, and Ritschl found themselves quite unable to attribute at least 1 Tim to the apostle.

In writing 2 Tim, then, the author stood nearest to the Pauline tradition. Probably he had before him genuine notes or at least

[1] They are variously enumerated, but the argument remains substantially unimpaired. Mr. W. P. Workman (*Exp. Ti.* vii. pp. 418, 419) gives 2 Tim = 53, Tit = 33, 1 Tim = 82. His parallel from Shakspere is rather vitiated by the obvious fact that an early Christian writer cannot be judged by the standards applicable to a literary artist, and particularly to a dramatist, to whom flexibility of expression is congenial.

[2] Even Zahn, like Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 36–47) starts his discussion of their situation by analysing 2 Tim in preference to either of the others. Similarly Dr. Salmon (*INT*, pp. 397–413) admits the supremacy of 2 Tim, and allows that if the other two letters "had come by themselves, the way in which both begin would excite suspicion." As a detail, it may be noted that 2 Tim $2^{17\text{-}20}$ has more point if it precedes, than if it follows, the remark of 1 Tim 1^{20}. Reminiscences of 2 Tim also recur (2^{23} = 1 Tim 1^{4} 4^{7}, Tit 3^{9}; 1^{11} = 1. 2^{7}; 3^{1} = 1. 4^{1}). The superiority of 2 Tim chiefly lies in (*a*) the naturalness and vivid colouring of the personal references, (*b*) the greater coherence and balance of the arguments, and (*c*) the directness of the religious feeling.

authentic reminiscences of the apostle, which have been worked up into the epistle. Titus and 1 Tim were written later and for similar purposes, though in a slightly more developed state of affairs. The three represent together the historical climax of Paulinism within the NT. They are not Paul's but Pauline. Their author was an adherent of the apostle's, who reproduced his master's ideas to meet not only the rising interest in personal religion throughout the Empire, but also the need of protection against the current heresy and trouble within the churches. Hence the apparently incongruous combination of passages which have a thoroughly Pauline ring (II. 1^{15-18} 2^{3-9} $4^{5-8.\ 16-18}$, Tit 3^{11-14}, I. 1^{12-16}) with others like II. 1^{6} 2^{26}–3^{9}, Tit $1^{10\,f.}$ 3^{5} $3^{9\,f.}$, I. 2^{3-15} 3, $4^{1-3.\ 14}$ 5^{11-23} $6^{3\ 10.\ 20.\ 21}$; in these last-quoted verses it is impossible to miss the tone of semi-legalism, ecclesiastical formality,[1] and anxiety, which begins to be heard in the sub-apostolic literature. To suppose that such utterances were due to Paul before 67 A.D., is not merely to violently contradict the apostle's self-revelation in his other epistles, but also to throw the whole development of early Christian ideas and institutions into gratuitous and inextricable confusion. Justice can only be done to the double element in these epistles by approaching them upon the lines of the criticism just indicated. And 2 Tim occupies a position of priority among the pastorals upon historical and exegetical grounds very similar to those which prove Mark to be the earliest of the synoptic gospels. We feel the original tradition vibrating most unmistakably within its pages. 1 Tim, again, gives us the impression of a book which is in many respects an expansion or free summary of ideas already put into circulation. The arguments for this order of the pastorals are not, it must be admitted, so transparently convincing as those for their general date; but they seem the most satisfactory solution of the problem. So, in the sense above explained, Lücke, Neander, and Ritschl, after Schleiermacher. Accepting the critical view of all three, Baur (*Church Hist.* (Eng. tr.), ii. pp. 30, 31), Pfleiderer (*Paulinism*, ii. p. 198 n.; *Urc.* p. 822 n.), Holtzmann (*Past.* pp. 253–256, "Die Reihenfolge der Briefe"), S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. pp. 21–76), Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 502, 503), M. A. Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*,[2] 1888, pp. 66–78), and Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 277–286) are the main advocates of this order, which is also accepted by von Soden, McGiffert, and Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 126, 127).[2]

The reversed order of the epistles in the canon can be very naturally explained, and does not constitute any valid objection to the critical theory of their origin. The titles of course formed no part of the original autographs. When the epistles came to be incorporated in the canon, as both were *ex hypothesi* Pauline, that one was numbered 2 which contained fuller and later references to the apostle's life, and thus appeared to form, with its rich personal contents, a climax to his career; the other, which lacked these intimate and farewell touches, was supposed to have been written previously. This inversion was unavoidable in an

[1] On which cp. especially Renan, *op. cit.*, and Holtzmann, *Past.* pp. 212 f.

[2] So evidently Mangold (*Die Irrlehrer d. Pastoralbr.*) and Schmiedel (*EBi*, i. pp. 19, 59). Cp. further on this point, Bourquin (*op. cit.* p. 67 f.), Clemen (*Einheit.* 1894, pp. 142–178), and Haupt (*SK*, 1895, p. 381).

The Latinisms and affinities with Clem. Rom., Luke, and Acts suggest Rome as the place where the pastorals were composed ("L'intention qui a dicté l'écrit, savoir le désir d'augmenter la force du principe hiérarchique et l'autorité de l'Église, en présentant un modèle de piété, de docilité, d' "esprit ecclésiastique" tracé par l'apôtre lui-même, est tout à fait en harmonie avec ce que nous savons du caractère de l'Église romaine dès le Ier siècle."—Renan). But Asia Minor is not impossible.

age which had no clue to guide it in the criticism of the epistles except the tradition of their Pauline origin. Upon the contrary, when the titles are provisionally set aside, and the writings examined upon their own merits, it becomes fairly evident (*a*) that their common atmosphere is to be found not earlier than the first quarter of the second century, and (*b*) also—though less conclusively—that the writing which has come down to us under the title of "2 Tim" really preceded its companions in the order of composition. The letters are addressed to Timotheus and Titus, in all likelihood, as these men were traditional companions of the apostle and figures of prominence in the earlier church. This choice of names would be specially seasonable if the author possessed already Pauline notes addressed to them. It is obvious from their character and contents that they can be termed "private" letters only in a very restricted sense. The author is writing with his eye on the community ;[1] he portrays, like the fourth evangelist, ideal types for all.

Finally, it need hardly be said that this view of the "pastorals" does not rest on a presupposition that everything Paul wrote must needs have been upon the same level of thought and style. The admittedly genuine epistles prove this was not the case. In Galatians and 1 Corinthians themselves, there are passages far below the originality and conclusiveness of what is seen to be Paul's ordinary height at other times, and even in these very epistles. But what is urged, and urged forcibly, is that there are in the "pastorals" levels which are inexplicably different even from Paul's least excellent and characteristic moods. When criticism refuses[2] to accept these as Pauline, it is proceeding upon straightforward historical principles, and not necessarily upon the application of too rigid and uniform a standard of Paulinism.

On the question of pseudonymity raised by this solution of the problem, in addition to the remarks in the Appendix (cp. below), it is worth while to quote the following sentences from a moderate statement by Rev. W. H. Simcox :—"It is far likelier that the pastoral epistles, if written not by the apostle but by friends and disciples of his, were written without any fraudulent intent. To a writer of the period, it would appear as legitimate an artifice to compose a letter as to compose a speech in the name of a great man whose sentiments it was desired to reproduce and record ; the question which seems so important

[1] This slips through in the greetings (2 Tim 4^{22}, Tit 3^{15}, 1 Tim 6^{21}). But indeed the whole point of the writings is lost if they are taken as instructions for individuals—individuals, too, in a long and close friendship with the writer. How incredible that, after all that intimacy, they should still need direction for divers moral duties of life, and also information upon the elementary facts and ideas of their friend ! Warnings against juvenile vices are hardly applicable to one who, like Timothy, must have been nearly twenty years a Christian minister and forty years of age.

[2] In contrast to the timid and misleading statements which still continue to be made upon the subject, it is refreshing to find the later date of these epistles frankly recognised by so eminent a conservative leader as Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 3, 4 ; cp. p. 501 f.). "We must," he writes, "with as much certainty as in such things is possible, reject the pastoral epistles as records of Pauline teachings ; . . . the account of their origin, which they contain, is in itself untenable. They betray the conditions and motives of a later age, from which they can only be artifically and imperfectly transferred to the lifetime of the apostle, and except in a few phrases (which may have belonged to a genuine letter here embodied), they are as far apart as the poles from Paul's own modes of thinking and writing. Especially in the greatest [largest ?] of the three—the First Epistle to Timothy—we may confidently say : the man who is now able to ascribe it to the author of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians has never comprehended the literary peculiarity and greatness of the apostle."

to us, whether the words and even the sentiments are the great man's own, or only his historian's, seems then hardly to have occurred either to writer or readers. Now the pastoral epistles are undoubtedly so ancient and so like St. Paul, that their author may be presumed to have known well the events and the sentiments of the close of his life. If we have in them not the apostle's own utterances, but only the record of a disciple, we need not doubt that that disciple was aided in recording them, after the fashion of his time, by the same divine Spirit that dwelt in the apostle himself" (*The Writers of the New Testament*, 1890, p. 38).

These three letters, then, which form the weightiest part of the post-Johannine literature, reflect two parallel tendencies in the age: (*a*) the growing emphasis laid on apostolic tradition as the guarantee of doctrine and the basis of organisation, and (*b*) the special reverence still paid to Paul in certain circles of the church. The former might explain the composition of a note like that of Judas; it certainly is the key to 2 Peter. The latter is quite obvious in Justin Martyr and earlier in Clem. Rom. The three "pastoral" letters, however, express not only a warm attachment to Paul and Paulinism, but more broadly the spirit and character of the neo-catholic church. The atmosphere of error is fairly uniform, although it includes different aspects and elements. The church, troubled and not untainted, is being driven to consolidate her constitution and discipline, as well as to develop special functions of office as safeguards against heresy. The approach is felt of what may be called, from the standpoint of primitive Christianity, the heresy of ecclesiasticism. Institutions are coming to be more than ever the condition of orthodoxy (2 Tim 2^{15}). A guarantee for the soundness of the dogmatic principle is being shifted from the individual faith and consciousness to officialism (Tit 1^{9}). Under the exigencies of the time and place, the *θεμέλιος*, which initially was Christ (1 Co 3^{11}) and later the apostles and prophets (Eph 2^{20}), is now defined simply and solely as the church (2 Ti 2^{19}) visible. Errorists are denounced, as already in Apoc 2–3, and confronted with the fixed "sound" faith of the church, which is a crystallised and objective entity, involving a confession and the germs of a creed. Parallel to this identification of Christianity with *διδασκαλία* goes the emphasis put upon practical piety as obligatory for the members of the church. The timely aspect of the faith is, to the writer's mind, its moral discipline (Tit 2^{12}); his writings are unique and frequent in their use of the term *εὐσέβεια* and its compounds. In all these directions the letters represent germs of Paulinism developed under a new climate, the elements of which are the elements of the second century—the Hellenistic emphasis upon ethics, the impetus received by Christianity from the example as well as the policy of Empire towards the shaping of her institutions, and also the manifold antagonistic forces which were beginning even at that time to force the church into the crystallisation of her doctrine and constitution. A future is before her in this world (II. 4^{3} 3^{1}, I. 2^{15}). The outlook now is to a period of effort and advance rather than to an apocalyptic manifestation of God's reign.

Here the riddle of the Epistles is unveiled ; they are the first specimens of a literature of church organisation which afterwards produced the διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων and the Apostolic Constitutions. A man belonging to the Pauline circle of churches, who had a thorough knowledge of the life of the apostle to the Gentiles, undertook to combat the growing Gnosticism, in the spirit of the apostle, by urging a simple, practical, and apostolic Christianity, and a moral and vigorous Christian organisation. Here, therefore, we have a memorable picture of the average form of church doctrine and church life, as both were developed on the basis of Paul's activity, perhaps about fifty years after his death—a picture, that is, of the transition of the Pauline into the old Catholic Christianity. The epistles probably originated by degrees ; the earliest is the second, which may be based on a genuine letter of Paul to Timothy, from which the many personal references are taken ; the latest is the first epistle to Timothy, which frequently suggests improved conditions and which has the air of a later work, repeating and supplementing the earlier.—**Beyschlag.**

1^{1-2} **Greeting.**

1^{3}–2^{13} Thanksgiving for faith of Timotheus :
Counsel for his life and work—against false shame.
from Paul's own life and teaching.
1^{15-18} personal notices.
2^{1-13} Need and reward of endurance—against weakness. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. . . . 2^{11}.

2^{14}–4^{8} **Against the errorists :**
2^{14-26} Timotheus' conduct toward them :
his attitude and efforts.
3^{1-9} An exposure of their principles
and methods.
3^{10-17} Charge to Timotheus of : obedience to principles of Paul, in spite of suffering.
adherence to scriptures.
4^{1-8} résumé : Paul's final charge and confession.

4^{9-22} **Personal :** personal notices.
greetings : farewell.

II. TIMOTHEUS

1 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, according
to the promise of the life that is in Christ Jesus,
2 to Timotheus, my beloved child:
grace, mercy, peace, from God the Father and Christ Jesus our
Lord.
3 I give thanks to God, whom I serve from my ancestors with a pure
conscience, at every mention of thee in my prayers; and I mention thee
4 unceasingly—for when I remember thy tears, I long night and day to see
5 thee, that I may be filled with joy, since I am reminded of that unfeigned
faith in thee, which dwelt first of all in thy grandmother Lois and thy
6 mother Eunicê, and dwells, I am persuaded, in thyself as well. Where-
fore I remind thee to rekindle the Divine talent which is in thee through
7 the laying on of my hands. For God gave us a spirit not of cowardice
8 but of power and love and self-discipline. Be not ashamed then of the
testimony of our Lord, or of me his prisoner; but take thy share of
9 hardship for the gospel's sake, by the power of God who saved us and
called us with a holy calling, not by virtue of our deeds, but by virtue
of a purpose and grace of his own, granted us in Christ Jesus before
10 times eternal, but now disclosed through the appearing of our Saviour
Christ Jesus, who put down death, but brought life and the imperishable
11 to light through the gospel, for which I was myself appointed a herald
12 and apostle and teacher. This also is the reason why I suffer thus.
But I am not ashamed. I know whom I have believed, and I am
13 persuaded that he is able to guard my trust until that Day. Hold as a
model of sound words those which thou hast heard from me, in the faith
14 and love that are in Christ Jesus. Guard thy noble trust through the
15 holy Spirit, who dwells within us. **Thou art aware that all who**
are now in Asia turned away from me, among them Phygelus and
16 **Hermogenes. The Lord grant mercy to the household of Onesiphorus, for**
17 **many a time he revived me; nor was he ashamed of my chain, but on**
18 **coming to Rome he sought eagerly for me, and found me. The Lord**
grant he may find mercy from the Lord in that Day! and thou knowest
quite well all the services he did me in Ephesus.
2 1, 2 Be strong then, my child, in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; and
entrust what thou hast learned from me—confirmed by many witnesses
—to faithful men; for they shall be qualified to teach others as well.
3, 4 Take thy share of hardship, like an able soldier of Christ Jesus. A
soldier on active service refuses to entangle himself in occupations for a
5 livelihood, in order that he may please him who enlisted him. Again,
if a man competes in the games, he is not crowned unless he keeps the
6 rules of the game. The first to partake of the fruits must be the
7 husbandman who labours. Ponder what I am saying; for the Lord
8 shall grant thee intelligence in everything. Remember Jesus Christ
"risen from the dead, belonging to the offspring of David," according

9 to my gospel—through which I suffer hardship, even to the extent of
imprisonment as a criminal. But the word of God has not been fettered;
10 therefore I endure everything for the sake of the chosen, that they too
may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus and also majesty
11 eternal. THE SAYING IS SURE:

"If with him we died, then with him shall we live:
12 If we endure, then with him shall we reign:
If we disown him, then he will disown us:
13 If we are faithless, faithful he remains,"

14 for to himself he cannot be untrue. Remind them of these
things, and charge them solemnly in the sight of the Lord[1] not to
wrangle over words—there is no gain in that, it means the ruin of the
15 hearers. Make every effort to present thyself genuine to God, a workman
16 with no cause for shame, handling the word of the truth aright. But
avoid men of worldly babble; for such people will proceed still further in
17 impiety, and their talk will spread like a gangrene. Among them are
18 Hymenaeus and Philetus, men who have swerved in the matter of the
truth, by alleging that the resurrection has taken place already. They
19 are indeed subverting some people's faith. Nevertheless, the solid
foundation of God stands firm, with this inscription,

"*Known to the Lord are those who are his:*"

and

"Let every one who *names the name of the Lord* depart from iniquity."

20 Now in a large house there are vessels not only of gold and silver but
also of wood and clay; and while some are for honour, others are for
21 dishonour. If a man then purge himself from these things, he shall be
a vessel for honour, sanctified, serviceable to the Master, prepared for
22 every good deed. So flee from youthful lusts, and pursue uprightness,
faith, love, peace, in company with those who from a pure heart call
23 upon the Lord. But have nothing to do with foolish and fatuous
24 controversies, knowing that they engender wrangles. And a slave of the
Lord must not wrangle; he must be kindly towards all, a skilful
25 teacher, meek, correcting with gentleness those who set themselves in
opposition—possibly God may grant them to repent and gain full
26 knowledge of the truth, and so they may get back to their sober senses
from the snare of the devil, who has captured them to do that devil's
will.

3 1, 2 But know this: in the last days hard times shall be imminent. Men
shall be lovers of self, lovers of money, braggarts, haughty, abusive,
3 disobedient to their parents, ungrateful, unholy, without natural
affection, implacable, slanderous, self-indulgent, fierce, no lovers of
4 good, traitors, reckless, besotted, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers
5 of God, maintaining a semblance of piety but having renounced its
6 power; from these men turn thou away. For to them belong those who
creep into households and captivate poor womankind overwhelmed with
7 sins, led away by manifold lusts, ever learning and never able to arrive
8 at a full knowledge of the truth. Now just as Jannes and Jambres
opposed Moses, so also do these men oppose the truth, men corrupted in
9 mind, reprobate as regards the faith. Still, they shall not proceed any
further; for their folly shall be quite evident to all men, as the folly of
10 those magicians also became quite evident. **But thou hast**
followed the course of my life in doctrine, conduct, purpose, faith,
11 **endurance, love, patience, persecutions, sufferings, all that befell me at**

[1] Reading *κυρίου*.

Antioch, at Ikonium, at Lystra, all the persecutions that I bore; yet out of
12 them all the Lord rescued me. Yea, and all who would live piously in Christ
13 Jesus shall be persecuted. Evil men and impostors shall proceed to what
14 is worse and worse, seducing and seduced. But remain thou in what
thou hast learned and been convinced of, as thou knowest those from
15 whom thou hast learned it, and as thou hast known from infancy the
sacred writings, which are able to instruct thee for salvation through the
16 faith which is in Christ Jesus. Every scripture is inspired by God and
good for teaching, for reproof, for amendment, for education in upright-
17 ness; in order that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly fitted
4 1 for every good deed. In the sight of God and of Christ Jesus
who is to judge living and dead, by his appearing and also by his reign, I
2 solemnly charge thee: proclaim the word, opportunely or inopportunely
be urgent, refute, rebuke, exhort, with all manner of long-suffering and
3 instruction. For there will be a time when people will not put up with
the sound doctrine, but will follow their own fancies and amass teacher
4 after teacher in their itching to hear; and as they turn away from
5 listening to the truth, they will turn aside to myths. But be thou sober
in all things, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy
6 ministry. As for me, I am already being poured out as an offering; my
7 time for departure is at hand. I have played my part in the noble
8 contest. I have finished the course. I have kept the faith. Hence there
is laid up for me the wreath of uprightness with which the Lord—the
upright judge—will reward me on that Day; and not me alone, but also
all who have loved his appearing.

9, 10 Make haste and come to me soon; for Demas, in love with the present
world, has forsaken me and gone to Thessalonika; Crescens has gone to
11 Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Luke alone is with me. Pick up Mark and
bring him along with thee, for he is serviceable to me in the way of
12, 13 ministry. (I sent Tychicus to Ephesus.) When thou comest, bring the
mantle that I left with Karpus at Troas, and the books—especially the
14 parchments. Alexander the blacksmith has displayed great malice
15 towards me; *the Lord will render* to him *according to his deeds* (do thou
16 eschew him also), for he stoutly opposed our words. At my first defence
no one came to stand by me; all forsook me. May it not be laid to their
17 charge! But the Lord stood at my side and strengthened me, that by
means of me the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the
18 Gentiles might hear; and I was rescued *from the lion's jaws*. From every
wicked deed will the Lord rescue me and save me for his heavenly reign:
to whom be the majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

19, 20 Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus. Erastus
21 remained at Corinth; but I left Trophimus at Miletus, as he was ill. Make
haste and come before the winter. Eubulus salutes thee, and so do
Pudens and Linus and Claudia and all the brothers.

22 The Lord be with thy spirit.
Grace be with you.

In 2 Timothy he [the redactor of the pastoral epistles] denounces at considerable length and with great vehemence the doctrine of certain false teachers, and the practices of certain libertines. In the epistle to Titus he is also concerned to do away with false doctrine and corrupt practice, but he takes a somewhat different course, emphasising the need of proper officers who shall guard the churches against such evils. There is less denunciation of heresy in Titus than in 2 Timothy, but much more emphasis is laid upon church organisation and upon the practical duties of the Christian life.—**McGiffert.**

1^{1-4} **Greeting.**

1^{5-16} **Rules:** for elders and bishops in Crete:
in view of current errors,
and immorality.

2^{1}–3^{11} **Ethical:** the moral obligations of the Christian truth, upon
different ages, sexes, conditions:
to one another, to outsiders:
the necessity of good conduct,
in Christianity.

3^{8-11} a résumé: the conduct of Titus. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. . . . 3^{8}.

3^{12-14} **Personal.**

3^{15} **Farewell.**

TITUS

1 1 Paul, a slave of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith
of God's chosen ones and the full knowledge of the truth which is
2 according to piety ; in hope of life eternal, which God (who is no liar)
3 promised before times eternal—and in due season he disclosed his word
in the message with which I myself was entrusted according to the
command of our Saviour, God,
4 to Titus, my genuine child in virtue of a common faith :
grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our
Saviour.
5 I left thee behind in Crete for the purpose of settling what still
remained to be set in order, and of appointing elders in every city, as I
6 gave thee instructions—namely, any man who is irreproachable, the
husband of one wife, with children who believe and are neither accused
7 of profligacy nor insubordinate. [For a bishop must be blameless, as
God's steward, not self-willed, not irascible, not drunken or quarrelsome,
8 not greedy for base gain ; but hospitable, a lover of good, sober-minded,
9 just, holy, self-controlled, holding to the sure word which is in accordance
with the doctrine, so that he may be able to give exhortation in the
10 sound doctrine, and also to refute objectors.] For there are many insubor-
dinate persons, chatterers and cheats, especially those who have come
11 from the Circumcision—their mouths must be stopped, for they are sub-
verting whole households by teaching improper doctrine for the sake of
12 base gain. One of their own nation, a prophet of their own, said,
"Cretans are liars at all times, evil monsters, lazy gluttons."
13 This testimony is true. So reprove them with severity, that they
14 may be sound in the faith, instead of devoting themselves to Jewish
15 myths and commandments of men who turn away from the truth. All
things are pure to the pure ; but to the polluted and unbelieving nothing
is pure. Nay, both their mind and their conscience have been polluted.
16 They publicly confess that they know God ; but they renounce him by
their deeds, abominable as they are, and disobedient, and useless for any
good deed.
2 1, 2 But speak thou as befits the sound doctrine : teaching that aged men
are to be temperate, serious, sober-minded, sound in faith, in love, in
3 patience. That aged women likewise are to be reverent in demean-
our, not slanderous or enslaved to much wine ; they are to give good in-
4 struction, so as to educate the younger women to love their husbands, to love
5 their children, to be sober-minded, chaste, domestic, kind, subject to their
own husbands—that the word of God may not be maligned.
6, 7 Likewise exhort the younger men to be sober in all respects ; and show
thyself a pattern of good deeds with nothing corrupt in thy teaching, with
8 seriousness, with sound speech that is not open to condemnation ; so that
he who is on the opposite side may be put to shame, since he has no ill to
9 say of us. Exhort slaves to be subject to their own masters,

10 ready to please in everything, not refractory, not embezzling, but showing
all true fidelity, that in all respects they may adorn the doctrine of our
11 Saviour, God. For the grace of God has appeared with its saving
12 power for all mankind, training us to renounce impiety and wordly lusts,
13 and to live soberly and uprightly and piously in this present world, as we
wait for the blessed hope, even for the appearing of the majesty of the great
14 God and of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who gave himself for us that *he might redeem* us *from all iniquity* and *cleanse for himself a people to be his*
15 *own possession*, bent upon good deeds. Speak thus and exhort and
3 1 reprove with all manner of authority. Let no one despise thee. Remind
them to be subject to rulers—to authorities, to be obedient, to be ready
2 for every good deed, to abuse no man, to be no wranglers, to be forbearing,
3 showing all gentleness to all men. For once we too were senseless, foolish,
disobedient, seduced, slaves to manifold lusts and pleasures, living in
4 malice and envy, detestable, hating one another. But when the humane
5 kindness of our Saviour God appeared, then, not by deeds which we had
accomplished by our own uprightness, but according to his mercy, he
saved us through a bath which wrought regeneration and renewal by the
6 holy Spirit, which he poured out richly upon us through Jesus Christ
7 our Saviour; that "justified by his grace we might become heirs of life
8 eternal according to hope." THE SAYING IS SURE. And I desire thee to
insist strongly with regard to these matters, that those who have believed
God may be careful to take the lead in good deeds. They are good and
9 profitable to men. But avoid foolish controversies and genealogies and
quarrelling and wrangles about the law; for they are useless and futile.
10 After a first and a second admonition, have nothing to do with a factious
11 man; be sure a man like that is perverted, and sins against his own
conscience.
12 **When I send Artemas to thee, or Tychicus, make haste and come to me**
13 **at Nikopolis; for I have decided to winter there. Speed eagerly upon**
their journey Zenas the lawyer and Apollos, so that they may be in lack
14 **of nothing.** Let our people also learn to take the lead in good deeds, as
occasion requires, that they may not be unfruitful.
15 All who are with me salute thee.
Salute those who love us[1] in the faith.
Grace be with you all.

[1] Reading ἡμᾶς.

I. TIMOTHEUS

Church matters mainly give the Epistles before us (especially the first to Timothy) their peculiar impress, inasmuch as they show how, when in danger of heresy, the consciousness of the Church and Church organisation grew strong on the lines indicated by Paul. As far as the main dogmas are concerned, we find but few traces of the contest with Gnosticism, and those chiefly in reference to the doctrines regarding God. For the rest they are the main traditional doctrines of Paulinism, modified by the tendency of the age towards practical piety.—**Pfleiderer.**

1^{1-2} **Greeting.**

1^{3-20} **Personal:** the truth of Christianity against error:
Paul the representative of this saving truth. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος . . . 1^{15}.
1^{18-20} his warning and charge to Timotheus.

2^{1}–3^{16} **Rules for church-life:**
2^{1-7} general, } prayer and worship.
2^{8-15} the sexes, }
3^{1-7} bishops, } organisation. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος . . . 3^{1}.
3^{8-13} deacons, }
3^{14-16} Conclusion.

4^{1}–6^{21} **Rules for the conduct and ministry of Timotheus:** in relation to
4^{1-16} ascetic errorists and their practices: πιστὸς ὁ λόγος . . . 4^{9}.
5^{1-2} different ages and sexes:
5^{3-16} widows—their maintenance and ministry:
5^{17-22a} elders—their maintenance and discipline:
5^{22b-25} [private advice to Timotheus]
6^{1-2} slaves and their masters.
Closing advice on
6^{3-10} the errorists—covetousness:
6^{11-16} true Christianity, a charge:
6^{17-19} Supplement: a word to rich people:
6^{20-21} a word against heresy.

I. TIMOTHEUS

1 1 Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus according to the command of God our
Saviour and of Christ Jesus our hope,
2 to Timotheus, my genuine child in faith:
grace, mercy, peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our
Lord.
3 As I appealed to thee, when I was going into Macedonia, wait on at
4 Ephesus and charge certain people not to be teachers of novelties, and
not to devote themselves to myths and interminable genealogies, seeing
that these promote out of the way investigations rather than God's
5 dispensation which is in faith. The aim of the charge is love, out of
6 a pure heart and a good conscience and an unfeigned faith; things from
7 which some have swerved and turned aside to chatter, in their desire to
be doctors of the law—though they understand neither what they say nor
8 what they strongly insist upon. Certainly we are aware that the law is
9 excellent, if a teacher uses it in a lawful spirit, realising that laws are laid
down not for an upright man but for the lawless and insubordinate, the
impious and sinful, the unholy and worldly, parricides and matricides,
10 manslayers, fornicators, sodomites, slave-dealers, liars, perjurers, and what-
11 ever else is opposed to the sound doctrine—according to the gospel of the
majesty of the blessed God with which I myself was entrusted.
12 I give thanks to Christ Jesus our Lord who strengthened me, because he
13 reckoned me trustworthy by appointing me to the ministry, although
I was formerly a blasphemer and a persecutor and outrageous. But I
14 obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief; and the grace
15 of our Lord overflowed with faith and love in Christ Jesus. The saying
is sure and worthy of all approbation, that "Christ Jesus came into the
16 world to save sinners." And of sinners I am the chief. But I obtained
mercy for this reason, that in me first Christ Jesus might display his
utmost long-suffering, as a typical instance for those who were hereafter
17 to believe on him to life eternal. Now to the King of the ages, who is
imperishable, invisible, who alone is God, be honour and majesty for ever
and ever: Amen.
18 This charge I entrust to thee, my child Timotheus, according to the
prophecies that first led me to thee; that in their strength thou mayest
19 wage the noble warfare, possessing faith and a good conscience, which
20 certain people have thrust aside and so suffered shipwreck in the matter of
the faith; including Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I have delivered
to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.
2 1 Well, I exhort first of all that supplications, prayers, petitions,
2 thanksgivings, be offered for all men, for kings and all who are in high
authority, that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all piety and
3 respectfulness. This is good and welcome in the sight of our Saviour
4 God, who would have all men saved and arrive at a full knowledge of the
5 truth. For there is "one God," also "one mediator between God and

men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all"—this
is the testimony in due season, and for this I myself was appointed
a herald and apostle (I speak the truth, I lie not), a teacher of the
Gentiles in faith and truth. I desire then that in every place the
men should offer prayer, lifting up holy hands without anger and disputa-
tion. Likewise that women adorn themselves in decent apparel, modestly
and moderately, not with braids of hair and gold, nor with pearls nor with
costly raiment, but (as befits women who make a religious profession) by
means of good deeds. Let a woman learn quietly, with entire sub-
mission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to dictate to man. She
is to keep quiet.

For Adam was formed first of all,
Then Eve:
And Adam was not deceived,
It was Eve who was beguiled and fell into transgression.

Still "women shall be brought safely through their childbearing, if they
3 1 continue in faith and love and sanctification, with soberness." THE SAYING
IS SURE.

If anyone aspires to a bishopric, he is desiring a noble task. Now a
bishop must be unblamable, the husband of one wife, temperate, sober-
minded, orderly, hospitable, a skilful teacher, not drunken or quarrel-
some, but forbearing; no wrangler, no lover of money, one who presides
ably over his own household, with his children in submission and entirely
respectful—if a man does not know how to preside over his own house-
hold, how is he to take care of a Community of God?—not a novice, lest
his head should be turned and he fall into the devil's doom. Also, he
must have a creditable report from outsiders, lest he fall into the devil's
reproach and snare. Deacons likewise are to be serious, not
talebearers, not addicted to much wine, not greedy for base gain, holding
in a pure conscience the secret of the faith. Also, let these men first of
all be tested; then let them serve as deacons, if they are irreproachable.
Women likewise are to be serious—not slanderers, but temperate, trust-
worthy in all respects. Let deacons be husbands of one wife, presiding
ably over their children and their own households. For those who have
served ably as deacons acquire for themselves a good position and great
confidence in the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Though I
hope to come to thee soon, I am writing to thee thus, in order that,
if I am long in coming, thou mayest know how it is right to behave in
God's household, that is, in the Community of the living God, a pillar
and prop of the truth. And admittedly great is the secret of piety:—

"Who was disclosed in the flesh,
Vindicated in the spirit,
Seen by angels,
Proclaimed among the Gentiles,
Believed on in the world,
Taken up in majesty."

4 1 But the Spirit expressly says that in later times some shall fall away
from the faith by their devotion to seducing spirits and doctrines of
daemons, through the hypocrisy of men who speak falsely, who have their
own conscience branded and marked, who forbid marriage and enjoin
abstinence from food—things which God created to be thankfully par-
taken of by those who believe and who know the truth. For everything
created by God is excellent; and nothing is to be rejected if it be thank-
fully received, for then it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer.

6 Give this advice to the brothers; so shalt thou be an excellent
minister of Christ Jesus, nourishing thyself upon the words of the faith
7 and of the excellent doctrine whose course thou hast followed. But as for
8 worldly and old wives' myths, have nothing to do with them. Train
thyself to piety; "bodily training is profitable for a little, but piety is pro-
fitable for everything, as it has the promise of the present life and of the
9, 10 life to come." THE SAYING IS SURE, and worthy of all approbation; for
this is why we labour and are denounced,[1] because we have set our hope
upon the living God, who is a Saviour of all men, especially of those who
11, 12 believe. Charge thus and teach. Let no one despise thy youth;
but show thyself a pattern to the believers in word, in conduct, in love, in
13 faith, in purity. Till I come, devote thyself to the reading, the exhort-
14 ing, the teaching. (Neglect not the talent within thee, which was given
thee through prophecy, along with the laying on of hands by the elders'
15 assembly.) Practise these. Be absorbed in them, that thy progress
16 may be obvious to all. Pay attention to thyself and to thy teaching.
Persevere with these, for by so doing thou shalt save both thyself and
thy hearers.

5 1 Chide not a senior sharply, but appeal to him as a father; appeal to
2 younger men as brothers, to older women as mothers, to younger women
3 as sisters, with all purity. Support widows who are really widows.
4 (But if any widow has children or grandchildren, let them learn first to
act piously to their own household and to render some return to those who
have brought them up; for this is a welcome thing in the sight of God.)
5 Now she who is really a widow and left desolate, has her hope set on
6 God, and perseveres night and day in supplications and prayers; but she
7 who lives in dissipation is dead in life. Give this charge also, that they
8 may be unblamable: if anyone does not provide for his own people,
and especially for his own household, he has renounced the faith, he is
9 worse than an unbeliever. Let no one be registered as a widow, who is
less than sixty years of age; and she only who has been the wife of one
10 husband, who has a reputation for good deeds, who has brought up
children, practised hospitality, washed the saints' feet, relieved the
11 distressed, diligently practised every good deed. But refuse to register
younger widows; for when they come to wax wanton against Christ they
12, 13 wish to marry, and so get sentenced for breaking their first troth. Besides,
by going about from house to house they learn also to be idle; and not
merely to be idle but also babblers and busybodies, talking of what they
14 have no right to mention. So I desire younger women to marry, to
bear children, to manage their households, to give the adversary no
15 opportunity for reviling—for some are turned aside already after
16 Satan. If any believing woman has widows, let her relieve them;
nor let the Community be burdened, rather let it relieve those who
are really widows.

17 Let the elders who preside ably be held worthy of double support,
18 especially those who labour in word and teaching; for the scripture
saith, *Thou shalt not muzzle an ox when he is treading out corn*, and "The
19 labourer is worthy of his wages." Accept no accusation against an elder,
20 unless it is certified by two or three witnesses. Those who sin, reprove
21 in the sight of all; so that the rest may also be in fear. In the sight of
God and of Christ Jesus and of the chosen angels, I solemnly charge thee
to be unprejudiced in following these directions, to be utterly impartial.
22 Lay hands on no one hastily, and have no share in other people's sins:

[1] Reading ὀνειδιζόμεθα.

23 keep thyself pure.—Be a total abstainer no longer, but use a little wine
on account of thy stomach and thy frequent illnesses.—
24 The sins of some men are conspicuous, preceding them to judgment;
But they also follow after some men.
25 Likewise, while good deeds are conspicuous,
Even those that are otherwise cannot be hidden.
6 1 Let all who are slaves under the yoke reckon their masters worthy of
2 all honour, that God's name and the doctrine may not be maligned. And
let not those who have believers as their masters, despise them because
they are brothers; nay, let them render service all the more heartily,
seeing that those who enjoy the benefit of the service are believers and
beloved.
3 Teach thus and exhort. If anyone is a teacher of novelties and
refuses to assent to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and to the
4 doctrine which is in accordance with piety, he is besotted; he knows
nothing, but is morbidly excited about controversies and wranglings
over words, which produce envy, quarrelling, slanders, wicked suspicions,
5 incessant disputes, among men corrupted in mind and deprived of the
6 truth, who think piety is a source of profit. Piety with content-
7 ment indeed is a great source of profit. For we take nothing into the
8 world, nor [1] can we take anything out; yet if we have food and clothing,
9 we are to be satisfied with these. But those who desire to be rich fall
into temptation and a snare, and into many desires which are senseless
10 and injurious, such as sink men in destruction and perdition. For the
love of money is a root of all evils, and in aspiring to money some have
been led astray from the faith and have pierced themselves through with
11 many a pain. But flee thou from these things, O man of God,
12 and pursue uprightness, piety, faith, love, patience, meekness. Play thy
part in the noble contest of the faith; lay hold of the eternal life for
which thou wast called and didst make the noble confession in the sight
13 of many witnesses. In the sight of God, who makes all things live, and
of Christ Jesus, "who bore witness in the noble confession before Pontius
14 Pilate," I charge thee to keep the commandment unstained, unblamable,
15 until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which shall be shown in
due season by the blessed and only Prince—the King of kings, the Lord
16 of lords—who alone has immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable,
whom no man has seen or is able to see. To him be honour and eternal
power: Amen.
17 [Charge those who are rich in the present world not to be highminded,
and not to set their hope on the uncertainty of riches, but on God who
18 provides us richly with all things for enjoyment; charge them to be
19 bountiful, to be rich in good deeds, liberal givers, generous, storing up
for themselves a good foundation for the future, that they may lay hold of
the life which really is life.
20 O Timotheus, guard thy trust; and turn away from the worldly babble
and "antitheses" of "the knowledge" (which is falsely named "know-
21 ledge"), by professing which some persons have swerved in the matter
of the faith.]
Grace be with you.

[1] Omitting ὅτι.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

Like the book of Joel in the OT, the epistle of James must be dated either at the very outset or towards the close of the literature. The intermediate position (Schäfer, *Einl.* p. 304 f.; Trenkle, *Einl.* pp. 210, 211), *i.e.* in the seventh decade, as a correction of the Pauline doctrine of faith and works in some of its abuses, cannot any longer be held. The old notion that this writing contains any direct polemic against Paul, or that it could have been composed previous to 62 A.D., by James, the brother of Jesus, with any such intention, is one of the least defensible hypotheses in NT criticism, and is rightly abandoned by the majority of conservative and radical critics alike. Weizsäcker, however, still defends a modified form of it (*AA*, ii. pp. 27–32); and the traditional position is defended in this country by Farrar (*Early Days of Christianity*, pp. 309–311), Hort (*Jud. Christianity*, p. 148), and some others.[1]

But it is impossible that such a letter could be addressed by James after the Council of Jerusalem to Jewish-Christians of the Diaspora, without a reference to the relations between themselves and the Gentile-Christians; and that Communities existed at that time which were wholly free from proselytes or Gentile-Christians is an unproved assertion. The truth is—

(1) In spite of all that is urged[2] in favour of Galilean education, it is scarcely conceivable that a brother of Jesus should possess the wide culture, the fluent and idiomatic Greek style, and the powers of literary expression and allusion that mark this writing. (2) The tradition of the Jacobine authorship is very late; the epistle is absent from the Muratorian Canon, and unknown to Hegesippus and Eusebius, while even its first mention (by Origen in the third century) implies considerable doubt as to its authenticity. (3) There is nothing in the rest of the NT (Ac $21^{18\text{-}20}$) to suggest on the part of James such a violent polemic against Paul as that given in chap. 2 must be, when the writing is taken as written during Paul's Christian activity and lifetime. (4) The complete absence of allusions to the Resurrection or Messiahship of Jesus, the scanty and distant references to him at all, and the failure to introduce these where they might naturally have been expected, are irreconcilable with what we know of the primitive church and with what would justly have been looked for in a brother of our Lord. To him Jesus must have been of vital and absorbing importance, on the score of birth and faith alike. But in fact the whole hypothesis of the Jacobine authorship[3] breaks down, whatever

[1] Renan (*L'antéchrist*, chap. iii.) dates it *c.* 62 A.D. as an invective against Paulinism and also against the rich and overbearing Sadducees in Jerusalem, though he hesitates to relegate the manifesto to the apostle. Not very differently Jacoby (*NT Ethik*, p. 200 f.).

[2] *E.g.*, by Mayor (*op. cit.*, chap. x.) and in Prof. Roberts' *Greek the Language of Christ and his Apostles*, chap. ix.

[3] The rigidity of the Christian Jews in Jerusalem upon the question of the law would have made it impossible for anyone to attain repute and authority among

date be taken for the writing. The only position for which a case can really be stated, is to suppose that the question of faith and works was started not by Paul's preaching, but by the previous training of the early Christians in Jewish rabbinical discussions, and that the "epistle," as a literary form of Christian teaching, was due not to Paul but to this solitary apostle. In this case James would be the earliest writing in the NT.

This hypothesis of James as a pre-Pauline document, a product of Christianity while it was still within the synagogue with a primitive, undeveloped, theology, is still held by some scholars. Besides Mangold, Hofmann, and Lechler, the theory has been strongly urged by Erdmann, Mangold, and Weiss (*INT*, ii. pp. 100–128); but the champion of this date was Beyschlag (-Meyer) in Germany, until the recent appearance of Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 52–108). Cp. also F. H. Krüger, *Revue Chrétienne* (1887), pp. 605 f., 685 f.; P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem* (1890), p. 58; and Blanc-Milsand, *Étude sur l'origine et le développement de la Théol. Apost.* (1884), pp. 36–57. There is little pith or moment in such theories, but in this country the view has always been a favourite, from Alford and Bassett (1876) to Lumby (*EB*, article "James"), Salmon (*INT*, pp. 448–468), Carr (*CGT* (1896), and Meyrick (*Smith's Dict. B.* (2nd ed. 1893), pp. 1520–1522); the recent edition by Prof. J. B. Mayor (2nd ed. 1897; also in *DB*, ii. article "James") gives the weightiest and most elaborate statement of the case in English,[1] and Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 217–250) ingeniously pleads for it in the endeavour to make James a liberal Jewish-Christian. Certainly Jewish Christianity was different from Paulinism, nor had the latter anything like a monopoly during the years 45–55. But it could not have been different to the point of what is an almost entire indifference to the characteristic hopes and motives of Jesus.

In addition, however, to the arguments already advanced, it may be urged that to date the epistle before the Council at Jerusalem (*c.* 50 A.D.) is to leave too little space for the development of the vices in the Christian situation. Such a doctrine of faith, such hollow piety and widespread worldliness, such indifference to the human life of Jesus and his heavenly glory, such a feeling of delay in regard to the second coming, are simply incredible upon the threshold of the young church. Further, if this letter with its meagre appreciation of Jesus represents the early Christian consciousness, as exhibited in a brother of Jesus himself, who was living at the centre of Christian tradition, the subsequent development of Christianity becomes a hopeless enigma. If such were the dominant and official ideas in the church, the later literature and life are inexplicable—grapes from thorns! But the positive and conclusive arguments against such a position are best given in a statement of what seem to be the true character and relationships of the writing in question.

The literary history and connections of James suggest a post-Pauline origin. The writer's acquaintance with the Pauline writings seems to admit of no serious denial (against Feine, *Jakobusbrief*, pp. 100–122), and it is hard to understand why Sanday and Headlam, who allow the use

them, who did not share their position generally; that James did so, is proved by Acts and Galatians, and corroborated by tradition. Comparative strictness was the atmosphere of the capital. The leader of the local Christians owed his rank to legal correctness and the prestige of birth. And these are the very points absent from the epistle of James—care for the Law or references to Jesus.

[1] Cp. also Burton (*RL*.), Dr. J. B. Crozier (*Intell. Development*, i. pp. 331, 332), Adeney (*BI*, pp. 434–440), Stevens (*NTTh*, pp. 249–252), and Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 765). The last-named unconvincingly suggests that the epistle was carried by the messengers of James (Gal 2).

of Romans in Hebrews, deny any literary relation between Romans and an epistle which—though not a third of the size of Hebrews—furnishes three times as many coincidences (*Romans*, *ICC*, pp. lxxvi–lxxix) of an even more striking character. The proofs, gathered best by Zimmer (*ZwTh*, 1893, pp. 481–503), are substantially decisive for the priority of Paul. A similar conclusion is reached from a comparison of James with 1 Peter. In spite of Beyschlag, Spitta, Schmiedel, and Zahn, it must be held that the latter epistle presents a more concrete form of several sayings than that preserved by James, who rather gives the impression of having quoted and adopted them from a previous writer: cp. the evidence and arguments in Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 60–65), Wrede (*LC*, 1896, pp. 450–451), Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1882, "Die Zeitlage des Jakobusbriefs," pp. 292–310), supported by Weiss, von Soden, Pfleiderer, Klöpper, and Usteri (in his edition of 1 *Peter*, especially pp. 292–298). The parallels are best printed in Spitta, *Urc.* ii. pp. 184–187. That Hebrews is also used by James is urged by the same critics, with the exception of von Soden and the addition of Schmiedel (*EWK*, II. 34, article "Catholic Epistles"). On the other hand, the connections between James and Clem. Rom. ($\frac{\text{Jas. } 1^{19\text{-}21}\ 2^{25}\ 3^{13}\ 4^{1}\ 4^{16}\ 2^{14\text{-}17}}{\text{CR. } 13^{1}\ 12^{1}\ 38^{2}\ 46^{5}\ 21^{5}\ 30^{3}}$) and the Apocalypse[1] ($\frac{\text{Jas. } 1^{12}\ 1^{18}\ 2^{5}\ 5^{9}}{\text{Apoc. } 2^{10}\ 14^{4}\ 2^{9}\ 3^{20}}$), do not appear to prove more than community of atmosphere, nor is it safe to infer much more than this from the coincidences (reminiscences, P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem*, p. 59 f.) in the fourth gospel ($\frac{\text{Jas. } 1^{18}\ 1^{25}\ 5^{20}\ 2^{1}\ 1^{22\,\text{f.}}\ 4^{4}}{\text{Jo. } 3^{3.8}\ 8^{32}\ 5^{24}\ 5^{44}\ 8^{31\,\text{f.}}\ 3^{16\text{-}21}}$) and the pastoral epistles ($\frac{\text{Jas. } 2^{13}\quad 5^{14}\quad 5^{13}\quad 5^{5}\quad 4^{1.3}\ 4^{2}}{\text{Past. II. } 1^{16.18}\ \text{Tt } 1^{5}\ \text{etc. II. } 2^{9}\ 4^{5}\ \text{I. } 5^{6}\ \text{Tt } 3^{3}\ \text{II. } 2^{24}}$). James is thus, on the evidence of its contents, a secondary writing in the NT; its strong and fresh treatment goes back for materials not merely to pre-Christian or non-Christian but Christian sources. Also, its closest relations from a literary point of view are with writings towards the end of the first or in the first quarter of the second century. The *terminus ad quem* is fixed by Hermas,[2] in which James is almost certainly used. Before 140 *c.* it must have been composed, and—if it uses Hebrews—after 90.

A date within the Domitianic period has been favoured generally by Hilgenfeld (*Einl.* pp. 537–542) and S. Davidson (doubtfully); McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 579–585), like J. Réville (*Les origines de l'Épiscopat*, p. 230 f.), puts it before the end of the first century, as A. H. Blom ("De achtergrond van den Jakobusbrief," *Theol. Tijd.* 1881, pp. 439–449) had already argued. Similarly Rovers, *Nieuw-test. Letterkunde* (1888), p. 93. But the tone and literary connections of the epistle point to a later period. Most probably it was composed about the same time as the pastoral epistles, although the date of composition can only be fixed approximately. So Baur (*Church History* (Eng. tr.) i. pp. 128–130), Schwegler (*Das nach-apost. Zeitalter*, I. pp. 413 f., 441 f.), Zeller, and Volkmar (*ZwTh*, 1861, p. 427), followed by Hausrath and Pfleiderer[3] (*Urc.* pp. 865–880). The last-

[1] Spitta, *Offenbar. Joh.* p. 521 f.; Feine, pp. 131–133.

[2] Cogent proofs in Spitta, *Urc.* ii. pp. 236 f., 382–391, also Dr. C. Taylor, *Journal of Philol.* XVIII. p. 297 f., and Zahn's edition of Hermas, pp. 396–409.

[3] With whom, as far as the date is concerned, R. Steck practically agrees ("Die Konfession des Jakobusbriefes," *Z.Schz.* 1889, XV. 3); also J. H. Wilkinson, *AJT*, ii. pp. 120–123.

named regards the latter as a protest, like Hermas, against the secularising of Christianity; he finds a parallel to its plain and practical[1] spirit, in the Waldensian church or in the Minorites. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 60–64, 287–296) regards the writing as the product of some little conventicle of Jewish-Christian Essenism in the reign of Hadrian, 117–138 A.D., directed against the Gnosticising tendencies of contemporary Paulinism. Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 140 f.), like Usteri (*SK*, 1889, pp. 211–256), dates[2] the book 125–150 A.D., and von Soden (*HC*, III. 2, pp. 175, 176) agrees that there is nothing to prevent a theory of its composition before 130 A.D., though he inclines to an earlier date (*JpTh*, 1884, pp. 137–192). Some corroboration of this general period may be found in the naïve tradition, preserved by Hegesippus (Eus. *HE*, III. 32, IV. 22), that the church had remained a pure virgin up till the martyrdom of Symeon (*c.* 107 A.D.), after which heresies and errors openly grew active. It is *c.* 130 A.D. that Harnack also dates the percolation of Hellenism upon a large scale into Christianity: the religious philosophy of Greece began then to reach the centre of the new religion, and, simultaneously with this, the older enthusiasm passed from the communities (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1900, p. 125 f.).

Austere and frequently ironical in tone, aphoristic in form, pregnant in expression, the successive paragraphs resemble more than once the sentences in Bacon's *Essays*. They are brief, condensed, direct. They "do not seem to end, but fall." Their quick thrusts are quite in keeping with the author's rigorous demands upon his readers. Severe and urgent warnings abound. In one hundred and eight verses fifty-four imperatives have been counted. They lie side by side with more tender consolations; but of praise there is not a syllable. The laxity of the moral situation is too keenly felt by the writer; and he never lets his readers go far from the *agenda* of Christianity. "Er ist der Apostel der That, für welchem alles auf die That ankommt" (Rovers). He has been called the Jeremiah of the NT, but he has affinities equally with the stubborn and pungent realism of Amos. The so-called primitiveness of this undogmatic—even antidogmatic—writing is explicable when it is set against the background, not of a nascent, elementary stage in Christianity (for the existence of which the evidence is quite inadequate), but of tendencies and features which here, as in Hermas and 2 Clem., reveal phrases of almost moralistic[3] religion side by side with the deeper or elaborated aspects of the faith. This standpoint helps one to rightly orientate the writings and its pithy phrases. It was a time of aberration (5^{19-20}), when the supreme call was for personal reformation (1^{19-27}) and the reclaiming of others (5^{16-20}). The long development of Christianity, even within the personal experience of the readers (3^{1}), had begun to

[1] Reuss (pp. 140–143; also *Hist. Christ. Theol.* i. pp. 423, 424) from a different standpoint underlines this dislike on the writer's part to theological disputation. "His warnings read like the first startled shrinking of piety from the flights of science"; he is a man "to whom all talking and disputing about religious subjects seemed like stepping out of the temple altogether." Similarly the pastorals.

[2] Cp. Bousset (*TR*, 1897, p. 15). Harnack's period is also *c.* 110–130 A.D. He denies that the writing is an epistle; comparing it with 2 Clem., he regards both as homilies, composed of isolated exhortations to the community and to individuals. Certainly συναγωγή (2^{2}) is a term transferred from Greek worship as an equivalent of ἐκκλησία (5^{14}); cp. Heinrici, *ZwTh* (1876), pp. 103–109, 523, 524.

[3] In 4th Esdras (8^{32-36} 9^{7} f. etc.) a similar emphasis falls on works in relation to faith.

betray symptoms of moral degeneracy.[1] Along with the wide diffusion of Christianity, abuses—especially of money and mind—had crept into the church, with the result that (as Klöpper graphically puts it) the moral deficiencies of Christian conduct were being covered by the withered fig-leaf of a merely intellectual belief. Neither talk nor theories make up life, this prophet thunders. Without morality they are a corpse. Words—words by themselves are alike the source of quarrelling and the substitute for honest conduct. No wonder that such a development or rather degeneration was followed some thirty years later by the Montanist reformation. This letter bears much the same relation to that movement as that which existed between the writings of Barclay or Tyndale and the English Reformation in the sixteenth century.

From another side than that of the pastorals, and yet with some substantial kinship, the epistle of James comes into the Christian development. Here, as in the pastorals, practical piety[2] is the dominant note. But the author, who was one of the wise men (Mt 23^{34}) in his age, and himself a teacher (3^{1}), instead of presenting his conceptions in the spirit of Paul, occupies the standpoint of an emancipated Jewish Hellenist.[3] To him (cp. Denney, *DB*, iii. 82) as to many in the second century, Christianity appeared in all its attractiveness mainly as a new law,[4] the supreme manifestion and expression of ethical monotheism and plain morality. To obey the commandments of God—that is the religious ideal of the age. Contrasted with the wearisome scheme of Judaism (Mt 11^{29}), it is a light and easy obedience (1 Jn 5^{3}, Jas 1^{25}). In the Johannine apocalypse and epistles this legal conception is bound up with a rich Christology, and even in the pastorals these two are not wholly severed. But the author of James stands nearer to the blanched Christology of the Didachê (on which see Harnack, *Apostellehre*, pp. 14–20) than to these NT writings, and his motives for the observance of the moral law are not drawn from God's Fatherhood and man's love to him.

The horizon is Christendom, but the atmosphere and situation are nearer the Jewish moralism of the Didachê[5] than the distinctively Christian writings that lie within the NT canon. There is nothing specially referring to the Gentiles, it is true. But the Jews are as decidedly left out of account. These racial divisions do not exist for the writer. A Jew

[1] Hints of Gnostic trouble (3^{15}=Jud ^{19}) and persecution ($1^{2.\,3.\,12}$ $5^{7\text{-}11}$) are not very luminous.

[2] Cp. the remarkable parallel on charity (1 Jn 3^{17} = Jas $2^{14\text{-}17}$), a good instance of the mystic and the moralist each pressing in his own fashion upon the same point of conduct. Add 1 Jn 2^{15} = Jas 4^{4}, 1 Jn 2^{25} = Jas 1^{12}.

[3] On the theology of James cp. especially Usteri, *loc. cit.*; Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 328–350, and in *ZwTh* (1893), pp. 57–69. For the reproduction of the wisdom-ideas cp. the great section in the Book of Baruch (3^{9}–4^{4}), where wisdom is claimed as the privilege and security of Israel. The monotheism of the Diaspora is excellently illustrated by the Sibylline oracles (Blass, *KAP*, ii. p. 179 f., and slightly otherwise, Zahn, *ZKWL*, 1886, pp. 77–87).

[4] Christianity as law is characteristic of the sub-apostolic age (Barnabas 2^{6}, ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὤν). On the beginnings of this conception cp. Gottschick, *RTK*, vi. pp. 634, 635, and Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 1895, i. pp. 33 f., 35 f.

[5] Cp. $\frac{\text{Jas } 1^{3}\ (4^{8})\ \ 3^{6\text{-}8.\,9\,f.}\ \ 3^{14\text{-}18}\ \ 5^{16}}{\text{Did. } 4^{3}\ \ 2^{4}\ \ 2^{5}\ \ 6^{1}}$. The ethical preoccupation of James need not seem so surprising when one remembers the traces of such a conception of Christianity already given in passages like Ac 17, $14^{15\text{-}17}$, 24^{25}. There the author, apparently without any sense of incongruity, makes Paul speak in semi-Jewish terms which are scarcely more Christian than the conceptions in James' epistle.

by birth, in all likelihood, he lives and writes in an age when these parties are neither included nor excluded; they are simply transcended. A fusion has taken place in the church. The Christianity in vogue is not now Paulinism, it is a diffused Gentile Christianity which no longer needs to remain in opposition to the semi-legal [1] conception of the faith, but is permeated with Hellenising influences (A. Meyer, *Die moderne Forschung über d. NT*, pp. 54–56) analogous to those stirred in the ethical revival of the first century by the Cynic "street-preachers" of the age, and by the fascination exerted by the Hellenic mysteries upon those who were dissatisfied with the superstition and moral impotence of current religions. The influence of this atmosphere on Christianity only began to be felt to any great extent as the new faith moved out into the Empire, certainly not before the third quarter of the first century.

To the writer, impatient and distrustful of theorising, Christianity then appears quite in the second-century manner as a law, "the perfect law" (1^{25}), *i.e.* the fulfilment of Judaism. The Christian is he who by a practical and consistent life obeys that royal law (2^{8} = Just. *Apol.* 1^{12}), and is thus a perfect man. Here, as in the later literature, the first notes of Protestantism are heard, though the author reminds us also of the Humanists in his taste for older literature. Contemporary religion had already developed far enough to be liable to aberrations which, in this man's view, were best remedied by a sharp recall to the primitive elements, and especially to the forgotten commonplace that a divorce between faith and conduct is ruinous to both. His polemic implies that Paul's original conceptions of faith and works were being misapprehended and abused.[2] But he is no pupil of Paul's, eager to re-state the distinctive Pauline doctrines, much less an opponent who writes with the ulterior and covert purpose of refuting such positions. To this author Christianity is not, as it was to Paul, an overpoweringly new spirit. It is the legal and moral heir of all that was best in Judaism. Of grace, of the Messiahship of Jesus,—the burning question of the primitive church,—of the hope of eternal life, there is as little mention as of circumcision and the Mosaic law, or of man's personal union with Jesus Christ. These are not the writer's world.[3] His ideal is "the truth," "the wisdom,"—practically equivalent to a good, moral life, which is an observance of God's law. Of God's Fatherhood and kingdom, truths which were the very life of Christ's first disciples, there is but the slightest mention. So far as distinctiveness and characteristics go, this document is to early Christianity pretty much what writings like those of pseudo-Phokylides are to the Judaism of the first century; both are genuine products, but tend to concentrate their attention upon the general moralistic features of the faith in question, instead of upon its particular tenets (cp. Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, pp. 151–201).

[1] With this sublimated conception of "law," which proved so influential in early Christianity, there may be compared the post-exilian attitude to the Hebrew Law, with its nourishment of rich and genuine piety (cp. Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures*, chap. ix., and I. Abrahams, "Jewish Life under the Law," *Jewish Quart. Review*, July 1899, pp. 626–642). Fourth Maccabees is an example of the stress laid on this piety (εὐσέβεια) by Judaism, when touched by a Stoical devotion to ethics.

[2] Cp. Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 333–335. That the readers were specifically Jewish-Christian is maintained by several scholars (*e.g.* Reuss, Weizsäcker, Klöpper, Schmiedel). That they were liable to risk from some form of ultra-Paulinism seems indisputable.

[3] Familiarity with the terminology of the Greek mystics (*e.g.*, as Hilgenfeld has shown with the Orphites 3^{6}, whom Dr. Gardner finds already behind a passage like

While the address implies an oecumenical Christianity which is viewed under the comprehensive and idealised symbols of the OT (the twelve tribes, 1^1, being equivalent to God's people, an ideal number like Apoc 7^4 14^1, or 1 P 1^1), the letter bears distinct marks of a local and concrete situation.[1] But it is no longer possible to reconstruct a picture of it. The generic term ὁ δίκαιος (5^6, cp. Wisd Sol $2^{12\text{-}20}$), however, corroborates the other evidence of the epistle by indicating that the writer felt in greatest sympathy with the class represented by the πτώχοι of Pss. Sol, or the "mansueti et quiescentes" of 4 Esdras (11^{32}), the suffering lower classes who represented by their Puritanism the true piety of the age. How far this is due to the archaic style of the writer, and how far to his actual environments, it is hard to say. If the latter hypothesis were pressed, the indications might point to Syria or Palestine, as in the case of the Didachê. But in all probability the tone of the letter represents the author's ideal. His sympathies revolted from the ostentatious religion of the better classes and clung to an Essene-like character, which resembles—it has been suggested—the simplicity and winsomeness of Francis the great *Poverello*. The connection of the writing with Romans, Hebrews, and Hermas has led several scholars (*e.g.* Brückner and von Soden) to think of Rome as the locus of the epistle ; but indeed certainty on this matter is unattainable, and conjectures are simply guesswork.

It is equally impossible to discover who the unknown James was, who wrote the letter. There is not any sufficient reason for holding it a pseudonymous document. Had the writer wished to pose as the first bishop of the Jerusalem church, he would (like the author of 2 P) have taken care to introduce unmistakable allusions to his traditional character. As it is, no one would dream that the apostle James was meant by the James of ver. 1, merely by reading the contents of the epistle. More local colour and detail would certainly have been necessary to produce this conviction among the first readers and authenticate the epistle. Had the writer intended to represent himself as the brother of the Lord—and much more, if he had actually been so—he would have emphasised his self-designation in the title and contents of the writing.[2]

1 Pet 3^{18} ; *Explor. Evangelica*, chap. xxi.), certain echoes of Philonic phraseology and the reproduction of ideas and sentences from Wisd. Sol. and Ecclus. (Spitta, *Urc.* ii. pp. 14–155, a rich series of parallels), do not in this practised scholar and writer affect the question of the date much more than the use of apocalyptic quotations in the Epistle of Judas. They merely tell against apostolic authorship. "Cet helléniste familier avec les ressources de la rhétorique est un même temps un philosophe, fusion des deux types alors commune et en honneur dans le monde grec. On se rappelle son système dualiste" (Massebieau).

[1] It will scarcely do, I fear, to regard the warning and denunciation of 4^{13}–5^6 as an apostrophe addressed to "the rich as a class" (Adeney, *BI*, p. 436). Surely here, as throughout the epistle, the author speaks as one who has known, suffered with and from, studied and lived beside, the individuals who prompt his utterances?

[2] How inconclusive and improbable all attempts at a biography are, made from the side either of internal evidence or of later tradition, may be seen from what is their best statement in Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 72–88.

JAMES

The author of this epistle seldom quotes Scripture, but he works with it. He has a particular liking for the prophetic tone, which passes with him not infrequently into the tone of Jewish apocalyptic. He lives in the religious outlook of the later Judaism. Free from every kind of mysticism, no less than from any interest in speculation, so bent upon the practical that he scarcely allows any independent value to the specifically religious element, he is bitter in his censure, rugged in his descriptions, a realist who plunges straight into daily life, and paints with a broad brush, a man of clear-cut diction when he unfolds his own ideas, the Jeremiah of the NT. The further we go down, the more intelligible become not merely the conditions which the epistle presupposes amongst Christians, *e.g.* the significance of the persecutions, and the limitation of miraculous power to the officers of the congregation, but also the ethical nature of the writing, its complete divergence from the main ideas of the Pauline preaching, its conception of Christianity as a law, and lastly its relations to the early Christian literature.—**von Soden.**

1^{1}	Address.
1^{2-12}	**Trial,** in relation to men :
	its reason and reward.
1^{13-18}	in relation to God :
	the false view.
	the true view.
1^{19}–2^{26}	**Deeds,** the issue and proof of religion :
2^{1-13}	to be shown specially in treatment of poor,
2^{14-26}	else faith is useless.
3^{1-18}	**Words,** the power and sins of :
	strife and bitterness.
4^{1}–5^{12}	**Moral counsels,** a series of : against
4^{1-10}	worldliness and pride,
4^{11-12}	fault-finding,
4^{13-17}	presumptuous self-confidence,
5^{1-6}	the injustice of the rich,
5^{7-11}	the impatience of the poor,
5^{12}	swearing.
5^{13-20}	**Epilogue :** directions for
	worship,
	sickness,
	prayer,
	reclaiming the lapsed.

JAMES

1 1 JAMES, a slave of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ,
to the twelve tribes in the dispersion: greeting.

2 Reckon it all joy, my brothers, when you fall among manifold trials,
3 As you know that the testing of your faith results in endurance:
4 Now let endurance come to perfection,
That you may be perfect and entire, lacking in nothing.
5 But if anyone of you lacks wisdom, let him ask from the God who
gives to all generously and without reproaching,
And it shall be given him.
6 But let him ask in faith, with never a doubt;
For the doubter is like the surge of the sea, wind-swept and tossed
to and fro.
7 Let not that man suppose he will receive anything from the Lord,
8 Double-minded that he is and restless in all his ways.

9 Let the humble brother exult in his exaltation;
10 But the rich in his humiliation,
Because *like the flower of the grass* he shall pass away.
11 For up comes the sun with the scorching wind and *withers the
grass*,
And the flower of it *falls off* and the beauty of its appearance is
ruined:
So shall the rich man also fade in his pursuits.
12 *Happy* the man who *endures* trial!
For after he has been tried he shall receive the wreath of life which
He has promised to those who love him.
13 Let no man who is being tempted say, "My temptation is from God";
For God is not to be tempted himself by evil, and he tempts
no man.
14 Every one is tempted by his own lust, lured away and beguiled:
15 Then lust conceives and gives birth to sin,
And when sin is matured, it brings forth death.
16 Be not misled, my beloved brothers.
17 "Every gift that is good and every gift that is perfect" is from
above,
Coming down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no
shifting or shadow of change.
18 He willed to bring us forth by the word of truth,
To be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures.
19 You know that, my beloved brothers.

Now let every man be quick to hear, slow to speak, slow to anger:
20 For man's anger does not produce the uprightness of God.

21 Therefore, putting away all the filthy dregs of malice,
Accept with meekness the implanted word which is able to save your souls.
22 Prove yourselves obedient to the word,
Instead of merely hearing—and so deluding yourselves.
23 For if anyone hears the word and obeys not,
He is like a man looking at his natural face in a mirror:
24 He looks at himself and is off,
And immediately forgets what kind of man he is.
25 But he who gazes into the perfect law—the law of freedom—and remains there,
Proving himself no forgetful hearer but actively obedient,
This man shall be happy in his obedience.
26 If any man imagines that he is religious, and does not bridle his
27 tongue, but deceives his own heart, this man's religion is futile. Religion pure and undefiled before our God and Father is this:—
to care for orphans and widows in their distress,
to keep oneself unstained from the world.
2 1 My brothers, hold not the faith of [our] Lord of majesty [Jesus
2 Christ], with respect of persons. For if a man enters your gathering with gold rings and splendidly dressed, and a poor man also enters in a dirty
3 dress, and you favour him who wears the splendid dress and say, "Sit here in comfort," and say to the poor man, "Stand there!" or "Sit under
4 my footstool"—have you not made distinctions among yourselves and
5 shown that you judge with evil designs? Listen, my beloved brothers. Has not God chosen those who are poor in this world to be rich in faith, and to be heirs of the realm which he has promised to those who love
6 him? Now, you have insulted the poor man. Is it not the rich who
7 oppress you? and is it not they who drag you to the courts? Is it not
8 they who blaspheme the noble Name by which you are called? If, however, you fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, *Thou shalt love thy*
9 *neighbour as thyself*, well and good. But if you have respect of persons
10 you are committing sin; the law convicts you as transgressors. For whoever shall keep the law as a whole and yet stumble in a single point,
11 is guilty of everything. For he who said, *Commit no adultery*, said also, *Do not murder*. Now, if thou committest no adultery but murderest, thou
12 hast become a transgressor of the law. So speak and so act, as those who
13 are to be judged by a law of freedom. For judgment is merciless to him
14 who has shown no mercy: mercy exults over judgment. What is the use, my brothers, of a man saying he has faith, without having deeds?
15 Can his faith save him? If a brother or a sister be ill-clad and in lack of
16 daily food, and one of you says to them, "Go in peace, get warmed and fed!" without giving them the necessaries of the body, what is the use of
17, 18 it? So too with faith; unless it brings deeds, it is dead in itself. But will some one say, "Hast thou faith—thou!"? Yes, and I have deeds as well. Show me thy faith apart from deeds, and I will show thee my
19 faith by my deeds. Thou believest in one God?[1] well and good. The
20 daemons also believe and shudder. Wilt thou understand, O empty man,
21 that faith is useless apart from deeds? Was not our father *Abraham*
22 justified by deeds, when he *offered his son Isaac upon the altar?* Thou seest that faith was working along with his deeds, that by deeds faith
23 was perfected, and that the scripture was fulfilled which saith, *Now Abraham believed God and it was counted to him as uprightness*, and he was

[1] Reading ὅτι θεὸς ἐστιν;

called *God's friend*. You see it is by deeds a man is justified, and not merely by faith. In the same way, was not Rahab the harlot also justified by deeds, as she welcomed the messengers and dismissed them by another way? For

Just as apart from the breath the body is dead,
So also faith is dead apart from deeds.

3 1 Crowd not to be teachers, my brothers,
Since you know we shall be the more heavily sentenced.
2 For in many points we all stumble:
He is a perfect man who stumbles not in speech,
He is able to bridle his whole body as well.
3 If we put bridles into the horses' mouths to make them obey us,
We turn about their whole body as well.
4 Look at the ships too! for all their size and their speed under stiff winds,
They are turned about by a very small rudder, wherever the impulse of the steersman decides.
5 So also the tongue is a small member,
Yet it boasts of great exploits.
Look at the forest kindled by a tiny fire!
6 And the tongue—that world of iniquity—
The tongue proves itself a very fire among our members:
Besides staining the whole body,
It fires the Wheel of being,
Fired itself by Gehenna.
7 For every kind of beast and bird, of things creeping and marine, is tamed and has been tamed by mankind:
8 But no man can tame the tongue—
Restless evil that it is, full of mortal poison.
9 With it we bless the Lord and Father,
And with it we curse men made *after the likeness of God:*
10 From the same mouth issue blessing and cursing;
My brothers, this ought not to be so.
11 Does a fountain send out fresh water and brackish water from the same opening?
12 Can a fig-tree, my brothers, produce olives?
Or a vine, figs?
No more can salt water produce fresh.

13 Who is wise and sage among you?
In meekness of wisdom let him show his deeds by good conduct.
14 But if in your heart you have bitter jealousy and factiousness,
Exult not over the truth nor lie against it.
15 That is not the wisdom which comes down from above;
Nay, it is earthly, sensuous, daemoniacal.
16 For wherever jealousy and faction exist,
There disorder is and everything ill.
17 Whereas the wisdom from above is first pure,
Then peaceable, forbearing, pliant,
Full of mercy and good fruits, impartial, unfeigned.
18 Now those who make peace are sowing in peace uprightness as the fruit thereof.

4 1 Whence come wars, whence wrangles among you?
Is it not from this, from your pleasures that wage war among your members?

2 You desire, yet you do not possess.
You are envious[1] and jealous, yet you cannot obtain.
You wrangle and fight, yet[2] you do not possess,
Because you do not ask.
3 You do ask, yet you receive not;
Because you ask amiss, in order to spend upon your pleasures.
4 Unfaithful to your troth,
Do you not understand that the world's friendship is enmity against God?
Whoever then would be the world's friend proves himself God's enemy.
5 Or is it idly, do you imagine, that the scripture saith,
"Jealously he yearns for the spirit which he made to dwell in us"?
6 Now *he grants* greater *grace:* therefore it saith,
The haughty God resists,
But to the humble he grants grace.
7 Be subject then to God.
Resist the devil,
And he will flee from you:
8 Draw nigh to God,
And he will draw nigh to you.
Sinners, cleanse your hands!
Double-minded, purify your hearts!
9 Grieve and mourn and weep!
Changed be your laughter into mourning,
And your joy into dejection!
10 Humble yourselves before the Lord,
And he will raise you.

11 Defame not one another, brothers.
He who defames his brother or judges his brother,
Defames the law and judges the law.
Now if thou judgest the law,
Thou are not obedient to the law, but a judge.
12 One is lawgiver and judge,
He who is able to save and to destroy.
But thou, who art thou to judge thy neighbour?
13 Come now, you who say, "To-day or to-morrow we shall go to this
14 or that city, and spend a year there, and trade, and get gain"—you who
are ignorant what life[3] shall be yours upon the morrow! For you are a
15 vapour, appearing for a little and then vanishing. You should say
16 instead, "If the Lord will, we shall do this or that." As it is, you exult
in your pretensions; all such exultation is evil.
17 He who knows, then, to do good yet does it not,
To him it is sin.

5 1 Come now, you rich, weep and howl for your impending griefs!
2 Your wealth lies rotten,
And your garments have become moth-eaten.
3 Your gold and silver are rusted over,
And their rust shall be evidence against you,
Yea, it shall devour your flesh like *fire.*
You have been laying up treasure in the last days.

[1] Reading φθονεῖτε. [2] Adding καί. [3] Omitting [[γὰρ]].

4 Behold, *the wages of which you* have defrauded the labourers who mowed
your fields, *are calling aloud*,
And the cries of the harvesters have entered *into the ears of the Lord of*
Sabaôth.
5 You have lived on earth in luxury and dissipation,
You have nourished your hearts, *on the day of slaughter.*
6 You have condemned, have murdered the upright man:
He does not *resist* you.

7 Be patient, then, brothers, until the arrival of the Lord.
Behold, the husbandman waits for the precious fruit of the earth,
Patient over it till it receives *the early and the latter rain:*
8 Be you patient also, strengthen your hearts,
For the arrival of the Lord is near.
9 Murmur not against one another, brothers, that you may not be judged:
Behold, the judge is standing before the door!
10 As an example of hardship and patient endurance, brothers, take the
11 prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord. Behold, *we call*
those who have endured, happy. You have heard of the endurance of Job,
and you have seen the end of the Lord, that *the Lord is full of sympathy*
12 *and pitiful.* But above all, my brothers, swear not: neither
by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath. Let your "yes" be a
simple "yes," and your "no" a simple "no"—that you may not fall
under condemnation.
13 Is anyone among you in hardship?
Let him pray.
Is anyone in good spirits?
Let him sing praise.
14 Is anyone among you sick?
Let him call for the elders of the Community,
And let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of
the Lord.
15 And the prayer of faith shall restore the invalid,
And the Lord shall raise him up.
Even if he has committed sins,
They shall be forgiven him.
16 Confess then your sins to one another,
And pray for one another,
That you may be cured.
Great is the effect of an upright person's prayer in its activity.
17 Elijah was a man with a nature like our own;
And he prayed earnestly that it might not rain,
And it did not rain on the land for three years and six months.
18 Then he prayed again,
And the sky yielded rain, and the land produced her fruit.

19 My brothers, if anyone among you err from the truth, and some one
20 turn him back, let him know that he who turns a sinner back from the
error of his way, shall save his soul from death and *hide* a multitude of
sins.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDAS

The main indication of date in this forcible and brief letter is to be found in the nature of the error that is denounced. This is commonly and, upon the whole, rightly taken to be a phrase of that strange antinomian Gnosticism which spread over sections of the church especially during the second century. The epistle (unless the epistolary form be an artificial and literary device) is addressed to a definite, local, and recent manifestation of this libertinism within (12) the church. It is a word for an emergency. The immediate conditions soon passed out of knowledge, and it is unreasonable to expect the writing to afford clearly defined traces of a controversy with which writer and readers are already familiar. Still it is none the less possible from the writing itself to reconstruct with sufficient accuracy the spirit of its period, although the general tone of the letter points not to a genuine epistle but to a homily. In the background Gnostic tendencies are unmistakable : the stress laid on distinctions and classes (19, *ἀποδιορίζοντες*, to which Ro 16[17] is only a linguistic parallel), the claim to possess visions (8, *ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι*) and superior knowledge (16), the moral laxity (8. 23), the repudiation of the OT God and of angels (8, *κυριότητα ἀθετοῦσιν, δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν*). Most critics concur in regarding these as consistent and decisive traces of the opposition which the church presented to the movement headed by the Nikolaitans (Apoc 2[6. 15]) towards the end of the first century, and later by several sectaries, including Karpokrates. Their leading tenet[1] was a licentiousness which obliterated the distinction between the natural and the moral (*παραχρήσασθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ*), accompanied by ecclesiastical insubordination,[2] and a violent antipathy to Judaism. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 2, 6–10) found this error implied—though, as he thought, prophetically—in the epistle. Omit the "prophetically" and the correct historical standpoint is gained for the writing, *i.e.* somewhere among the rising currents in the sub-apostolic age, most probably after the beginning of the second century. This is corroborated by the references to the apostolic age as distant and authoritative (3. 4. 17)—the apostles being not merely scattered but dead, as the passage clearly implies—and to the faith as a crystallised entity (*ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει*, cp. 19), to whose historical origin the readers can look back.

The *terminus ad quem* is the period of the Muratorian Canon which includes Judas, or more closely, that of 2 Peter, which derives from the epistle. The mind of the writer appears to be filled with anger and surprise

[1] As in the pastorals, it is met by denunciation rather than discussion, anger rather than analysis. But the situation is not yet desperate. The errorists, who are on the way of Kain (*i.e.* sceptics), are not altogether irreclaimable, and the church is evidently strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's camp. In 8. 10, as in Jas 2[14], an abuse of Pauline principles is implied.

[2] On this demagogic eruption, cp. Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 77, 85, 86. Like the other features of the situation, it rests on a theoretical propaganda of explosive ideas.

at the contemporary godlessness and libertinism (see Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, pp. 455–459), as if these were (4) for him at least a comparatively new departure. This (as Jülicher judiciously remarks) makes it advisable not to go too far down into the second century.[1] On the other side the *terminus a quo* is probably to be found not merely in the Pauline epistles which it presupposes (especially Col-Eph), but in the Johannine epistles, or even in the pastorals, with which Jud-2 Pet have clear literary and religious affinities, no less than with the Didachê (parts of it written by author of Judas? Chase, *DB*, ii. p. 799 f.). Broadly speaking, the range for its composition is the first quarter—perhaps the first half—of the second century: neither within nor without the NT is there any evidence to justify a more precise date. So Hilgenfeld (*Einl*, pp. 739–744) and Volkmar, followed by most critics, including especially Mangold, Lipsius, Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 327–329; *NTTh*, ii. pp. 318–321), and Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 160, 202). Völter formerly put it later than 140 A.D. Pfleiderer takes it similarly as the work of an Alexandrian Hellenist, written against the Karpokratian heresy (*Urc.* pp. 835–838), and this represents practically the position of several, like Hausrath and S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. p. 335 f.) and Cone (*Gospel and its Interpret.* p. 338 f.). But the narrower and earlier period, 100–125 (130) A.D., recently chosen and reasserted by Jülicher (*Einl*, pp. 145–147), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 585–588), and Harnack (*Chron*, pp. 465–470), is, upon the whole, certain. The relative order of Judas and the pastorals remains, however, quite an open question. It is attractive rather than safe to find the reference of Judas ^{17} (*τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τ. ἀποστόλων*) in 2 Tim $3^{1.2}$ 4^{3}, 1 Tim 4^{1}; earlier prophecies might answer just as well (*e.g.* Col $2^{4\,f.}$, Ac 20^{29}, etc). The affinities with the Didachê (2^{7} = Jud $^{22\,f.}$, 4^{1} = Jud ^{8} etc.) are much more convincing, and probably indicate that the situation of both writings is fairly identical.

On this view the author is some unknown Judas who puts forward no claim to apostleship. His title "Brother of James," if it be authentic, is either an equivalent for "bishop" or a merely personal reference. If it does not refer to the author of "James," it must be supposed to have carried some weight at the time, although we have lost the clue to its local origin and appositeness. Unless the writing is to be regarded (with Harnack) as originally anonymous, or (with Pfleiderer, W. Brückner, *Chron*, p. 298; and Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 328, 329) as essentially pseudonymous —which is unlikely, as the primitive Judas was far from being a prominent leader—it must be taken with this shadow upon the title. Grotius assigned its composition to Judas (Euseb. *HE*, iv. 5. 3), a bishop of Jerusalem in the reign of Hadrian, and in the dearth of evidence this seems not an unlikely guess, especially (*TU*, viii. 1, 2) if the heresy is interpreted as Coptic or Syro-Palestinian Gnosticism. The remarkable use of the apocryphal[2] literature and its legends[3] in the epistle has suggested

[1] Semler long ago put both it and 2 Peter between 150 and 200, the former, however, as an epitomê of the latter.

[2] Parallels collected by Spitta (*op. cit.*); passages from Enoch by Chase in *DB*, ii. pp. 801, 802. The latter critic endeavours with great plausibility to connect the epistle with the brother of Jesus; but at too great expense, if such a date (a year or two after the pastoral epistles!) involves not merely the authenticity of the pastorals but the earlier date of the apocalypse and (apparently) of Hebrews. Such a literary construction is quite untenable. Further, ver. 4 does not imply a Pauline missionfield (p. 804). Had Paul a monopoly of preaching "grace"?

[3] The literary dependence upon the Assumptio Mosis in ver. 9 must be maintained, in spite of Clemen's recent scepticism (*KAP*, ii. pp. 312, 314).

to Jülicher, however, the old idea of an Egyptian origin for the writing; while Schenkel, Mangold, Pfleiderer, and Holtzmann had thought of Alexandria, though Palestine or Asia Minor is intrinsically as probable. To confine it to the Syrian Antioch is simply a guess. Many a community was exposed to pagan lawlessness in that age. In fact the data are far too scanty to permit of any safe conclusion being drawn from them in regard either to the situation or to the author of this vigorous, brief, and enigmatic note. It implies an intimate connection between writer and readers, involving some mutual affection and knowledge. But any efforts to get behind this fact merely result in fantastic constructions which lie quite off the ground of history.

If it is desired to find within the NT records any Judas who would correspond to the description of the title (1), the brother of James (Mk 6^3, Mt 13^{55}) would certainly be the most likely figure.[1] But as grandsons of his were alive in Domitian's reign (Euseb. *HE*, III. pp. 19, 20), the period of his own life would be far too early [2] to suit the evidence of the writing, and would require the errors to be interpreted as products of Jewish Christianity or hyper-Paulinism. Neither in the letter nor in the rest of the NT is there the slightest ground for making such a conjecture upon the authorship, though it is naturally favoured by several Anglican scholars, *e.g.* Farrar (*Early Days of Christianity*, bk. ii. chap. xi.), Plummer (*Expositor's Bible*, "James and Jude," 1891, Plumptre (*Cambridge Bible*, 1887), Salmon,[3] and Chase. For different and not very cogent reasons, von Soden (*HC*, III. 2, p. 186) dates the letter between 80 and 90, Weiss before 70, Wandel (*der Brief des Judas*, 1898) between 62 and 70, Kühl (-Meyer) between 65 and 80, Schäfer (*Einl.* p. 314 f.) between 64 and 66, and Renan *c.* 54 A.D. (as a bitter, covert attack upon Paul and Paulinism: *Saint Paul*, chap. x.). Spitta's date (+ 80 A.D.) is bound up with his lonely and brilliant attempt (*Der 2 Brief d. Petrus und der Brief d. Judas*, 1885; also *Urc.* ii. pp. 409–411) to establish the relative priority of 2 Peter, the letter of Judas being an outcome of 2 P 1^{15}; but his arguments really prove with renewed force the need and reason for insisting upon the opposite order, no longer as a problem but as a postulate for the criticism of the two writings. The priority of Judas is rightly accepted by modern critics with practical unanimity.[4] In it we have the original purport of several

[1] In which case the "James" of Judas, ver. 1, would be the famous president of the Jerusalem Christians. This follows also, if the writing is one of the pseudepigrapha. Adeney (*BI*, pp. 450–452) also takes the author to have really been a brother of James the head of the Jerusalem church, and consequently a brother of Jesus.

[2] The πάλαι of ver. 4 has its parallel not in any of the passages quoted by Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 87, 88), where the context determines its relative scope, but in Heb 1^1, πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας *non minimo intervallo*, Bengel). It has a prophetic retrospect, for which no period of twenty years or so gives any adequate room. Similarly the destruction of unbelievers refers not to the Jewish ruin of 70 A.D., but to the incidents underlying the corresponding reminiscence in Heb $3^{17\text{-}19}$. In short, all attempts to tear the document out of the second century are largely verbal, and break down upon serious examination.

[3] "Many of the phrases packed together in Jude's epistle might each be the text of a discourse; so that I could easily believe that we had in this epistle heads of topics enlarged on, either in a larger document, or by the apostle himself in *viva voce* addresses," p. 477 n. The same has been suggested in regard to James. There also, as here, the wisdom-literature is largely drawn upon, and the writer is acquainted with general Greek literature (cp. also Jud [16] with Jas 2^1).

[4] A recent exception is Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 73–110), who dates Jud 70–75 A.D., supposing it to have been written by the brother of Jesus and addressed to the churches already warned in 2 Peter some ten years previously (60–63). He refers ver. 5 to the catastrophe of 70 A.D. Bartlet (*LA*, pp. 344–351) is fully alive to the

words and sentences which have been modified and readjusted in 2 Peter to a different situation (Jud ^{9}=2 P 2^{11}, Jud ^{10}=2 P 2^{12}, Jud ^{12}=2 P 2^{17}). The latter writing preserves some of the conceptions of the earlier, but they are presented in a more abstract and expanded form, and often would be unintelligible were it not for the comment supplied by Judas.

common situation of the Didachê and this epistle, but the early date he assigns to the former unfortunately obliges him to press Judas back to 70-80 A.D. as a Syrian document. It is, however, quite proper to insist that phenomena such as those presented in this epistle owe much of their obscurity to the fact that the modern reader "is not aware of the background of traditional and superstitious beliefs that existed from the first even in Christian minds, but were kept in abeyance as long as the power of fresh faith was unimpaired. Time, however, with its slow but potent alchemy, gradually destroyed this relation between the old and the new. . . . The delay of the Lord's return had an unsettling effect, causing men to fall more and more under the sway of the ordinary forces of human nature and society, and then by the aid of old beliefs to frame theories to explain and justify their practice." This is admirably put, and points to a constant source of deflection in the Christian consciousness of the primitive age.

JUDAS

The sole purpose of the writing is to warn Christendom against a band of pseudo-Christians, whose doctrines are as frightful and anti-christian as is their moral conduct. Written in some anxiety regarding the spread of such tendencies within the church, the "epistle" shows more goodwill than skill in its methods of controversy. More space is given to indignation at these shameless persons and to the description of the judgment awaiting them, than to a proof of what is base in their principles and behaviour. Only in one or two expressions—and even these merely hint in part at the subject—is any useful advice given regarding the individuals in question. The refutation proper consists entirely of the assertion that people were long ago prepared for such phenomena, by the predictions of prophets and apostles. The style does not give evidence of any remarkable ability, but it is not lacking in a certain marked force. Leaving out the objectionable quotations from the apocryphal writings, the author of 2 Peter afterwards incorporated in his own epistle this tiny letter of Judas, which had fallen into oblivion, but whose bitter invectives seemed to him most serviceable.—**Jülicher.**

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1. 2	Address and greeting.
3. 4	The occasion of the letter.
5-11	Denunciation and doom of the errorists:
12-23	Their exposure from prophecy,
	Their characteristics,
	Their treatment by Christians.
24. 25	Doxology.

JUDAS

1 JUDAS, a slave of Jesus Christ and brother of James,
to those who are called, beloved in God the Father and kept for Jesus Christ:
2 mercy to you and peace and love be multiplied.
3 Beloved, in my great eagerness to write you concerning our common salvation, I am obliged to write and appeal to you to contend for the faith
4 which was once for all delivered to the saints. For some men have slipped in by stealth, those who were predestined to this doom long ago —"impious men, turning the grace of our God into sensuality, denying
5 also the only Master and our Lord Jesus Christ." Now I desire to remind you—knowing as you do all things once for all—
that after the Lord saved a people out of the land of Egypt, he next destroyed those who believed not:
6 and that the angels who kept not their office but abandoned their own habitation, he has kept under the nether blackness in fetters everlasting for the judgment of the great Day:
7 even as Sodom and Gomorra, with the surrounding cities, who (in a way resembling these men) glutted themselves with fornication and went after strange flesh, are exhibited as a warning, undergoing the penalty of fire eternal.
8 Yet in the same way these men of sensual imagination also
pollute the flesh,
contemn the Lordship,
and abuse Majesties.
9 Now when *Michael the archangel* was disputing with the devil in controversy over the body of Moses,
He dared not bring an abusive accusation against him;
Nay, he said, "*The Lord rebuke thee.*"
10 But these men heap abuse on anything they are ignorant of,
And anything they do understand by nature, like the irrational brutes, through that they are corrupted.
11 Woe to them!
For they went the road of Kain,
and rushed headlong for wages in the error of Balaam,
and perished in the rebellion of Korah.

12 These are the men who are sunken rocks in your love-feasts,
feasting with you unafraid,
shepherding their own selves:
Rainless clouds carried away by winds,
Fruitless autumn-trees, twice dead, uprooted,
13 Wild sea-waves, foaming out their own disgrace,

Wandering stars, for whom the nether blackness of darkness has been
for ever kept.
14 Now Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these also,
saying:
15 "Lo, *the Lord came with his holy myriads*, to execute judgment
upon all,
and to convict all the impious
of all their impious deeds which impiously they wrought,
and of all the harsh words which impious sinners have spoken
against him."
16 These are murmurers, grumbling at their lot,
Walking after their own lusts—
And their mouth speaks extravagantly—
Paying regard to men's appearances for their own advantage.
17 But as for you, beloved,
Remember the words spoken beforehand by the apostles of our Lord
Jesus Christ,
18 How they told you: "At the end of the [1] time there shall be scoffers
who walk after their own impious lusts."

19 These are the men who make divisions,
Sensuous men,
who have not the Spirit.
20 But as for you, beloved,
Building yourselves up on your most holy faith,
Praying in the holy Spirit,
21 Keep yourselves in the love of God,
Waiting for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to life eternal.
22 Also, reprove some who separate themselves;
Save others *by snatching them out of the fire;*
23 Have mercy on others with fear, hating even *the tunic spotted* by the
flesh.

24 Now to him who is able to preserve you from stumbling, and to set
25 you with rejoicing faultless before his majesty—to the only God, our
Saviour through Jesus Christ our Lord, belong majesty, sovereignty,
dominion, and authority, before all time and now and for all time:
Amen.

[1] Adding τοῦ.

THE EPISTLE OF SYMEON PETER (II.)

THE composition of this writing during the course of the second century, and probably in its first half, cannot be regarded any longer as one of the open questions in NT criticism. The epistle is notoriously weak in external attestation (*DB*, iii. pp. 799–806), but the security of the critical conclusion rests mainly upon internal evidence. Especially noteworthy are (*a*) the references to Paul's epistles[1] (3^{16}) : these would appear to have acquired considerable prestige in the church, and to be ranked κατ' ἐξοχήν side by side with the canonical scriptures, as well as numbered among that class of books which forms a subject of discussion and dispute. All this, especially the co-ordination of apostolic writings with the sacred codex of the OT, points to a late and ecclesiastical atmosphere. (*b*) The writer, who is not an apostle (3^{2}, τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν), at the same time appeals intentionally and emphatically to the authority of Peter ($1^{12\text{-}19}$ $3^{1.\ 2.\ 15}$) ; he plainly uses 1 Peter, which he endeavours to imitate for his own purposes in spite of individual peculiarities of style and thought (cp. on the well-marked difference of language, Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 322, and the moderate statement of Simcox : *Writers of NT*, pp. 63–69, besides the critical editors). (*c*) The literary relations of the epistle involve its dependence upon Clem. Rom., and even more markedly on the epistle of Judas, of which a large part is reproduced expanded in 2 Peter 2 : probably also (in spite of Chase's scepticism)[2] a similar connection with 4th Esdras and the *Antiquities* of Josephus,[2] and apparently a set of similarities in thought and expression to the recently discovered Apocalypse of Peter (*DB*, iii. pp. 814–816 ; Harnack, *TU*, ix. 2. p. 90 f.), if not to Hebrews and James as well. (*d*) The general contour of the writing is late : we have the incipient ecclesiasticism of the church with its three authorities (3^{2}), the Lord, the apostles, the prophets ; the corresponding identification of "apostolic" with "authoritative" ; the subtle traces of Gnosticism with its subjectivity (1^{20}) and conceptions of the Divine essence (1^{4}), in view of which the writer emphasises the genuine Christian "knowledge" (γνῶσις, ἐπίγνωσις)[3] with its correlative of steady faith in the second

[1] "Das Christenthum ist hier schon ganz geworden, was zuvor das Judenthum war ; Bibelglaube, Buchreligion, wie dem auch $1^{20.\ 21}$ die Inspirationslehre in der Form des schroffsten Supernaturalismus vorgetragen wird" (Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. p. 397). On the analogous Hellenic belief in inspiration and reverence for antiquity, cp. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 50, 51.

[2] Elaborated in three articles by Dr. E. A. Abbott (*Exp.*[2] iii. pp. 49–63, 139–153, 204–219), which are not deprived of their substantial force by the adverse discussions of Professor Warfield (*South. Presbyterian Review*, 1882, p. 45 f., 1883, p. 390 f.), Dr. Salmon (*INT*, p. 497 f.), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 109) ; cp. the more impartial investigations of Farrar (*Exp.*[2] iii. pp. 401–423 ; *Early Days*, bk. ii. chap. ix. ; *Exp.*[3] viii. pp. 58–69) and Krenkel (*Josephus u. Lucas*, p. 350 f.).

[3] Knowledge has displaced the "hope" of 1 Peter, and by a corresponding change the sufferings of Christ and Christians have fallen into the background (contrast 1 P 5^{1} with 2 P $1^{16\text{-}18}$).

advent, according to the original and apostolic tradition, and as opposed to current spiritualisations; the fact of errorists being able for their own ends to pervert the scripture (3^{16}), and to make use, as it is known the Marcionites did, of Paul's epistles (passages like 1 Thess 5^{1} f., 2 Thess 2^{13}, Rom 2^{9}, are much more likely than Gal 2^{11}, if any special reference is to be thought of); the general impression that the early Christian age is far behind the writer and his readers, an era to be looked back upon (*e.g.* 3^{4}, ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν). These form a cumulative argument for the second-century date, which is final. It is accepted even by writers like Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 490–498), who finds 2 Peter is critically disputed with evident reason, based upon the epistle of Judas —which he puts into the first century—and a product of the second century; as also by Bovon (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 485 f.). Generally *c.* 150 A.D. or the years preceding that time form the period[1] adopted by a very numerous and weighty league of scholars, including Reuss (275–277), Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Bleek, Mangold, Renan, S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. pp. 523–559), Holtzmann, Krüger, von Soden, Ramsay (before 130 A.D.), McGiffert, Adeney, and most recently Chase (*DB*, iii. pp. 796–818) in an article of exceptional brilliance and research. After Keim (iv. p. 312, etc.), Pfleiderer puts the date further down into the century (*Urc.* pp. 838–843), and Jülicher chooses 150–175 A.D.; but Simcox rightly demurs to such a late period, on the ground that the book contains an indisputably Hebraistic element, and it is probably safer to place the writing not subsequent to the seventh or eighth decade of the second century. At any rate it is the latest writing in the NT (cf. Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 296–307). Harnack's well-known theory would imply that about this time, *i.e.* 150–175, the Petrine title was added to 1 Peter, probably by the author of 2 Peter (*Chron.* pp. 450–470).

This date involves the pseudonymity of the epistle. Of course, were the title to be interpreted literally and logically, the writing would be the testament of Peter. It must then have been composed, as the author intended his readers to believe, shortly before the death of Peter and subsequently to the first epistle, *i.e.* between 65 and 67 (Salmon, Lumby, etc.). Weiss (followed by Kühl), with his theory of the extremely early date of 1 Peter, has little difficulty in supposing that this writing might have followed some ten years later (*INT*, ii. pp. 154–169), and Spitta, on grounds of his own, arrives at a similar result; while Zahn actually dates the writing before 63, addressed by Peter to churches[2] in or near Palestine (*Einl.* ii. pp. 42–110). But the contents of the epistle are in hopeless contradiction with this hypothesis, the case for which is largely made up of assertions and assumptions. It may be said with perfect moderation and justice that the whole available evidence, positive and negative, internal and external, points away from such a period of composition. Calvin's excellent sense made him very dubious of the Petrine authorship, and finally suggested to him that the epistle might have been composed

[1] When the bubbling, many-coloured theosophies of Gnosticism were fronted by a movement of the church towards organisation and a canon. 2 Peter thus forms (cp. Renan's testimony, *L'Église Chrét.* chap. vii.) the most worthy member of the series of Petrine pseudepigrapha; it is an attempt to conserve the faith against Gnostic errors and the moral and mental snares which they set. Still, the actual environment of the book is dim. All we can see is that eschatological doubts have risen, since Judas wrote. Scepticism upon the last things has been revived and added to the heresies already prevalent.

[2] Jewish-Christian, upon the whole, and indebted for their Christianity to Peter or to other early disciples and apostles of Jesus.

at the command of the apostle by one of his followers, as he had already conjectured that Malachi was a name assumed by Ezra. This is a reasonable line of criticism, and it has become a favourite in several quarters. Recently, for example, the allied hypothesis of a literary amanuensis has been ingeniously used [1] to account for the faults and conflicting facts of style and expression. On this view the writing becomes Petrine rather than Peter's ; the cast of thought is secured for the apostle, while the peculiar Greek is attributed to a different secretary from the Silvanus who composed the first epistle. But this notion raises more difficulties than it solves. Nor does it fairly satisfy the internal evidence of the writing, which is crucial. A better attempt upon the same line is that of Professor Ramsay (*CRE*, pp. 492, 493). He regards the author as a pupil of Peter, who reproduced his master's counsels and spirit in face of new and later circumstances, just as the author of the "pastorals" is held to have done with Pauline ideas. But, as he proceeds to point out, some words of Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion*, iv. 5) [2] indicate that in ancient opinion a pupil's work could often be treated as that of his master : consequently, pseudonymity in a case like the present—though a further development—might be considered as a method which betokened humility and self-effacement upon the part of the author, rather than any attempt to deceive his contemporaries. This indeed would be the true standpoint from which to regard any NT pseudepigrapha. Probably, too, 2 Peter was put under Peter's name owing to the eminence of the genuine first epistle and the increasing authority of the Petrine tradition among the sub-apostolic communities.

The Greek style of the book has drawn upon it severe, though slightly exaggerated, strictures from Dr. Abbott, who inveighs against its "use of some words almost unknown to Greek literature, its misuse of other words and idioms, its fondness for grandiloquent novelities and strained sonorousness, its weak reduplication of florid phrases." This laboured and ambitious character suggests to him the English written by a Bengalee affecting the "fine style." After one gets over the odd associations of the parallel, "Baboo Greek" helps to elucidate at least one or two points in the epistle ; it is decisive against the Petrine authorship, though not directly for the second-century date.[3] Chase also terms the vocabulary "ambitious, poor, and inadequate" (*DB*, iii. pp. 806–809).

The origin of the epistle has been usually given as Egyptian, but Deissmann (*Bibel-Studien*, pp. 277–284) has discovered some interesting parallels between the style of the introduction and a decree of Stratonicea, which would rather point to Asia Minor.

[1] *E.g.* by Farrar and Simcox. But the notion is as old as Jerome's day. Much more plausible is the idea that 2 Peter is by the author of the "Apocalypse of Peter."

[2] "Since it is permissible that what scholars publish should be regarded as the work of their master" ; cp. Dr. Sanday's most cautious sentences ("Inspiration," *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 348–350).

[3] The growing distance from the religious centre of Christianity is even more noticeable in 2 Peter than in the other NT productions of the second century. It comes out in the diminution of simplicity, the increased recourse to vehement appeals and threats, the dependence on Jewish Haggada, and the presence of popular ideas such as that of the world's catastrophic overthrow and renewal (a Stoical opinion, Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, ii. 46).

II. PETER

The libertines who are attacked in the epistle of Judas appeal to a deeper Gnosis, they criticise the traditional faith and are on the point of separating themselves from Christendom; but in 2 Peter they reveal themselves in a still more advanced stage of development. They cast doubts upon the Christian tradition and occasion heresies. Their libertine tendencies and the background for these in angelology remain the same, even if the details are somewhat clearer and the propaganda more energetic. But they have brought one new idea into action, which for the time has produced a widespread opposition in Christian circles. This idea is to doubt the eschatological Christian outlook; and it assumes the guise of an appeal to a deeper knowledge of Christ, to a particular conception of the OT, as well as to the position of Paul. The last-named point could be manipulated in support of a theoretical basis for libertinism, and also—by an ingenious change of meaning—to extinguish the outlook for the second Advent. The author places himself in the ranks of those apostles who were invested with canonical authority. Indeed, he lays emphasis on this expressly. His aim is to deepen the impression of what he writes by introducing it as the last word of Peter, the testament of the apostle given immediately before his death.—**von Soden.**

1[1-4] Greeting: the possession of the Divine Life:

1[5-11] its moral obligations.

1[12-21] To urge these, the motive of the writer: his authority.

The need of such counsel: in

2[1-22] (*a*) the rise of false prophets and teachers—
doom of these and their adherents foretold and certain.

3[1-13] (*b*) the doubts of the second Arrival—
the day of the Lord, certain and critical.

3[14-18] Final appeal.

II. PETER

1 1 Symeon Peter, a slave and apostle of Jesus Christ,
to those who have been allotted along with us a faith of equal privilege, through the justice of our God and the Saviour Jesus Christ:

2 Grace to you and peace be multiplied in the full knowledge of God
3 and of Jesus our Lord, as his divine power has bestowed on us all that makes for life and piety through the full knowledge of him who called us
4 by his own majesty and virtue—through which he has granted promises that are precious to us and most great, in order that through these you may come to share in the divine nature and escape from the corruption
5 which, thanks to lust, is in the world. Yea and for this very object, contributing on your part all eagerness, in your faith furnish virtue; and
6 in virtue, knowledge; and in knowledge, self-control; and in self-control,
7 patience; and in patience, piety; and in piety, brotherly love; and in
8 brotherly love, love. For if these things exist with you and increase, they render you neither idle nor fruitless in gaining the full knowledge
9 of our Lord Jesus Christ; for he who has not these things by him is blind, short-sighted, since he has forgotten the cleansing from his sins
10 of long ago. Therefore, brothers, endeavour all the more eagerly to make sure of your calling and selection, for by so doing you shall
11 never stumble. In this way you shall have richly furnished to you the entrance into the eternal reign of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

12 Therefore I shall take care always to remind you of these things, although you know them and are established in the truth you now
13 possess. Indeed I consider it right, so long as I dwell in this tent, to
14 stir you up by way of reminder; since I know my tent must be struck
15 speedily, as our Lord Jesus Christ also pointed out to me. Yes and I will eagerly endeavour that even after my departure you may constantly
16 recollect these things. For it was no sophistical myths that we followed, when we made known to you the power and arrival of our Lord Jesus
17 Christ: nay, we were admitted to the spectacle of his grandeur. For he received honour and majesty from God the Father, when such a voice as this reached him from the grand Majesty,

"This is my beloved Son,
With whom I am delighted"—

18 and this voice we heard borne out of the sky, when we were with him on
19 the holy mountain. And so we have the word of prophecy more sure than ever, to which you do well to devote yourselves, as to a lamp shining in a darksome place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise within
20 your hearts; especially as you know that every prophecy eludes individual interpretation,

21 For it was not through man's will that any prophecy was ever borne,

But holy[1] men of God spoke as they were impelled by the holy Spirit.

2 1 But false prophets also appeared among the People,
As among you also there shall be false teachers,
Men who shall stealthily introduce destructive heresies,
And by denying the Master who bought them bring speedy destruction upon themselves.
2 And many shall follow their sensuality,
Through whom the way of the truth *shall be maligned.*
3 And in covetousness shall they make gain out of you with feigned words—
Men whose doom from of old comes apace,
And their destruction slumbers not.
4 For if God spared not angels when they sinned,
But thrusting them down to Tartarus, to pits of nether blackness,
Delivered them to be kept for judgment:
5 And if he spared not the ancient world,
But preserved Noah, a herald of uprightness, along with seven others,
When he brought a deluge upon the world of the impious:
6 And if he reduced the cities of Sodom and Gomorra to ashes, and sentenced them to overthrow,
Making an example of them for future impiety,
7 And rescued upright Lot, weighed down by the sensual conduct of the lawless
8 (For as that man of uprightness resided among them,
Through sight and hearing he tormented his upright soul with their unlawful deeds from day to day)—
9 The Lord knows how to rescue the pious out of trial,
And to keep the unjust in punishment for the day of judgment,
10 But especially those who walk after the flesh in the lust of pollution and despise the Lordship.
11 Daring, arrogant, they tremble not when they abuse Majesties! Whereas
angels, greater though they are in might and power, do not bring an
12 abusive accusation against them before the Lord. But these, like
irrational brutes, by nature born for capture and corruption, uttering
abuse about what they are ignorant of, shall also perish in their cor-
13 ruption, obtaining the wages of iniquity; men who reckon it a pleasure
to live luxuriously in open daylight, spots and blots, luxuriating in their
14 deceits as they feast with you, with eyes full of adultery and insatiable[2]
in sin, beguiling unstable souls, with their heart trained in covetousness,
15 children to be cursed. Leaving the straight road, they erred as they
followed the road of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of
16 iniquity but got rebuked for his own malpractice: a dumb beast of
burden spoke with human voice and prevented the infatuation of the
17 prophet. These men are waterless fountains and mists driven by a
18 squall, for whom the nether blackness of darkness has been kept. For,
uttering futile extravagances, they beguile in the lusts of the flesh, by
sensuality, those who are just escaping from men of erring conduct,
19 promising them freedom while they are slaves of corruption themselves!
20 For whatever a man is worsted by, to that he is enslaved. For, after
escaping the pollutions of the world through the full knowledge of our[3]

[1] Reading ἅγιοι. [2] Reading ἀκατάπαυστους. [3] Adding ἡμῶν.

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, if they are once more entangled and
21 worsted by these, their last state turns out worse than their first. Better
had it been for them never to have known the way of uprightness than,
after knowing it, to turn back from the holy commandment delivered to
22 them. What has happened to them is what the true proverb says: *a dog,*
that has turned back to his own vomit; and, "a sow that had washed, to
wallowing in the mud."

3 1 This is now the second letter, beloved, that I write to you, and in
2 them I seek to stir up your sincere mind by way of reminder, that you re-
member the words which have been spoken beforehand by the holy
prophets, and the commandment of the apostles sent you from the Lord
3 and Saviour; as you know this first of all, that in the last days scoffers
4 shall come scoffing, walking after their own lusts and saying, "Where is
the promise of his arrival? For, from the day when the fathers fell
asleep, all things remain exactly as they were from the beginning of the
5 creation." They forget, in this notion of theirs, that skies and earth
existed long ago, composed out of water and through water by the word
6 of God, through which (water and word) the then-existing world was
7 deluged and destroyed; while the present skies and earth have been
reserved by the same word, kept for fire, for the day when impious
men are judged and destroyed.

8 Now forget not this one thing, beloved:
With the Lord a single day is like a thousand years,
And *a thousand years like a* single *day.*
9 The Lord is not slow with the promise, as some reckon slowness:
Nay, he is longsuffering towards you,
Unwilling that any should perish, but that all should betake
them to repentance.
10 The day of the Lord will come, like a thief:
And in it the skies shall pass away with hurtling noise,
The elements shall be set aflame,
And the earth with the works therein shall be burned up.
11 As these things are all thus to be dissolved,
What must you be in holy conduct and piety,
12 Expecting and yearning for the arrival of the day of God,
By which *the skies* shall be set on fire and dissolved,
And the elements shall be set aflame and *melt?*
13 But it is *new skies and a new earth* that we expect, according to his
promise:
And in them uprightness dwells.

14 Wherefore, beloved, as you are expecting these things, endeavour eagerly
15 to be found in peace, unstained and unblamable before him; and reckon
the longsuffering of our Lord as salvation—just as our beloved brother
16 Paul also wrote to you by the wisdom given him, speaking of these
matters, as indeed he did, in all his letters; letters containing some
things hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable distort (as
17 they do the rest of the scriptures) to their own destruction. As for
you then, beloved, knowing these things beforehand, be on your guard that
you may not be carried away by the error of the lawless and fall from
18 your own steadfastness; but grow in the grace and knowledge of our
Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him be the majesty both now and to
the day of eternity.

APPENDIX

The critical study of ancient documents means nothing else than the careful sifting of their origin and meaning in the light of history. The first principle of criticism is that every book bears the stamp of the time and circumstances in which it was produced. An ancient book is, so to speak, a fragment of ancient life; and to understand it aright we must treat it as a living thing, as a bit of the life of the author and his time, which we shall not fully understand without putting ourselves back into the age in which it was written. People talk much of destructive criticism, as if the critic's one delight were to prove that things which men have long believed are not true, and that books were not written by the authors whose names they bear. But the true critic has for his business, not to destroy, but to build up. . . . He must review doubtful titles, purge out interpolations, expose forgeries; but he does so only to manifest the truth, and to exhibit the genuine remains of antiquity in their real character. . . . In a word, it is the business of the critic to trace back the steps by which any ancient book has been transmitted to us, to find where it came from and who wrote it, to examine the occasion of its composition, and to search out every link that connects it with the history of the ancient world and with the personal life of the author.—**W. Robertson Smith.**

APPENDIX

ON THE HYPOTHESES OF INTERPOLATION, COMPILATION, AND PSEUDONYMITY, IN RELATION TO THE NT LITERATURE

Any discussion of the NT writings, especially with reference to their date, must include some attempt to appreciate the literary customs and conditions among which these writings took their earliest or final shape. The first and most obvious question is that of translation. It is introductory to the others, and scarcely as vital; but it cannot be passed over without some notice at least of its existence.

The question is, are all the NT writings extant in the language in which their authors originally wrote them? Or have any been subsequently translated from Hebrew and Aramaic (that "most concrete and unmetaphysical of languages," M. Arnold) into Greek? The bearing of this upon the problem of a book's date may be illustrated by the case of Ecclesiasticus. The Greek version of this book is a translation of the Hebrew original, prepared some fifty years later by the grandson of the author. Here translation implies a notable gap between the earlier and the final form of the book. When the translator is identical with the author of the original, the matter is comparatively speaking of less importance: as in the case of Josephus, who composed his history of the Jewish war in the Aramaic vernacular, intending it for the Jews resident across the Euphrates (*τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις*), but afterwards, to gain access for his work to the wider circles of the Roman Empire, rendered it into Greek. Still, apart altogether from the personality of the translator, the question of translation affects to some degree the date of a writing. The earlier instances in all departments of Jewish literature (*e.g.* 1 Maccabees, Judith, Seirach, Psalt. Sol., Enoch, Book of Jubilees,[1] etc.[2]) prove the abstract possibility of translation in regard to a NT writing, while the bi-lingual nature of the Roman Empire and the use of Aramaic and Greek in Palestine indicate that such a practice must have been necessary for the extensive circulation of literature. The hypothesis therefore has a legitimate claim to be at least tested. Whether it explains in a satisfactory fashion any or all of the NT records in connection with which it has been raised, is a question that depends upon the further examination of the particular case and its evidence.

[1] In the case of this writing it is still a moot point whether the original was Aramaic or Hebrew.

[2] Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1899, i. pp. 10–13) extends the practice further among the pseudepigrapha; he even conjectures an Aramaic original for the Hebrew of Dan 1–6, as Marshall (*DB*, i. p. 253) does for Baruch, 3^9–4^4. Similarly for 4th Esdras, Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. p. 235 f.).

Only three books in the NT[1] can be seriously supposed to admit even of the discussion of this hypothesis with regard to their contents. Chief among these is (*a*) the gospel of Matthew. The Papias-tradition of Matthew's Aramaic Logia (Eus. *HE*, III. 39, *ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο* (v. l. *συνετάξατο*), *ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος*) naturally led scholars of later ages to naïvely confuse or to deliberately identify this Aramaic compilation with the canonical gospel. The motives for such a belief were obvious. It secured apostolicity for the gospel, and it seemed to explain satisfactorily some of its linguistic and theological features. But if one result is certain in synoptic criticism, it is that the extant Matthew is no translation. The Logia to which Papias refers formed one of its sources, but even this already existed in a Greek translation as it lay before the final author of the gospel, along with his other main source, the Greek Mark. Even apart from its dependence upon these documents, the linguistic phenomena of the gospel afford evidence[2] that is practically decisive, *e.g.* the comparatively smooth Greek, the number of OT quotations that necessarily imply a use of the LXX, phrases of peculiarly Greek assonance and rhythm (like 6^{7}, *βαττα-λογήσητε . . . πολυλογίᾳ*; 6^{16}, *ἀφανίζουσιν . . . φανῶσιν*; 21^{41} $24^{7.\ 30}$), etc. The relation between this Aramaic (Dalman) or Hebrew (Resch,[3] *TU*, x. 1. p. 90 f.) compilation of Logia and the canonical Matthew is extremely intricate (on the whole question, cp. Holtzmann, *Theol. Jahresbericht*, 1889, pp. 99–103, and Harnack's frank note, *Chron.* pp. 692–694). But at any rate the identification of the two is precarious in the extreme. It is even doubtful whether *λόγια* at that time could have been applied to a NT writing; and from what we know of the Hebrew "Matthew," the scanty traces of its nature and contents (in Origen and Jerome) indicate that the writing was very different from our extant gospel. Some editors, however, like Schanz (*Comm. über das Evglm. d. heiligen Matthäus*, pp. 8–23) and Carr (*CGT*, pp. xx–xxiii), still adhere to the translation hypothesis,[4] while Blass among others (including Nestle) goes back even to an Aramaic original not only for the first part of Acts, but even for Mark's Gospel[5]

[1] Leaving out of account the possibly Jewish (Hebrew) sources which, it has been conjectured, underlie the earlier chapters of Matthew and Luke, and portions of the Apocalypse. It is curious that an attempt has recently been made by Dr. H. P. Chajes to reconstruct the Hebrew (!) original of Mark (*Markus-Studien*, 1899).

[2] Cp. the statement and discussion in Weiss, *Matthäus-Evangelium*, pp. 35–48; Roberts' *Greek the Language of Christ and his Apostles* (1888), chaps. x.–xiii.; and Conybeare, *DB*, ii. p. 262. This position, reached by critics of the synoptic problem, has been recently corroborated, from the standpoint of an expert in Aramaic, by Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 47–57), and is conclusively stated by Weiss (-Meyer,[9] 1898, *Matthäus*, pp. 4–13). Cp. also W. C. Allen (*Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 135–137), who, however, seems impressed by the Aramaic phraseology of Mark (*Exp.*[6] i. pp. 436–443).

[3] He gives a lucid summary of his position in *ThSt*, pp. 95–128, a study of עִבְרִי שִׁוְיָא. For Zahn's theory, see his *Einl.* ii. pp. 295–322, a collection of good material and less acceptable inferences.

[4] Cp. also Gla (*Die Originalsprache des Mt.-Evglms.* 1887), who holds to an Aramaic original for the gospel, but will not identify it with the Hebrew gospel. For the cognate theory that an original Aramaic gospel once existed, see Marshall's acute and elaborate papers (*Exp.*[4] iii.–iv., résumé in *Exp. Ti.* iv. pp. 260-267). This and the theories of A. Meyer and Wellhausen upon the primitive form and dialect of the Urevangelium are discussed by Dalman, *op. cit. Einleitung*, VI.

[5] One good feature of Swete's recent edition of Mark (also of Salmond's article, *DB.* iii. pp. 251, 252) is the reasoned opposition offered to such a hypothesis, which contradicts the earliest tradition (Papias), is not absolutely necessary for the textual phenomena, and must be pronounced a tissue of improbabilities.

(*PG*, pp. 190–218); but the most reasonable conclusion, with reference not merely to one but to all those gospels, is that, while the matrix of their original tradition was the Aramaic vernacular of Palestine, the extant gospels as well as their immediate sources—so far as these can be traced and felt—were composed with practical entirety in Greek.[1]

(*b*) The idea of an Aramaic original for the epistle of James has also been unconvincingly revived by Wordsworth (*Studia Biblica*, i. p. 144 f.),[2] who conjectures that our present text forms one of two translations. The real impulse to this theory is the desire to do justice to the excellent Greek style of the epistle and at the same time to preserve its apostolic origin. But the hypothesis will not hold water. No NT writer moves with such vigour and freshness in Hellenistic Greek as the author of James. His book has assonances and idioms that preclude any idea of a translation, and ally him to the wisdom literature of Alexandria as well as to the Greek classics. The style of James embraces Hebraisms, as was to be expected; but it is as distinctively and independently Greek as a page of Marcus Aurelius.

(*c*) At an early period[3] Hebrews was widely imagined to be a translation by Luke of Paul's originally Hebrew composition (Euseb. *HE*, vi. 14. 2, *γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν*). Paul wrote it, says Jerome, "ut Hebraeus, Hebraeis, Hebraice." The motive of this theory (from Clement to Thomas Aquinas) falls of course with the abandonment of the Pauline authorship. But it never had any real countenance from the internal evidence of the writing, with its verbal and close use of the LXX (especially $10^{5.\ 10}$, also 1^{7} 10^{37} 12^{21}, etc.), its assonances (*ἔμαθεν . . . ἔπαθεν*, 5^{8}; *καλοῦ . . . κακοῦ*, 5^{14} 1^{1} 8^{7}, etc.), and the fine rhetorical periods that mark its structure. In face of the excellent Greek of the epistle, the translation-hypothesis is nothing better than a curiosity of criticism (cp. Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. xxxii–xxxv).

These and every other application of the translation-hypothesis to the NT literature may be therefore set aside with almost absolute confidence. It is wrecked repeatedly and fatally upon the evidence of style. It is in conflict with the fact that long before any NT writing—and especially a gospel—was composed, the church was becoming full of members who knew Greek (Ac 6^{1} 9^{29}) and no Aramaic. Their needs became more and more paramount, and it was to the situation created by their presence and requirements that the NT writings later than Paul were mainly addressed. The translation-hypothesis in fact is bound up with a conception of the early Christian development which places several of the

[1] Extremely fair summaries of the critical position in Bovon, *NTTh*, i. pp. 72–84; Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 1–51; T. K. Abbott, *Essays on Original Texts of Old and New Test.*, 1891, pp. 154–158; and Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, pp. 117–121 (Matthew), 221–223 (Mark and Luke).

[2] His arguments (based mainly on the Latin translation in Codex Corbey, which seems to presuppose a Greek original differing from the extant text) are taken very seriously and refuted with complete success by Mayor, *Epistle of St. James*, pp. xli–xlii, ccv–ccxiii. So Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 84, 85), who remarks that if the extant James were not the original, it would imply a mastery of the art of translation such as could not be paralleled in antiquity.

[3] The view still seems to linger. Panck (*Commentarius in epistolam beati Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*, 1882) considers the epistle was originally written by Paul in Aramaic, and Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (*Exp.*[3] iv. p. 326) is "fully convinced from internal evidence that the epistle to the Hebrews, in the original, belonged to St. Paul, and that only the Greek now in our hands is a somewhat inexact translation of it."

NT writings at a period too early for their real nature and characteristics. It has never won serious or extensive support, and seems less likely to do so than ever.[1] On the contrary, one of the postulates of modern criticism is that the NT writings, whatever processes they may have gone through in the course of their composition, are extant in the language in which they passed from their final authors to those who first received the autographs.[2]

The following collateral topics, however, need more serious discussion, as they closely touch the problem of the NT. documents and their dates.

(1) The possibility of interpolation. Substantially a writing may bear evidence that it has originated in a certain period, while nevertheless it contains sections or verses which obviously belong to a different age, earlier or later. In such a case the hypothesis of interpolation becomes legitimate.. Its relevance is always disputable : hardly ever, its possibility. During the pre-canonical age, and indeed for some centuries afterwards, the NT texts were exposed, in the course of things, to the possibility of such additions and incorporations. *Habent sua fata libelli.* No less than the gospels, the other writings of the NT "arose not in the sort of world where depositions are taken, nor in the sort of world where manuscripts are guarded. They arose, and they passed many years," as Matthew Arnold[3] proceeds to point out, "in the immense, underground, obscure, fluctuating world of the common people. Probably even neighbours and contemporaries never knew, or cared to know, quite accurately, the literary history of a document like one of our gospels ; and beyond question the knowledge, if it ever existed, was soon lost irrecoverably." Within the second century especially MSS had their vicissitudes. These were due partly to their occasional obscurity, partly to their very popularity and wide circulation. They were exposed to alteration, omission, addition at the hands alike of copyist and of reader. Traces of this still exist in our oldest MSS., *e.g.* the Marcan appendix (Ro 16^{24}), and the Johannine pericopê (7^{53}–8^{11}). But there is no reason to deny the abstract probability of such interpolations even where the extant text no longer suggests any break. The history of the text does not in most cases reach back so accurately and so far, that room is not left between the autographs and the earliest known text for changes to have taken place. These changes

[1] Nestle (*SK*, 1896, p. 102 f.; *Phil. Sacra*, *passim*) and Blass (*Evangelium sec. Luc.* pp. vi, xxi) have recently conjectured an Aramaic basis for the early part of Acts ; but the linguistic evidence is not conclusive.

[2] The case of the apocalyptic Jewish writings is scarcely analogous. As Gunkel points out (*KAP*, ii. p. 333), the number of "barbarian" languages in which so many of them are extant, is due to their historical fortunes. Jewish apocalyptic literature, he argues, has experienced two great catastrophes. One was the loss of the Hebrew originals, when the Jewish synagogue, on re-assembling after the Roman crisis, repudiated apocalyptic and Greek literature. That the whole Jewish-Greek literature did not perish at that time, was due to the fact that it had already flowed into the Christian churches, where the various translations made in languages so widely different show the popularity and enormous diffusion of the apocalyptic literature in this its second home. Yet it was there that a fresh catastrophe overtook it. The spirit of Greek philosophy, which possessed the Greek theologians, scented heresy ; it would have nothing to do with the Oriental mythology in the apocalyptic literature. Hence the disappearance of Jewish apocalyptic from the Greek church. Hence, too, its preservation in "barbarian" tongues (Syrian, Armenian, Latin, Ethiopic, etc.).

[3] *God and the Bible*, chap. vi. Cp. Schmiedel, *HC*, II. i. pp. 80, 81 ; Blass, *PG*, p. 77 f.; and Reuss, pp. 367–380. In 3rd Maccabees, for example, the opening leaf or the introduction has been evidently lost at a very early date.

may have been inconsiderable or fairly extensive. But the primitive corruptions which actually are marked in the text forbid us at any rate to decide off hand (Zahn, *Forschungen Gesch. Kan.* I. p. 244 f.) that there are not others which only conjectural acuteness can detect by means of sheer internal evidence.

By the second half of the second century it may be considered that the literature of the NT, although comparatively fixed, was further exposed to heretical remodelling and alteration. Omission and alteration were favourite features in the rising methods of controversy (*e.g.* the Marcionite), especially as appeal came to be made from both sides to the authority of the Christian scriptures. Origen accused the Valentinians of this practice; Eusebius blamed Tatian; while Celsus retorted upon the Christians the charge of having interpolated in their own interests the Sibylline oracles. Apart from the truth of these statements, it is certain that they presuppose a recognised custom. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.* The charge would not have been worth making, unless the fact on which it rested had been at least a popular and highly credible habit, and evidence for this crowds in from every side.[1] The motives for interpolation become rather sinister and less naïve than in the earlier period, but the practice seems to have been a fairly continuous and natural feature of the age between 70 and 170 A.D. It is therefore generally open to doubt whether, in the extant form of a NT writing, we possess the work as it actually left its author's hand. Further, a copy became the property of its owner; he might correct or revise as he chose, the question of authors' rights not being recognised very keenly in that age. Not even the earlier copies, therefore, can be affirmed to have been the most exact (Blass, *PG*, pp. 70–73).

Such interpolation and even recension was already and especially common in the apocalyptic literature.[2] The early church naturally found part of its favourite literary nourishment in apocalypses which must have been originally Jewish. These were in turn revised and interpolated according to Christian principles of edification, and in order to suit fresh occasions. Adaptation, in this field, and at that primitive epoch, would obviously be more common than original authorship. These pieces were at hand, already in use (Harnack, *HD*, i. pp. 100–102). It was comparatively easy to read into them a Christian significance, and where needful to interpolate accordingly. A glance at the apocalyptic literature between 40 and 150 A.D., shows that to modify or partially alter an already existing document was not unusual in Christian circles, the result being that the dating of eschatological pieces is an extremely intricate undertaking.

Insertions, of course, may be the work of the author himself. For example, in Lk 1^5–2^{52} it is held that the writer has incorporated in his

[1] Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 378–383; Nestle, *Einf.* pp. 161–175. By 170 A.D. Dionysius of Corinth (*HE*, IV. 23) found his epistles sown with tares by "the apostles of the devil" (ἃ μὲν ἐξῃρούντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες). No wonder, he adds, that even the Lord's writings (κυριακῶν γραφῶν, *i.e.* the gospels, or possibly the Pauline epistles and OT) have also been attacked.

[2] Mr. Conybeare (*Jewish Quart. Review*, 1892, pp. 375–398) explains the mixture of "equivocal Christianity with unequivocal Judaism" in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, by conjecturing that even this writing represents a Christian recension of an originally Jewish book, a view which has been held on all sides since the researches of Schnapp, its best editor (recently in *KAP*), who detected a Jewish as well as a Christian interpolator. For a sifting scrutiny of his results, cp. Bousset (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 142–175, 187–209).

narrative (drawn from the evangelic Palestinian tradition) a section containing materials of rather a different cast and character; although upon a scale of this size the literary method becomes almost "revision."[1] The "Shepherd" of Hermas is a similar instance. In all likelihood it was amended and enlarged at a later date, from the first and earlier draft. If Dr. Blass' theory of Codex Bezae were proved, the third gospel and the book of Acts are extant in two versions, both of which are the work of the same author. He accounts for the difference of the bi-lingual MS D ingeniously enough. Luke wrote his gospel first for Jerusalem before 54 A.D.; then some half-dozen years afterwards revised it for Rome, omitting certain parts of the earlier draft. Acts, on the contrary, was at first written for Rome, and issued afterwards in a more concise recension. Consequently the Roman form of the text (R) or (D) represents in the gospel the second or fair copy, shorter and more concise; in Acts, again, it has passages in addition to the current text, and thus represents the author's first draft. On such a hypothesis[2] the additions and interpolations are due for the most part to the original author of the books Similarly with the "we-sections" in Acts, either they were originally written and afterwards resumed by the author of the whole book, or else they came from another hand and have been incorporated in the later, larger work.

But again, and more commonly, interpolations are due to a different editor or reviser, inserted for motives which it is the task of criticism to discover. Thus the state of the gospel MSS (Blass, *PG*, pp. 77 f., 234 f.) suggests that a writing which had practically taken its present shape long before the date of the earliest extant MS, yet failed to acquire a perfectly stereotyped form. The main reason for this tendency towards "addition" was the vitality of the oral tradition which accompanied the early literature, the obvious bias in the direction of harmonising, and also the natural disinclination on the part of copyists—who had powers of initiative, amounting sometimes to an editorial function—to allow useful material to drop aside. The synoptic gospels, *e.g.*, left an aftermath of sayings and incidents, partially preserved to us as "agrapha"; consequently expansion was more natural than abbreviation. At the same time such additions are usually slight; and their bearing, so far as regards the problem of dates, is not serious. Instances of this supplementary variation in MSS are given with sufficient fulness by

[1] There is a partial analogy in the method of authors like Aristotle and Juvenal, who deliberately added sections or paragraphs to earlier compositions. Martial, too, seems to have re-issued the tenth book of his epigrams, altered and adapted to the requirements of Trajan's reign at the close of the first century. For the possibility of this practice within the NT, cp. Scrivener, *Introd. Crit. NT* (ed. Miller), i. p. 18, ii. pp. 298–299, but especially Zahn, *GK*, i. pp. 639–662.

[2] Reviewed more or less unfavourably by Ramsay (*Exp.*[5] i. pp. 129 f., 212 f., vi. 460 f.), Chase (*CR*, 1894, pp. 303-305), and Page (*Class. Rev.* 1897, p. 217). The relation of Codex Bezae to the third gospel is fully discussed by Gräfe, *SK* (1898) pp. 116–140; cp. also Lightfoot, *Fresh Revision*,[3] p. 32. For Dr. Salmon's theory of Luke giving public readings of his work and his explanations being preserved in the West, cp. his *INT*, p. 603, and *Some Thoughts on Text. Crit.* pp. 134–141. There seems to be something in the climate of this Codex which excites the imaginative faculty of its critics. One of the most recent (*JTS*, Oct. 1899, pp. 76–87) considers that the Bezan text of Acts represents "advance-sheets suffered by St. Luke to pass into circulation among the Roman Christians in answer to their impatient curiosity." The literary thirst of primitive Christians, even for a saint's opinions upon history, remains, however, quite a theological *x*.

Westcott and Hort[1] in their second volume. A cardinal though sub-apostolic class includes those which occur in Codex Bezae, whether due to "catholic" or Montanist influences, in one locality or another. But over the whole field of the NT literature, with the textual divergences which arose in the course of its transmission, the canon holds, that "as we approach nearer to the autographs, the freedom of the copyists increases" (Sanday, *Exp.*[4] iii. p. 191; cp. Robertson Smith, *OTJC*,[2] pp. 91 f., 126 f.). For Acts in particular, consult Wendt (-Meyer, § 9), Weiss (*TU*, xvii. 1, "Der Codex D in der Apgeschichte," 1897; *Textkritische Untersuchung*), Ramsay (*CRE*, chap. viii.; *Exp.* 1897, pp. 460–471). Professor Rendel Harris (*Study of Codex Bezae*, 1891) finds in the glosses of the Western text (written before the age of Perpetua) the influence of Montanism; and while unable to discover a Syriac basis for the glosses, refuses to regard the text as genuinely Lucan (*Four Lectures on the Western Text*, 1894). Ramsay dates the revision between 150 and 161 A.D., Harnack puts it from twenty to fifty years after the appearance of the first text, and Chase (*Old Syriac Element in Codex Bezae*, 1893, pp. 103–105) finds evidence for dating the Bezan text of Acts not later than 180 A.D., and the underlying Syriac text *c.* 150 A.D., both originating in Antioch with its mixture of Greek and Syrian inhabitants. Somewhere on these lines the true solution of this problem is to be reached.

Dr. Blass' theory, on the contrary, makes the Western text quite a century earlier. The crucial points of his thesis are (i.) that the additions to the Bezan text belonged to the original work, and (ii.) that the ordinary text (*a*) must have been also written by the author himself, else it could not have won universal recognition. He supports this hypothesis (first suggested by Joannes Clericus) on some ingenious classical parallels; but it is easier to admit that an ancient author may have seen good reason to make more than one copy of his work, as in the case, *e.g.*, of Aquila's version of the OT, than to allow the applicability of such a practice to the particular case in question. Further proof would be required, and further proof is not forthcoming—apart from the contradictory phenomena of the Bezan text, which itself contains several allusions quite irreconcilable with its Lucan origin. There is one curious parallel from early English literature, which deserves mention. "Piers the Plowman" exists in three varying texts, all from the hand of Langland himself (cp. Skeat's preface to his edition (Clarendon Press), pp. ix–xii): the A-text, a rough sketch dated 1362; the B text (1377) nearly trebled in size from the former, with additions which "are, most of them, exceedingly good and distinguished by great freedom and originality of thought"; and finally the C text, consisting of later revisions and additions, slightly larger than the B text, and with a tendency to diffuseness. Blass notices the parallel (*Acta Apost.* § 13, *ad fin.*), but the wide difference of literary methods in the two ages makes it an illustration rather than an argument, so far as his immediate purpose is concerned. An equally interesting example, which he has failed to observe, is afforded by the literary history of the *Religio Medici*. Privately circulated in MS, the book "being communicated to one became common to many, and was by transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived

[1] Their frequently quoted verdict against the presence of dogmatic interpolations in the NT text is flatly and with some justice contradicted by Blass (*Pro*, p. 8): "We clearly see that there have been very ancient readers who did not shrink from wilful alterations of the sacred text, if it did not suit their dogmatic convictions, or if it might give support to opposite tenets").

in a most depraved copy," as its author complains, at the press in 1642. A year later, Sir Thomas Browne issued his authorised edition in order to supersede this previously-printed form, which, with its alterations, omissions, and additions, gave but the broken and imperfect shape of his original writing. The source of corruption, "fast and false," occasioned by the circulation of Elizabethan sonnets in MSS among private friends is discussed by Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shakspere* (pp. 88, 89).

For exhaustive discussions of Blass' double-text hypothesis, reference may be made especially to Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 338–359, also to Nestle, *Einf.* (pp. 56 f., 160, 186 f., and *passim*), where it is favourably received all over; on the other side, to Schmiedel's adverse analysis (*EBi*, i. pp. 50–56). It is a fair verdict, that while in some places (*e.g.* $11^{27.28}$) D may have preserved the original reading, upon the whole the Western text must be probably viewed as a correction of the earlier and original edition, and not *vice versâ*. To the literature cited in the above reviews, add Harnack's reprint from *SBBA* (*Das Apostelдecret* (Ac 15^{29}) *u. die Blass' sche Hypothese*, 1899), Bebb (*DB*, iii. pp. 164, 165), and Knowling (*ExGT*, ii. pp. 41–46). Bousset (*TR*, 1898, pp. 410–414) regards the Western text of Acts as containing an edition deliberately drawn up by another hand at some early date; he joins Corssen (*GGA*, 1896, p. 425 f.) and Weiss in urging that the characteristic features of the B text are upon the whole better accounted for, when they are taken as the work of some editor other than the author of the A text (*ThLz*, 1900, 633–638).

In many cases such variations simply represent matter transferred from the margin to the text, unless they are the result of caprice or carelessness in a copyist. But a stricter purpose is to be traced in passages like Ro $11^{9.10}$, 1 Jn $5^{7.8}$ (the gloss upon the three witnesses), Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, Lk $22^{19.20}$, Mk 16^{9-20}, where interpolation has been active at a pretty early date. Fortunately external evidence is occasionally to hand in these and several other cases. Of all the NT instances, such resemble most clearly the latest interpolations which modern Homeric criticism has found within the *Iliad*, *i.e.* passages which are separate and episodical, composed in the spirit and for the purpose of some later age, and inserted more or less appropriately in the larger and older work. So far as questions of structure are concerned, a passage like Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, or better still 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1}, belongs to its context as the account of Phoinix does to the ninth book of the *Iliad* (lines 432–619), or that of the funeral games to the twenty-third (lines 257–end).

The result of a general survey like this goes to prove that the conception of an early Christian writing as a necessarily inviolate, rigid, and rounded whole, is entirely misleading.[1] Real care needs to be exercised in drawing conclusions from single references and allusions in a document, when the date has to be determined. It is plainly a matter of increased delicacy and exacter scrutiny to fix the period of composition for the substantial part of a writing which—as in the case of Juvenal's *Satires*—may have been retouched and enlarged by the author, or—as the Christian allusions and interpolations in Enoch prove—may have been subjected to revision by other and later hands.

The bearing of the interpolation-theories upon the question of the dates is quite obvious, especially in regard to the gospels, Acts, and the Apocalypse. A good example is afforded by Keim's treatment (i. pp.

[1] This is a commonplace of literary criticism; but it has over and again a distinct bearing upon the attempt to date a given writing by means of its internal evidence.

79–89) of Matthew.[1] This gospel he reckons the earliest of the synoptics, written even before the fall of Jerusalem, in all probability about 66 A.D. But this extremely early date requires some sacrifices. In the extant gospel, Keim admits, there lie several passages which point unequivocally to a later period, and could hardly have been written previous to 70. Such passages are—in addition to slighter accretions ($2^{6.18}$ 4^{15} 21^{5}, prophetic comments, and illustrations from the Hebrew text)—the incident of the ass and the colt (21^{2-7}), the account of Judas and the thirty pieces of silver (26^{15} 27^{3-10}), the narratives of the virgin-birth, etc. (2), the parables of the wedding feast (22^{1-14}) and of the ten virgins (25^{1-12}), the incidents of the watch at the grave (27^{62-66}), of Pilate's wife (27^{19}), of the resurrection of the saints ($27^{52.53}$), and sayings like those of the Baptizer ($3^{14.15}$), and of Jesus ($8^{11.12}$). These Keim is forced to cut out of the original gospel; they must be "slight and yet essentially consistent additions made to the gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem by a zealous Jewish-Christian contributor, dating from about the time of Mark and Luke, in the sense of a more liberal Christianity." On the other hand, it is clear that when Matthew's gospel is relegated to a date later than this period of exaggerated antiquity, recourse to the interpolation-theory is unnecessary. The whole writing then can be taken as a practical unity. Or, to turn the problem round, if it can be established that such passages are an integral part of the gospel, then they preclude any date for the whole work earlier than that at which they themselves can be reasonably fixed.

The applicability of the interpolation-hypothesis to Paul's writings has been totally denied by several critics, even by Renan (*Saint Paul*, chap. ix.); it is sparingly adopted by the more sensible among those who, like Schmiedel and Lipsius, admit its relevance (cp. Heinrici, *Die Forschungen über die paul. Briefe*, 1887, p. 67 f.). In itself the method is legitimate enough The trouble is that it has been frequently discredited. As the evidence is almost uniformly internal, a passage is often rejected or retained upon absurdly *a priori* notions of what is Pauline or un-Pauline, or of what the writer should and would have said at such a point in the argument. Two considerations also have to be borne in mind. One is the subtlety of Paul's mental processes; these do not work always in a very obvious fashion, but imply fluctuations of his temper, his habit of going off on a word, his repetitions and allusions, and what Irenaeus once called the *velocitas sermonum suorum*. Consequently, when the question is one of purely internal difficulties, it is only fair to remember that "in a writer so subtle and abrupt as St. Paul, obscurity is not a strong ground of objection" (Jowett). Otherwise one is apt to do injustice to the writer's arguments and illustrations by too hasty recourse to a method which tends to become easy rather than accurate, courageous rather than sympathetic.[2] Besides, there is the mechanical condition.[3] Paul merely

[1] Cp. too, Mr. Badham's very similar theory developed in his *Formation of the Gospels*, and *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew*. A similar instance of the bearing of the interpolation-theory upon a book's date is afforded by Dr. Salmon's verdict upon Mk 16^{9-20} (cp. p. 553). Bartlet also (*DB*, iii. p. 304) has to take Mt $22^{6a.\ 7b}$ as post-70 additions, to secure 68–69 as a date for the whole work.

[2] *E.g.*, occasionally in its clever application to the pastoral epistles by H. Bois, *JpTh* (1888), pp. 145–160.

[3] For the conditions of ancient authorship and literary composition in their bearing on the structure of a writing, cp. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Litteratur* (1882). The possibility of deviation or misapprehension through the employment of amanuenses is usually admitted, even in conservative

wrote the postscripts or occasionally the benedictions to his epistles, when he wrote anything. (The note to Philemon is the exception which proves the rule.) What appear to the modern eye, then, to be gaps, edges, and corners, abrupt transitions, indistinct arguments, left upon the surface of the writings, may quite well have been due to the fact that the speaker outran the amanuensis (*notarius*, *actuarius*) to whom he was dictating,[1] or that the latter now and then missed, or perhaps caught up wrongly, words and sentences (Laurent, pp. 3–38). It is useful to think of his style as a "stenographed conversation." But that is a feature which explains its occasional obscurity[2] as well as its vivacity. Further, the digressions and pauses which appear disjointed to a modern reader, lose something of their strangeness when it is recollected that an ancient writer, even when he wrote himself and no less when he dictated, lacked many of those aids which a modern author possesses, in the form of notes and parentheses. In ancient MSS the whole is fused together. There is no accessible means of correcting or amplifying what is once written. Consequently, the argument has occasionally an appearance of being interrupted by pieces of foreign matter which really have only to be interpreted as asides, or read apart, in order to let their secondary connection with the central idea become visible. There is shrewd sense in Coleridge's remark upon the obscurity of Romans: "Some of the difficulty," he urged, "is accidental, arising from the form in which the epistle appears. If we could now arrange this work in the way in which we may be sure St. Paul would himself do, were he now alive, and preparing it for the press, his reasoning would stand out clearer. His accumulated parentheses would be thrown into notes, or extruded to the margin." The spirit of this paragraph is historically true. It is sounder to criticise the Pauline epistles with a recollection like this of their natural structure,[3] than with a detective's suspicion or with a cleverness which often fails to understand the naïveté of an age less acute and literary than itself.[4] That way lie subjectivity, prejudice, and doctrinaire

circles (cp. *Romans*, *ICC*, p. lxv). It is increased if the Pauline letters are held to have been originally taken down in shorthand, like the speeches in the Roman Senate (Plut. *Cato Min.* 23), or the later lectures of Origen (Eus. *HE*, VI. 23. 2). The Pitman of the first century B.C. seems to have been Tiro, Cicero's freedman.

[1] Cp. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (1898), p. 954 f. Prof. Rendel Harris adds (*Exp.*[5] viii. pp. 402, 403): "When Paul replied to a letter, he held the letter that he was replying to in his hand and followed closely the points in it that needed attention. . . . He is not responsible for all that is printed under his name, for there may be whole sentences that belong to the earlier and antecedent factors of the correspondence, and there may be cases where the language is not his own, but is either that of his secretary or that which is common to all secretaries."

[2] There is a similar element of obscurity in Arrian's διατριβαί of Epiktetus, due to the constant interchange of question and answer.

[3] The Pauline letters are not entirely unpremeditated effusions, at least not the major epistles. A study of their structure proves that in many passages the ordinary methods of ancient rhetoric have been somewhat elaborately followed. How far this practice was conscious or unconscious, it is hard to say. (See J. Weiss, *Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik*, pp. 5, 6.) Instances of words or sentences which are conjectured to have been either scholia or added in the margin after the whole composition had been written out, are possibly to be found in 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1}, Philemon 19^{a}. (Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 322), 1 Co 1^{12}, ἐγὼ δὲ χριστοῦ (Heinrici), Ro $2^{14.15}$ (Wilke, *Die neutest. Rhetorik*, pp. 216–228 f.; Laurent, 17–19; Blass; cp. J. Weiss, 56), Mark $7^{3.4}$ (Blass, *PG*, pp. 212, 213), Ro 16^{21-23} ("Hoc ad marginem adscripserat Tertius," Grotius), etc. Fortunately, as Semler once put it, "Sanctis doctrinis ipsis innititur religio Christiana, non vero hinc decreto, Pauli epistolas omnes uno tenore atque ordine totas perscriptas inde ab initio fuisse."

[4] The rigorous application of the interpolation-hypothesis is widely discarded at the

opinions. At the same time it is seldom safe to ignore the possibility of later editorial changes or marginal glosses even in so compact and straightforward a piece of writing as 1 Corinthians, where (as Heinrici admits) one may still detect the work of a later hand in the occasional improvement of detailed sentences and in the "attempts made" by subsequent revisers "to smooth over or to supplement harsh or defective passages."

(2) To the amateur nothing appears quite so absurd and unreal as the way in which modern critics analyse various historical writings in the OT or in the NT, producing in each case several documents which have been partly copied, partly edited, with parallel or slightly discrepant accounts of the same affairs, which have not been fused together into a perfectly smooth literary unity.[1] The unreality, however, lies not so much in the theories as in the difference between modern and Oriental conceptions of a historian's task. The latter allowed a writer not merely to epitomise and omit, but to reproduce his sources *literatim* or alter them in so far as his special purpose demanded, instead of completely re-writing the whole in the style of a modern historian. Thus an ancient history like 1-2 Kings or Acts preserves extracts from documents far older than itself. Fragments of these survive in its pages, slightly edited but generally distinguishable from one another and from the final editorial matter. To reject such a method as slavish, and its results as a mere patchwork unworthy of a good historian, is simply to betray ignorance of the literary conditions under which these ancient books were written. Compilation, in fact, is a providential habit. In some cases its prevalence secured the life of several early documents which would otherwise have perished, since it delivered ancient historians from the need of producing free compositions in which it would have been impossible for later ages to distinguish between the substratum of good tradition and the overlying structures of the editor. The Matthaean logia preserved and reset in Matthew and Luke, the small apocalypse of the synoptists, the sources framed in Acts, the apocalyptic fragments transcribed and recoloured in the Apocalypse, the Pauline notes embedded in the pastoral epistles, are all NT instances of our debt to a habit of compilation whose very roughness (from the standpoint of modern literature) is its chief recommendation to historical research.

present day by most schools of criticism, from Weiss and Zahn to Hilgenfeld and Lipsius. Jülicher finishes his prolegomena (*Einl.* p. 18) with a contemptuous sentence upon the modern school, chiefly Dutch, represented by Straatman, Rovers, and Baljon, who find Paul's letters strewn with interpolations: "Hätten Jene Recht, so musste der liebe Gott im 1 und 2 Jhdt. 90 bis 120 Hände in Bewegung gesetzt haben zu einer beispiellosen Verkrüppelung aller NTlichen Texte mit dem Zweck, dem Scharfsinn der Theologen des 19 Jhdts., der sonst keine Aufgaben mehr kennt, ein Feld zu glänzendster Bethätigung zu schaffen."

[1] The reliance upon sources of different value (earlier histories, state papers, evidence of eye-witnesses), and the obvious combination of these, can be easily seen, *e.g.*, in Josephus' Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, of which chaps. xii.-xviii. form an excellent instance of literary method in the first Christian century. For Eastern historians cp. Robertson Smith (*OTJC*,[2] pp. 113 f., 129 f., 328 f.) and Bennett (*BI*, pp. 17-19). The extent to which the habit is employed varies with the writer, *e.g.* 3 Esdras is little more than a *cento* of older passages, chiefly taken from 2 Chron and Neh; while Tacitus, Strabo, and as a rule Josephus, use their sources in quite a free and masterly fashion. 1 Macc incorporates various letters, which in some cases may be of first-rate authority; but 2 Macc is a clearer instance of pure compilation, consisting in its present form of two letters, followed by an abridgment of the earlier history of Jason. The book of Baruch, again, includes three or four pieces, of which one (1^{15}-3^{8}) may be nearly two centuries earlier than the whole volume.

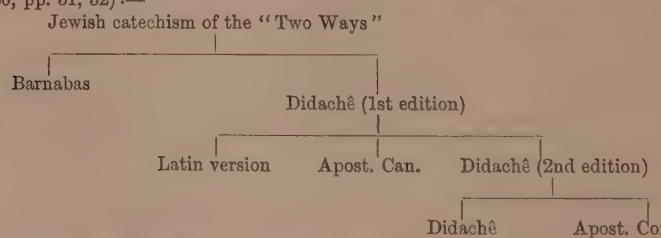
Along the lines of this method[1] the author of Acts would proceed to work, upon a plan not essentially different, we may presume, from that followed by Layamon. He would work up his sources into the extant history very much as the mediaeval chronicler is reported to have compiled his "Brut" or "Chronicle of Britain" from the three "noble books" in which he found his chief materials, namely: the English book of Bede, Albin, and the fair Austin's Latin treatise, but especially Wace's Norman-French version of Geoffrey's history.

> Then Layamon before him laid these books,
> And turned their leaves and lovingly beheld them;
> Then in his fingers took he up the quill,
> And so he wrote on book-skin, and true words
> He set together, gathering into one
> Three books.[2]

At the same time this illustration must be admitted to be deficient in representing the persistent and free process of editorial treatment in the NT histories. These books are not mosaics pieced together from early sources. The interstices are filled up by explanations, alterations, expansions, and corrections. The purpose which the author set before himself dominates his materials throughout, and determines where they are to be admitted, re-arranged, or supplemented. As a result, the better the historian, the more intricate the history—intricate, that is, from the point of view of the modern analyst, whose business it is to recover, if possible, the more primitive traditions which have been embellished and overlaid by subsequent deposits.

In certain forms this hypothesis is cognate to that of interpolation. A writing interpolated on a large scale practically comes to be indistinguishable from a composite work, especially if this process is due to one hand. When an author had the opportunity for doing so, it was open to him either to revise previous work of his own, or to re-cast the work

[1] Harnack's outline of a single Jewish document and its use in later writings affords an interesting illustration (*Die Apostellehre u. die Jüdischen beiden Wege*, 1886, pp. 31, 32):—



[2] Abbey, *Relig. Thought in Old Eng. Verse*, p. 30. The use of documents in the synoptic gospels has also been paralleled from chroniclers—"conspicuous among mediaeval writers for intelligence and trustworthiness"—like Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hovenden (cp. C. Plummer, *Exp.*[3] x. pp. 23–35). Proof is led that not merely are later usages transferred to an earlier period by such historians in all good faith, but also "even in documents given textually, changes—unimportant, no doubt, but still changes—may be made more or less unconsciously by a perfectly honest and scrupulous writer." The monastic chronicles and charters furnish similar evidence, but the extent of their periods and the more deliberate motives at work in the process of their accretion bring them nearer to a book like Chronicles than to any of the NT histories.

of others. On this hypothesis, a book may be found to contain one or more pieces, each issuing from a different period, so that what is to all appearance a literary unity, really consists of several smaller unities. Two alternatives are possible. Either, as in the case of John's apocalypse, the whole was substantially re-cast at the time of the final editing, or, as in the closing chapter of Mark's gospel (?), and (as Destinon and Wellhausen conjecture) 1 Mac 14–16, and Jn 21 (?), one part was simply added to another, both remaining as they originally stood. In the sphere of apocalyptic literature especially, the use of older fragments was the more natural owing to the traditional character of the writings. The apocalyptic writers were not distinctively creative. They inherited a set of ideas, forms of phrases, terms of speech. These were their stock-in-trade, and it was to be expected that such writers should frequently adopt and adapt earlier pieces which had come down to them upon the stream of an honoured antiquity.

A particular phase of compilation is to be seen in the use of *florilegia* by the NT writers and the early fathers in their quotations from the OT. The deliberate and composite character of these quotations suggests that they are secondary, taken not from the originals but from collections of texts upon different subjects which were arranged in a certain order. Hence it has been conjectured that such a *florilegium* of Messianic passages—drawn up to illustrate topics like "the Fore-runner," "the sufferings of Messiah," "the call of the Gentiles," etc.—was employed by Paul and the other authors of the NT. The needs of controversy would lead to the production of such an anthology[1] among the Jews, who constantly fell back upon the proof from scripture, yet could not depend upon their hearers possessing a convenient copy to which appeal might be successfully made. "The hypothesis is hardly to be rejected. The Jewish catechetical and missionary instruction in the Diaspora needed such collections, and their existence seems to be proved by the Christian apologies and the Sibylline books" (Harnack, *HD*, i. p. 175). This would help to account for the grouping of different quotations under an inexact title (*e.g.* Mk $1^{2.3}$), as well as for some of the more common divergences from the LXX text.

Questions of structure, however, do not rank so prominently in the NT as in the OT literature.[2] The three certain instances are, Luke, Acts, and the Apocalypse. The third gospel is far from being a mere compilation, but it has used sources[3] freely, including the gospel of

[1] On the contemporary habit of drawing up such manuals, and the proofs for it in the early Christian writers, see especially Hatch (*Essays in Bibl. Greek*, p. 203f.). So Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, *ICC*, pp. 204, 282), the author of *The Logia of Papias* (1894), pp. v–vii, and Vollmer (*Die alttestamentliche Citate bei Paulus*, 1895). The last-named argues that while Paul quoted usually from the LXX, some hypothesis like this is needed to explain deviations such as 1 Co 2^9.

It has been similarly suggested that a number of the Latin, French, and Provençal books quoted by Dante were known to him merely through the indirect form of collected extracts.

[2] On the composite nature of Semitic literature, cp. Sayce, *Higher Crit. Monum.* (1894), chap. ii.; for apocalyptic literature, cp. R. H. Charles' editions of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and Baruch, besides the respective introductions in *KAP*. Most valuable of all, perhaps, is Professor Carpenter's scholarly discussion in *The Hexateuch* (1900), vol. i. chap. i., where both evidence and analogies for the stratification of literature are given with much clearness and precision.

[3] On these see Resch, *TU*, x. 3. pp. 333–347, and below, pp. 652, 653. If the distinction be allowable, in the process of evangelic composition the

Mark and the Logia. Matthew's gospel is also to be grouped with Luke's as a similarly composite work, but it is in the latter that traces of compilation are most indubitable. Acts, again, has been compiled, in its first part, from earlier sources or reminiscences; in the second part, fragments of a journal have been at any rate incorporated. The Apocalypse contains pieces dating from the seventh decade, if not from the earlier age of Caligula, while the work of final arrangement is to be dated in the tenth decade of the century. A similar theory of compilation must be exploited to clear up the epistles to Timotheus and Titus, although in this case account has to be taken of pseudepigraphy as well; both features, and especially the former, were perfectly congenial to the climate of the second century. As it has been remarked, that century was a book-making age. But the books were very often not original.[1] Instances of compilation have been discovered or imagined repeatedly within and without the NT canon. The Didachê (as Taylor and Harnack rightly argue) is founded on some earlier manual, probably a Jewish catechism for proselytes, to which Barnabas is indebted also. The Apology of Aristides leans upon an earlier "preaching of Peter." 2 Peter incorporates a large part of Judas' epistle, and the letters to Timotheus and Titus are similarly to be classed as an amalgam of originally Pauline notes and later editorial matter. Evidently the process of compilation was not confined to apocalyptic literature. It is to the early half of the second century that, *e.g.*, the Mark-appendix and the fragment (Jn 21) are to be referred, probably also the extant form of the canonical 2 Corinthians; while the literary habit (it has even been conjectured)[2] extended to the addresses and greetings of some older writings, during the course of the century. On this theory the Barnabas-epistle and the second epistle of Clement would receive their titles, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ would be inserted in "Ephesians," the title added to the hitherto anonymous 1 Peter, and the epistle "to the Hebrews" attributed to Paul. On Harnack's[3] hypothesis, the so-called epistle of James also consists of collected homilies, written before the year 120 and edited shortly after the author's death by another author, who added the address. The lack of continuous argument is plain in this writing. But when its apparently illogical character is fairly estimated, it is not psychologically incompatible with the ordinary view of the epistle; nor does such an

artisans were the unknown labourers who compiled and wrote the sources, while the authors of our extant gospels were the artists—artists in the sense that they collected and selected the materials needful to express the high and definite conception of Jesus which each entertained. These raw materials of the gospels cannot be regained. They exist in more or less manipulated forms, worked up into various designs and moulds according to the particular aim or personal equation of the later composers. How far these editors adopted, and how far they created, is an abstruse problem of synoptic embryology.

[1] *The Gospel and Revelation of Peter* (Robinson and James, 1892), p. 31.

[2] By Harnack (*TU*, II. ii. pp. 106–109; *Chron.* pp. 457–462; etc.). But see Holtzmann (*PM*, 1897, p. 236 f.). The "Rest of the Words of Baruch" may be a Jewish writing to which a later Christian conclusion has been added, and a similar hypothesis serves to explain the newly discovered "Greek Apocalypse of Baruch" (*Texts and Studies*, 1897, v. 1).

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 486–490. "Es ist eine formlose und bunte Sammlung von Didaskalieen, Trostreden, Prophetieen, Strafpredigten u.s.w., die am Schluss in einige praktische-kirchliche (an die letzten Bestimmungen der Didache erinnernde) Ermahnungen ausmündet . . . Dabei lässt sich—und das ist das Paradoxeste des Paradoxen—doch nicht verkennen, dass eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit sowohl der sittlichen Gesinnung als auch der Sprache vorbrauchen ist, die dem Ganzen trotz der Zusammenhangslosigkeit eine innere Einheitlichkeit verleiht."

elaborate hypothesis as the above seem to be necessary, if one recollects the nature of the Jewish Wisdom literature which is presupposed in James's writing. Still, so far as the literary methods of the age are concerned, the hypothesis is both possible and credible. Literary manufacture, especially in the use of older documents, was familiar and common within Christian circles even before the first century closed; much more so, throughout the course of the second.

Generally, then, the composite nature of most apocalypses (*e.g.* Test. xii. Patriarchs, Ascensio Isaiae, Apoc. Baruch) is a clue indicating that compilation is a legitimate hypothesis which in the contemporary NT literature not merely claims to be tested, but also verifies itself more than once in apocalyptic (*e.g.* the apocalypse of John, 2 Thess. 2, the "small apocalypse"[1] of the synoptic gospels), if not epistolary (2 Corinthians, the Timotheus and Titus letters) and historical (the Acts, the gospels, *passim*) composition. Indeed, "of Oriental and semi-Oriental books we may say" with Professor Rendel Harris, "what one would say of Oriental cities, that they are usually examples of rebuilding, and that it is very seldom that the stones are from one quarry or hewn at one period. The same instinct which takes the pillars of one temple to adorn another, and makes the walls of a house unprofitably gay with votive tablets from public buildings that have fallen into ruin, appears in literature in the adaptation of works which have become unpopular, or obsolescent, to the needs of a later day than that of their first authors, and to political and religious ends which are often the direct opposite of what was intended at their first publication."[2] In regard to the NT, the limitations of this hypothesis are palpable; but it underlies many lines of criticism, and primarily those upon that phase of literature which was least of all "eternal in the heavens," and apt to lack permanent interest unless re-edited—the apocalyptic.

(3) It is also in the criticism of apocalyptic literature that the question of pseudonymity is started.

The apocalypses were pseudepigrapha. For obvious reasons it was a recognised literary custom to issue such writings under the name of an older hero or prophet, whose name should lend sanction and authority to the contents. The sentiments appear to have been designed with some care to represent those of the assumed spokesman; but it is not at all certain whether the readers were always or ever expected to accept them as really authentic expressions of the men whose names were used. Often this was simply out of the question. At any rate it is the paradox of apocalyptic that while its actual interests strained out into the future, its

[1] The incongruity (to a modern mind) of putting a prophecy like this into the lips of Jesus was evidently not felt by the early Christians, and did not contradict their canons of literary composition. Besides the later example from Papias, analogous sayings existed (1 Th 15) already in the evangelic tradition; the so-called "apocalyptic" spirit represented that with which Jesus had most in common; and in the third gospel we have instances of a similar method by which the writer made use of the OT and the Wisdom literature.

[2] *Exp.* (April 1897), p. 256. On this feature of the religious spirit cp. Renan (*Revue des deux mondes*, 1886, p. 550). A clear instance of second-century piecework is afforded by the so-called Martyrdom (Ascension) of Isaiah. This apocryphal production consists of (*a*) a Jewish composition on the martyrdom of Isaiah (2^{1}-3^{12} 5^{2-14}), (*b*) a Christian composition giving a visionary journey of the prophet through the heavens (6^{1}-11^{1} 11^{23-40}), and (*c*) several smaller and perhaps later insertions, with an early account of the Neronic persecution (3^{13}-5^{1}). The section (*b*) belongs to the second century, and was joined to (*a*) by the Christian editor, who compiled the whole writing at a later date, adding prologue and epilogue.

(supposed) authors stood in the far past. Probably it was owing to the blast and tumult of the present that the writers preferred to secure their own safety as well as to win some extraneous authority by thus fighting with a closed vizor.

It is an open question whether the Apocalypse of John in the NT does not come under this category. A plausible objection to its pseudonymity is sometimes taken from the fact that the ordinary apocalypses (*e.g.* those of Enoch, the Twelve Patriarchs, Baruch, Ezra,[1]) which lie parallel to it, are written under names separated by whole centuries from the author. But the conditions of the case differ. The author of a Christian apocalypse in the first century had merely a handful of years and a small company of men, either recently dead or still alive, upon which to draw. It was inevitable that, if a Christian apocalypse were to be written pseudonymously, it should be sheltered under the name of one who was almost a contemporary ; at any rate this fact cannot be urged decisively against the hypothesis of pseudonymity. On wider grounds, however, other theories of the authorship are more popular and as probable.

More vital for NT criticism is the extension of pseudonymity to other classes of literature.

For quite two centuries the practice had prevailed in classical literature. The names and characters of illustrious men were freely used in compositions of a later age, though not always with uniformly high motives. Obviously a copyist could thus put himself in the way of winning larger prices for his MSS : the scholar, again, found great content and joy in the proof thus afforded of his skill in imitation : as Bentley remarked, "some of the Greek sophists had the success and satisfaction to see their essays in that kind pass with some readers for the genuine works of those they endeavoured to express." More frequently, however, the pure motive of admiration and naïve sympathy prompted the disciples to reproduce in their own language a master's ideas under his own name. Conscious that they owed their own ideas to him, they very naturally regarded this practice as an extension of his influence. It was thought to be the propagation of his views and spirit, not any independent venture of their own ; and, so far from losing in effectiveness, this class of writings rather acquired additional impressiveness and weight.[2] As Zeller also observes, it was a point of unselfish piety among the Pythagoreans that they gave up all claims to personal glory and attributed their writings to Pythagoras himself.

To come still nearer. In the previous literature of Judaism the habit obtained. From Moses to Solomon great names had literature grouped under them by later ages : a glance not only at the OT, but at the apocalyptic literature of 100 B.C. to 100 A.D., shows the vitality of this practice ;

[1] It is interesting to notice that the Babylonian captivity supplied two outstanding figures (Baruch, Ezra) for the Jewish apocalypses of 70–100 A.D. As a curious instance of the connection and rivalry between Christian and Jewish thought, Prof. R. H. Charles points out that those two figures are deliberately chosen as substitutes for Enoch. The latter, up to *c.* 40 A.D., had been the favourite hero and spokesman of apocalyptic visions, next to Daniel ; but his adoption by the Christians threw him into disfavour with the Jewish writers, who studiously ignore him after 70 (50) A.D. (Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* pp. 21, 101 ; *DB*, i. p. 708 ; *EBi*, i. p. 218).

[2] Cicero : "Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium, plus nescio quo facto videtur habere gravitatis" (*De Amic.* i. 4). Cp. Nicolai, *Griechische Lit.* ii. p. 502 sqq. (1877) ; and, for the pseudonymous Alexandrian literature, Susemihl, *Geschichte d. Griech. Litt. in d. Alexandrinerzeit* (1892), ii. pp. 574–601.

and that, among the very people from whom Christianity rose, and by whose literary principles it was inevitable that early Christian literature should be affected. Two forms were common. Either, as has been already noted, names of Jewish prophets and heroes were employed; or, when the literature was designed for circulation in the pagan world, works were produced "under the name of some heathen authority, whether of a mythological authority, as the sibyl, or of persons eminent in history, as Hecataeus and Aristeas."[1] The letters of Heracleitus and the Solomonic correspondence written by Eupolemus indicate that the category came to include, during subsequent years, epistolary as well as prophetic compositions; a familiar instance of this practice occurs in the so-called "epistle of Jeremiah," preserved at the close of the book of Baruch.

Further, in the early Christian literature outside of our canonical NT, pseudonymity is almost a matter of course; the Petrine literature and the second letter of Clement are themselves sufficient to indicate the compatibility of pseudonymous character and popular appreciation.[2] The whole *raison d'être* of pseudepigrapha lay in the stress put upon apostolic authority, especially during the early part of the second century. It is certain that each of the two apostles John and Paul left what in modern language would be termed a "school" or "party," in which the master's ideas would insensibly be conserved and reproduced. Works issuing from such circles naturally took the master's name. Probably the title meant for antiquity not so much the actual authorship as the tendency and contents of the writing.[3] It gave briefly and clearly the standpoint of the book. The unknown writers were conscious of religious and mental affinities with Paul, or John, or Peter, as the case might be, and probably they required nothing more to justify their use of such names; they meant nothing else than to meet fresh difficulties and problems by a restatement of older ideas which they believed authoritative, and would not willingly see forgotten. The very fact[4] that Paul and Peter were

[1] Schürer, *HJP*, II. iii. p. 270 f.; cp. R. Steck, *ZSchz* (1884), pp. 31–52, "Ueber die Annahme sog. unechter Schriften im NT"; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel* (Eng. tr.), iii. pp. 176–178; Hausrath, i. pp. 113–120; and Overbeck-Zeller, ii. p. 262. In regard to letters the rôle of the scribe or secretary must not be forgotten. That functionary plays an important part in the NT epistles, and his employment helps to differentiate several literary phenomena which would otherwise fall under the title of "pseudonymous." See Prof. Rendel Harris in *Exp.*[5] viii. pp. 401–410, who remarks, *à propos* of Epaphroditus, that Paul's method of dictating to a scribe is precisely the same usage as that which still prevails in Eastern life, "where the great man (patriarch, primate, or what you will) calls over to his secretary the terms of his proposed communication, perhaps revises it rapidly, adds a few words of his own, and seals the document with his private seal."

[2] Writings like the Didachē and the epistle of Barnabas show how readily later generations put literature under the shadow of earlier and greater names. A rigidly conservative protest against pseudonymous hypotheses upon the NT is given by Wetzel (*Echtheit u. Glaubw. Joh.* pp. 19–36).

[3] Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 191 f. See Schmiedel's paragraphs in *EBK*, sect. ii. 2, pp. 309–337, art. "Kanon"; also the note above on 2 Peter, pp. 597–598.

The hypothesis is not absolutely required for 1 John. In some passages, particularly 1^{1-4}, it appears as if the writer desired to represent himself as one of the actual disciples of Jesus; but this superficial impression is corrected when the language is taken along with expressions such as Jn 1^{14}, 1 Jn 4^{14} 3^{6}, which prove that the words simply express the faith-mysticism of the early church and its consciousness of possessing a direct experience of God in Christ. Even for the strange metaphor (ἐνηδάσησαν) an almost contemporary parallel has been found in Tacitus, *Agricola*, xlv., "Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus"—of the Roman senators.

[4] Baur, *Paul* (Eng. tr.), ii. p. 110.; cp. Julicher, *Einl.* pp. 32–34; Kautzsch, *KAP*, i.; *Einleit.* pp. xxii, xxiii; and Deissmann, *Bibel-Studien* (1895), pp. 200–202, 225, 233 f.

authorities for the sub-apostolic church in matters of faith and organisation, seemed a valid reason why they should be in a sense the authors—we should say, the sponsors or patrons—of whatever literature arose within the circle of such institutions and ideas. Pseudonymous literature is intelligible only against this background of the naïveté and practical interests which filled the second century, together with the inheritance and admiration which it owed to its great predecessors.

The bearing and gravity of these facts must be weighed in regard to the NT literature. As a recognised literary form, pseudonymity was honestly employed in classical and Jewish literature up to and after the period of the NT; and so soon as Christian literature starts for itself, the same feature emerges. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the method is applicable to a part of the NT literature, at least as a legitimate hypothesis[1] to be discussed without prejudice. If it solves the date and function of any writing, it is its own justification.[2]

Pseudonymity, it should be recollected, is merely a further stage upon the line already indicated by the composition of speeches like those in Acts, or even in the fourth gospel (vide Reuss, pp. 354–374: a fair and frank statement). In neither case can there be any question of *ipsissima verba* absolutely. Such a reproduction is not to be dreamt of. The speaker's words and ideas come to us through the personality of the author or reporter, with his memory, and knowledge, and sympathy; although, as a rule, they can be regarded practically as expressions of the original man and his spirit, particularly when the reader is careful to make some allowance for the lack of a rigid distinction in the Oriental mind between *oratio obliqua* and *oratio recta*. Several of Paul's speeches in Acts were not heard by the author, even supposing that author was Luke; nor is there any reason to suppose that the speeches were noted down by an auditor or by a companion of the apostle. Consequently, as they stand, they represent more or less free compositions, which give at best a summary of the topics treated, and some indication of the speaker's general attitude and treatment. Now this relation of the historian to the speaker only differs in degree, not in kind, from that which the pseudonymous theory involves between the actual author and the man whose name the letters bear.[3] A pseudonymous epistle like 2 Timothy is a form of indirect speech. It is a method of historical composition and—what is more to the point—the vehicle of a great soul's posthumous influence. By it, to resume the old phrase, δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν

[1] *E.g.* the hypothesis that "James" was a pseudonymous book, rose at an early stage; it is noticed by Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.*[2]): quae et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur.

[2] See two cautious, fair articles by the late Dr. Candlish (*Exp.*[4] viii. pp. 91 f., 262 f.), on "The Moral Character of Pseudonymous Books." The real difficulty is one less of facts than of statement, and Dr. Candlish's arguments are a good example at any rate of the way in which at the present time it seems necessary to handle this subject in many quarters. It is strange to notice the evident distress of Dr. Salmon at "the painful alternative" of pseudonymity which the criticism of 2 Peter suggests (*INT*, p. 491) to his mind. Cp. Dr. Sanday's general admission in regard to pseudonymous literature (*Inspiration*, pp. 224, 225).

[3] As one of the most trusted and cautious critics has declared: "It is now recognised that there may be dramatic representations in scripture; that speeches may be put into the mouths of persons which never were actually spoken, and that even a situation may be idealised or created so as to present the conditions of a moral problem more vividly to the mind" (Dr. A. B. Davidson, *Exp.*[6] i. p. 5). Cp. also Driver on the speeches in ancient and OT historians (*Introd. Lit. OT*,[2] pp. xvii, 82 f.; *Deuteronomy*, *ICC*, pp. lvii–lix, lx–lxii).

ἔτι λαλεῖ. Certainly even this devout phase of literary personation raises an ethical problem, a problem which is not rendered any more manageable by the intrusion of modern ideas upon literary property and authorship, least of all by suggestions of fraud and forgery. The reconciliation of pseudonymity and "inspiration," however, is a difficulty which must be left to the disposal of dogmatic theology, with the proviso that the hypothesis can only be ruled out by *a priori* notions of its unworthiness and inconsistency as a method of revelation. As a matter of fact, upon this point as upon many others, the more thoroughly the NT literature is studied in its origin and contemporary relations, any theory of its isolation becomes less and less tenable. The NT is a thing *in rerum natura;* its literature is subject to the conditions of its age. No amount of good faith or pure intention, no weight or preciousness of their messages, could have insulated the NT writers from the influence of methods by which their contemporaries thought and spoke and wrote. In this particular matter of pseudonymity, they did not shrink from suppressing their personalities in order to win greater currency and scope for ideas and counsels which in all honesty they believed were spiritual products of the men whose names they used. The practice was neither more nor less than an innocent method [1] of conveying their message. "Fraudulent dealing, forgery in literature, always involves the conscious and deliberate use of methods calculated to impose on others, *methods other than those sanctioned by the literary conscience of the time.*" [2] Hence the proper route to approach the NT pseudepigrapha starts not from a modern estimate of pseudepigraphy, but from such a volume as Deuteronomy, where any suggestion of "forgery" would be irreverent and unhistorical. Similarly with the writers of any NT books in that class. There is no reason for imagining that pseudonymity [3] was barred out from their

[1] "St. John gives our Lord's meaning in his own way. At that time the third person was not so commonly used in history as now. . . . Thucydides uses the dramatic method, yet Spartan and Athenian speak in Thucydidean Greek. And so every clause of our Lord's speeches in St. John may be in St. John's Greek, yet every clause may contain the matter which our Lord spoke in Aramaic. Again, St. John might and did select or condense (as being inspired for the purpose) the matter of our Lord's discourses, as that with Nicodemus, and thereby the wording might be St. John's, though the matter might still be our Lord's" (Newman, quoted by Plummer, *CGT*, "St. John," p. 100). But of course the matter is just the crux of the whole question. This suggestion offers a partial aid, but merely shows the first stages of what becomes in the end full-blown pseudonymity. Besides, the interchange of singular and plural in passages like Jo $3^{11.\ 12}$ 9^{4} denotes the consciousness of the early church that she could speak in the name of Jesus. His actual words and those which his spirit inspired in men were not strictly distinguished. Over and again, his utterances and the reflections of the fourth evangelist pass into one another, till the line of demarcation often eludes all search.

[2] Gore, preface to *Lux Mundi* (12th ed. 1891), pp. xx–xxv. The italics are his own. I am not so sure of the criterion which he suggests, namely, that a pseudonymous writing is a forgery if the author could not have afforded to disclose the secret. Would this be true of Deuteronomy, for example? Could its author or promoter really have afforded to let Josiah know the history of its origin? On the contrary, I suspect that there, as in the case of the NT pseudepigrapha, the disclosure would have tempted contemporaries to reject such a volume—to their own loss as well as to ours. There is still educative value in Cheyne's *Jeremiah*, chap. vii., "Fraud or needful Illusion." The failure to discuss the meaning and function of pseudonymity in the NT literature is the one flaw in Dr. Chase's excellent article on 2 Peter (*DB*, iii.), although he candidly admits the existence of this literary fact.

[3] The degrees and objects varied, naturally. It is, for example, quite legitimate to argue that an author who wrote under an honoured apostolic name would feel less inclination to emphasise his *nom-de-plume* if he merely wrote for hortatory purposes

habits of composition any more than solecisms and vulgar idioms from their style, or textual errors from their MSS. It is with the literature of revelation as occasionally with the conduct and ideas of the men concerned in its history ; allowance has to be made for certain practices inevitable to the time or place, which a modern mind is less able to regard with approval or equanimity. The adjustment of these with theological ideas and prepossessions is another question. It is a question, too, which does not fall within the scope of this inquiry. Criticism has a simpler and preliminary task. It is entrusted with the business of discovering, sifting, and arranging the facts ; but it is also bound to insist that these facts shall be neither twisted nor ignored in the supposed interests of ecclesiasticism or of dogma, any more than in those of fretful, anti-traditional prejudice.

The following is a briefly annotated list of the more significant passages in the NT which are brought up for discussion by these hypotheses. Each involves, more or less immediately, considerations of style and structure, but the decision mainly rests upon a sense of the total argument in the context. It is a delicate question to follow the movements of a writer's mind from one topic to another, or to be sure that any given passage is a foreign interpolation, and not an episode or an outburst. The problem becomes trebly difficult, when, as is often the case, external evidence fails. Then especially, it is not easy to get a footing upon reliable arguments. In the case of a letter, above all, the psychological method must be fairly tried before a section or clause is finally abandoned. The connection of thought, particularly in Paul, does not always lie upon the surface ; and what is apparently abrupt may ultimately resolve itself now and then into an inner continuity. In employing the hypotheses of interpolation and compilation, it is easy to be arbitrary. Worship of the *status quo*, it is true, has always plenty of adherents, and the literalist is to be treated with constant suspicion in NT interpretation ; but at the same time these hypotheses of interpolation and compilation are often handled with a brilliance that is really specious. A more patient and self-denying criticism, which is content to take the text provisionally as it stands, may succeed in penetrating to what is an actual though not an obvious transition of argument or emotion. Indeed, after working through some hyper-subtle processes of analysis upon the NT writings (particularly Acts and the Apocalypse), it is hardly possible to avoid the feeling that their way of handling the facts is dim and perilous and arid. Ingenuity of this mechanical kind does not always get upon the track of simple and spontaneous expression. Adroitness is useful enough in its own place, but its place is not here ; or at least its place is very small. At the same time, as the tendency in this country is to treat analytic criticism far too cavalierly, I have not consciously omitted to notice any passage which is discussed, as it seems to me, with any case or reason by good critics.[1] Minor passages, however,

(*e.g.* 1 Peter), than if he had a polemical aim (Wrede, in his critique of Harnack, *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 75–85). 2 Peter is on a different level from, say, [Ephesians] or James, should either or both of these be ranked in the same literary class ; while the pseudonymity of the pastorals again must be differentiated from all three.

[1] For the Pauline letters there is an admirably full monograph by Clemen (*Die Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe an der Hand der bisher mit Bezug auf die aufgestellten Interpolations- und Compilationshypothesen geprüft*, 1894), reviewed by von Soden (*ThLz*, 1895, pp. 128–133) and J. Weiss (*SK*, 1895, pp. 252–296), unfavourably ; also by Dods (*CR*, 1895, pp. 249 f.) and Schmiedel (*LC*, 1895, pp. 641–643). More generally, Rovers, *Die Anwendung der conjekturalkritik auf den Text der*

like the omission of words here and there in the MSS, have been passed over.[1] In the discussion of interpolations and compilation as in most departments of legitimate science, there is ample room for the frolic of paradox and conjecture; one cannot always be sure whether this or that theory is worth any serious attention, or whether it should be allowed to pass quietly, after many another, into "the sepulchre of all the Capulets." In compiling this list, I have thought it fairest for several reasons to lean usually to the former judgment of charity.

One might almost, however, transfer verbatim to this province of NT criticism the well-known sentences of Matthew Arnold upon the proper attitude to a classic. "Truly we must read our classic with open eyes, and not with eyes blinded with superstition. . . . But the use of this criticism is not in itself, it is entirely in its enabling us to have a clearer sense and a deeper enjoyment of what is truly excellent. To trace the labour, the attempts, the weaknesses, the failures of a genuine classic, to acquaint oneself with his time and his life and his historical relationships, is mere literary dilettantism, unless it has that clear sense and deeper enjoyment for its end" (*The Study of Poetry*). These words point to two essentials—thoroughness and sympathy; and both are requisite in approaching a NT writing also. No amount of work on the details and outworks of the NT, or even upon the secondary and temporary elements in its substance, will lead to much profit, unless it is recognised that these writers had, or believed they had, a gospel. You cannot get the proper focus for understanding them till you share that standpoint. Otherwise the movement and the manner of the books are misconceived. Criticism of language, ideas, and style cannot be too heartily prosecuted; but it is at best subordinate, and one of the most refreshing signs in modern research is to find this frankly recognised by writers like Wrede, Krüger, and Gunkel, whose thoroughness is above suspicion. It is with this aim and this caveat that the following criticism in the Appendix proceeds.

1 Th 2^{14-16}.—A supposed interpolation (cp. Schmiedel, *HC, ad loc.*)? The severe unconciliatory reference to the Jews is considered to be un-Pauline, considering his own career of persecution and his patriotism, and to indicate a situation towards the end of the seventh decade (= Mt 23^{32}, Lk 11^{49-51} 21^{23}). But historical presuppositions can be found much earlier than the siege of Jerusalem, *e.g.* the famine (Ac 11^{28}), the edict of Claudius (Ac 18^{2}), a riot under Cumanus' procuratorship, or generally the obduracy of the Jews (1 Th 5^{6-9}, where ὀργή is again used), and their interference with Paul as he wrote, at Corinth. The reference to Christ's murder corresponds accurately to the tone of the primitive church in Ac 2^{23} $3^{14\,f.}$ 5^{30} (1 Co 2^{6-8}). Nor, in view of Ro 8^{30}, Ja 5^{2}, is it necessary to take the aorist (ἔφθασεν) historically (ἔφθακεν is plainly an attempt to ease the difficulty of the passage). The

neutestamentlichen Schriften (*ZwTh*, 1881, p. 385 f.). Cp. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. x–xii).

[1] I have not thought it worth while to notice even more considerable and familiar interpolations like those noticed, for example, in the margin of the R.V., which are detected as intruders by the mere aid of textual criticism. This class includes passages such as Ro 16^{24}, Mk 7^{16} $9^{44.\,46.}$ ^{49b} 11^{26} 15^{28}, Mt 6^{13b} (12^{47}) $(16^{2b.\,3})$ 17^{21} 18^{11} (19^{9c}) (21^{44}) 23^{14} (apud 27^{49}), Lk 9^{55b} $11^{2c\ 4c}$ 17^{36} 23^{17} (23^{34a}) (24^{12}) (24^{40}) $(24^{51b-52a})$, Ac 8^{37} 15^{34} 24^{6c-8a} 28^{29} [1 Jn $5^{6.\,7}$, the three witnesses]. For other reasons no notice has been taken of works like Lisco's dissection of 1 Co i.–iv. (*Paulus Antipaulinus*, 1895; cp. Schmiedel, *ThLz*, 1895, pp. 207–210), and Becker's similar treatment of the fourth gospel (*SK*, 1889, pp. 117–140); these are like Weisse's analytic theories, partly too subjective, partly too minute to be summarised here.

occurrence of [16b] in the Test. xii. Patriarch. (Levi 6) affords no decisive ground either against or for the authenticity of the passage here, owing to the uncertain date of the pieces which compose that writing. Still, the contradiction between Ac 17[5] (ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) and 1 Th 2[14] (συμφυλετῶν) is noticeable : it is soluble only on the supposition that the trial referred to in the latter passage occurred subsequently (= 3[3]), or that συμφυλ. includes Jews as well as Gentiles. I suspect, on the whole, that [16b] is an interpolation or editorial comment, like Ro 11[9. 10], written after 70 A.D. (So most recently Dr. Drummond, *IH*, ii. p. 5.)

1 Th 5[27].—Quite intelligible as it stands, but suspected by Hitzig, Schmiedel, and J. Weiss (*SK*, 1892), as the addition of a reader (in the second century ?) when the apostolic letters came to be widely circulated and specially authoritative.

2 Th [2-12].—For reasons similar to those urged on 1 Th 2[14-16], this vivid and surprising piece of polemic is put (previous to Apoc 13), as an interpolation, into 66–70 A.D. by Schmidt, *Der erste Thess. nebst einem Excurs über den Zweiten gleichnamigen Brief.* (1885), p. 111f. But this sketch of defection and lawlessness might be paralleled by the facts[1] underlying 1 Th 2[14-16] along with the OT postulates of antichrist and his black, pitiless empire. Spitta takes the passage as a fragment (*c.* 40 A.D.) incorporated by Paul or his amanuensis, Timotheus (*Urc.* i. p. 135 f.). In Schmiedel's view, the whole of the epistle falls in the period between Nero's death (June 9, 68) and the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem (August 70), so that this passage and the Apocalypse (13[1-10] 17[8-11]) refer to the same situation. Spitta (*loc. cit.*), however, is at once more moderate and less convincing; he regards 2[5-12] as an apocalypse of Jewish origin in the time of Caligula (νῦν, ver. 6 = Ac 18[2]), which Timotheus has recast into a Christian apocalypse, in which the "secret of iniquity" becomes the enmity of the Jews (1 Th 2[14-16]) to the gospel. There is a contradiction on paper between the view expressed here and that afterwards elaborated in Ro 11, but in either passage or in both we have probably the expression of a mood. It would be psychologically false to deny the compatibility of both positions at different periods within a single personality. Yet the "tension" of this passage in 2 Th is not between Paul and his "Jewish past" (Weiss, *NTTh*, i. pp. 306–308), but between Paul and his Jewish contemporaries. By the time that Ro 11 came to be written, he was more dispassionate and patriotic. [Hausrath takes 2[1-12] as probably a genuine fragment.]

On Bousset's theory (cp. above, p. 143), the eschatology here is not genuinely Christian, but due to a Jewish tradition of antichrist, represented later in 4 Esdras, which was in existence esoterically prior to the conflict with Rome. The inference is that while, of course, Paul followed

[1] No particular decade during the first century is needed to render these passages luminous. At any time the position of the Jews in the Roman Empire would have made the references historically intelligible ; indeed, they were even apt, ever since Tiberius had vented his anger and spite upon them (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 42, 43, 71. 85 ; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3, 4), especially in 19 A.D. The vulgar anti-Semitism of Apion must have found in many Roman quarters a welcome and an echo during the subsequent decades. But in Palestine the state of matters previous to 50 A.D. amply bore out the allusion of the apostle. Caligula's policy had set the Zealots—those implacable Nihilists of Judaism—aflame, and the days of peace in Judaea were numbered. "The last decades," *i.e.* preceding 50 A.D., "had exhibited the nation as a captive who, continually visited by his jailer, rattles at his fetters with the strength of despair, until he wrenches them asunder" (Graetz, *History of Jews* (Eng. tr.), ii. p. 234 ; cp. also Mommsen, *Gesch. Rom.* v. p. 527). In fact, since Herod Agrippa's death (44 A.D.) the flood-gates of dissension and feud in Judaea had been open.

the tradition and interpreted the restraining power as Rome, subsequent events in the seventh decade completely altered the Jewish and Christian attitude to the Empire. Now it was the foe, not the bulwark. It became antichrist itself, especially in the weird form of the Neronic saga. The Apocalypse of John represents this normal position ; but in one of its sources, as in 2 Thess, a trace of the older view has been presented. If such a hypothesis is accepted, it obviously removes one or two of the historical objections to the authenticity of 2 Thess, which have hitherto proved rather serious.

Galatians.—The epistle is commonly regarded, except by the extreme school, as a thorough unity in its extant form, the difficult transitions and abrupt parentheses being explicable upon a fair view of the author's agitation and vivid energy at the time of writing. Clemen, however (*Einheitlichkeit*, pp. 112, 124, 125), regards as interpolations or glosses 2^{18} 6^{11} for the following inconclusive reasons :—

Gal 2^{18} interrupts the direct connection of vers. 17 and 19 in the apostle's argument : it is the gloss of an unskilled copyist (so Weisse). The γὰρ is certainly strange, but the verse is perfectly natural, if not necessary. It refutes the wrong conclusion by rejecting the presuppositions upon which it rests (cp. Sieffert or Lightfoot, *ad loc.*, but especially Gercke, *GGA*, 1894, pp. 596–599).

Gal 6^{11}.—*ἔγραψα*, Clemen thinks, cannot refer to the whole [1] of the letter, for in that case it would have stood at the close. Besides, Paul did not write his own letters. Nor can the phrase refer (as the epistolary aorist) to ver. 11 f., for in the usage of the NT this refers to the preceding matter (Philemon [19]). On these extremely untenable grounds he considers the verse a gloss. But there seems no sufficient reason for abandoning the ordinary view that vers. 11–18 contain an emphatically personal postscript crowded with deliberate touches of the writer's individuality, and the motive for adding ver. 11 as a gloss would be very difficult to conjecture (cp. Deissmann, *op. cit.* pp. 262–264).

1 Co $9^{24\text{-}27}$.—Suspected by Schmiedel (*HC*, II. i. pp. 145, 146), as a misplaced passage, owing to its loose connection with the preceding and succeeding paragraphs ; the idea of the passage is excellent (= Phil $3^{12\text{-}14}$), but the conception of "herald" and "runner" (ver. 27) are contradictory. Ver. 26 depends on ver. 24 rather than on 25, and the whole conception is confused. This, however, is to press the details a little too hardly : the passage might stand quite well as it is, interpreted freely and generously (*vide* Heinrici or G. G. Findlay, *ad loc.*, and Clemen, *op. cit.* pp. 40–42), though it certainly has the appearance of being a marginal note.

1 Co $14^{33b\text{-}36}$.—Vers. 34, 35 are inserted in some MSS (DEFG, Ambrosiaster, Sedulius) after ver. 40, and ver. 33^{b} upon the whole goes better with the following than with the preceding words. The passage is therefore taken as a marginal gloss by the Dutch school, Hilgenfeld, Holsten (*Evglm. Paulus*, I. p. 495 f.), etc. ; even Schmiedel (*HC, ad loc.*) regards vers. 33^{b}–35 as an unauthentic interpolation due to the same church interests which appear in 1 Tim $2^{11\text{-}13}$; and Dr. Drummond brackets vers. 34, 35 as a prohibition borrowed from the synagogue (*IH*, ii. p. 118). The chief reasons for this hypothesis are the abruptness with which the reference to women is

[1] Like Cramer, Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 120-122) maintains this indefensible position. It is justified neither by grammar nor by the internal probabilities of the epistle. The quotation from Ambrose (ed. Ben. II. 753, to the Emperor Gratian) is interesting but not apposite : "*Scripsisti tua totam epistolam manu, vt ipsi apices fidem tuam pietatemque loquerentur.*"

introduced at this point, and the alleged inconsistency between Paul's attitude here and that in $11^{5\text{-}13}$. The latter argument, however, is not decisive. Paul's enforcement of silence upon women in the churches may be due either to a change of view or to a slightly different standpoint (so variously Godet, Weizsäcker, McGiffert, and G. G. Findlay). Clemen (*op. cit.* pp. 49–51) rather unnecessarily takes the passage as a misplaced remark of the apostle, unintelligible in its present place after $11^{2\text{ f.}}$, and part of another previous epistle to the same church (*Chron.* pp. 220, 221). Otherwise the passage is to be viewed as a remark thrown in by Paul in more or less connection with what immediately precedes, possibly written on the margin (Heinrici).

1 Co 15^{56}.—An unauthentic interpolation (Straatman, Völter, Schmiedel, Clemen, and Dr. Drummond, *IH*, ii. p. 129), which was originally inserted in the margin as a dogmatic anti-legal gloss, quite in the Pauline manner, upon κέντρον and θάνατος, but is inappropriate here. Sin and law have no special bearing upon the mental situation of the Corinthians, it is held; their problem at the moment was death in its apparent antagonism to the resurrection. It is only later, in 2 Co 3^{6}, that this function of the law is brought forward, to be further developed in Romans (*e.g.* 3^{20} 4^{15} 7^{7}). The ordinary interpretation of the passage presents to most no serious difficulties ("sensu evangelico explicat dictum Oseae," Grotius), though J. Weiss (*ThSt*, 170 n. = "Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik," p. 8 n.) deletes it on rhetorical grounds. It may easily be a marginal gloss.

Earlier in the chapter, Blass (*NT Gramm.* § 78) needlessly suspects the clause εἴπερ . . . ἐγείρονται (ver. 15), though it certainly is absent from some MSS (DE, etc.). I see no reason for supposing also that 16^{22} is a Jewish Christian gloss (Rovers, *Nieuw-Test. Letterkunde*, p. 37, Baljon and Holsten).

2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1}.—An interpolated fragment from some lost epistle. So, after Ewald and Hilgenfeld, Renan, A. H. Franke (*SK*, 1884, pp. 544–553), S. Davidson (i. p. 63), Sabatier (p. 177), Hausrath (iv. p. 55 f.), Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 115, 116 n.), Clemen (*Einheit.* pp. 58, 59), McGiffert (*AA*, p. 323), and others.[1] Possibly it stood originally after 1 Co 10^{22} or 1 Co 6, if not in the letter of similar tone and purpose[2] referred to in 1 Co $5^{9\text{-}11}$ (Hilgenfeld, *Einl.* 287 n.; Franke, Sabatier, and Whitelaw, *Class. Rev.* 1890, pp. 12, 248, 317). At any rate this interjected piece on sensuality reads awkwardly in its present situation (Heinrici), and apart from a timid desire to adhere to the textual *status quo* there is no reason for disputing so obvious an instance of interpolation. Certainly no MS evidence exists for the hypothesis, and more or less plausible objections can be stated (*e.g.* by Godet, Denney, Jülicher, and Zahn: *Einl.* i. pp.

[1] A. Robertson (*DB*, i. p. 496): "On the whole, if we may assume an interpolation at all without textual evidence, this is perhaps *dignus vindice nodus*." The "perhaps" is really out of place; it is impossible to conceive a case where internal evidence furnishes so conclusive and satisfying a proof. To make evidence from external authority a *sine quâ non* in the discussion of NT interpolations, displays more caution than appreciation of the real state in which the NT text has been preserved. There is a considerable gap between the autographs and the earliest extant MSS, during which the state of the text can only be seen through the incomplete evidence of versions and quotations.

[2] ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις. This is by far the most likely explanation, if the piece is Pauline. It is very artificial to suppose that Paul added it himself when he read over his epistle. On the other hand, Paul's epistles, especially those to Corinth, have evidently been edited in a much freer fashion than a superficial glance at their extant appearance would suggest. The further reconstruction of this, the earliest epistle to Corinth, from passages like 1 Co $3^{10\text{-}23}$ 9^{1}–10^{22}, 2 Co $11^{2\text{ f.}}$ $12^{20\text{ f.}}$, is not, however, convincing.

248, 249). But all explanations of the connection between 6^{13} and 6^{14} are forced.[1] On the other hand, 6^{13} runs well into 7^{2}, and the passage between must represent either a very sharp and almost unnatural digression, or a section interpolated from some other epistle (*vide* Schmiedel's excursus, *ad loc.*). Heinrici considers the passage to be a genuinely Pauline fragment, and apart from the strange untechnical use of σάρξ and πνεῦμα, the style, even with its ἅπ. λεγ., does not necessitate the hypothesis (Holsten) of a non-Pauline origin. The Dutch school (*e.g.* Rovers, *Nieuw-Test. Letterkunde*, pp. 37, 38), however, attribute the fragment to a Jewish-Christian source, owing to the note of narrow repulsion to "unclean things" (6^{17}), while Krenkel finds linguistic parallels in Clem. Rom. Dr. Drummond, who rather fails to do justice to the isolated character of the section, explains the reflections in it by suggesting that extraneous influences were at work upon the Corinthian Christians from current pagan criticism (*IH*, ii. pp. 159–162).

2 Co 11^{32}–12^{1}.—Apart from the question of the historicity of the Damascus paragraph [2] (cp. Klöpper, pp. 490–495), vers. 32, 33 have been regarded as a misplaced and rather irrelevant gloss upon the ἀσθενεία mentioned in ver. 30: the passage connects badly with the context, it is argued, and interrupts the sequence (so Holsten; Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh*, 1888, p. 200; Schmiedel, *ad loc.* pp. 290–292; and others).[3] Probably this excision demands 12^{1}, or at least the words καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ· οὐ συμφέρον μέν, as an interpolation, in order to make a good connection between 11^{31} and 12^{2} or 12^{1c} (reading ἐλεύσ. γάρ).

The remedy is not too heroic. But the whole passage, in its extant form, may be held to admit of pretty clear explanation: the difficulties in textual criticism and exegesis are not quite insoluble even in the present sequence of verses (cp. especially Dr. Drummond, *IH*, ii. p. 179, and Heinrici's notes), although it is true that if vers. 32, 33 were put between 30 and 31 the jolting transition would be partially eased. As it is, their comparative lack of relationship with the context quite acquits the interpolation hypothesis of the charge of wilful violence. Whether it justifies the removal of the verses from their present position is another question; and certainly the passage is not an interpolation based upon the anecdote in Ac $9^{23\text{-}25}$. Evidently this initial experience of persecution at Damascus made a deep impression upon Paul; the importance he attached to it may indicate its right to stand here as an illustra-

[1] Weizsäcker detects an apologetic aim (*AA*, i. p. 363) of Paul in the passage. Who so careful of his reader's moral purity as he? Who so antagonistic to heathenism? As an apostle to the heathen he thus shows how futile are the Jewish charges brought against him of laxity in moral teaching. But this seems rather too subtle. Of the other so-called "psychological" defences, Godet's (*INT*, i. pp. 321–323) is quite the most ingenious.

[2] Cp. Overbeck-Zeller, i. p. 296 f.; P. Ewald, *RTK*, i. pp. 795–797; and a special study from a different standpoint by Wandel, *ZKWL*, 1887, p. 433 f. The most recent light on the subject is a suggestion of Schürer's (*SK*, 1899, i.), based upon details gathered from the inscriptions, that ἐθνάρχης is applied here, not, as has been hitherto thought necessary and unexampled, to the king's administrator, the governor of the city (ἔπαρχοι, or στρατηγοί), but to the sheikh of that tribal territory in the Nabataean kingdom which included Damascus. In that case the term would be correctly applied to Aretas as a subordinate and lieutenant of the king.

[3] The passage, along with the corresponding note in Ac $9^{24\text{-}25}$, is repeatedly discussed in reference to the chronology of Paul's life; but the obscurity of the relations between Aretas and the Romans at that period renders it unwise to draw any rigid inferences from data so ambiguous. Wendt (-Meyer, *Acts*, p. 35) regards it as a marginal addition of Paul, which properly belonged to the parenthesis ver. 24 f. So also Rovers, *Nieuw-Test. Letterkunde*, p. 38, who adds $12^{1b.\ 12}$.

tion of his hardships, although it does not prove its claim to be an integral part of the original argument. It looks more like an afterthought.

The details of several analytic hypotheses, which distinguish between genuine and unauthentic pieces in the Roman epistle, can be seen in Holtzmann's summary, *Einl.* pp. 242–246, and Mangold, *Der Römerbrief u. s. geschichtl. Vorraussetz* .pp. 1–164. **Ro** $11^{9.10}$.—Interpolated in the margin by some reader as an historical reflection after the downfall of Jerusalem (Lipsius,[1] *HC*, II. 2. p. 173, as previously others, including Holsten, *ZwTh*, 1872, p. 455). On this view the quotation (LXX., Ps 69 (68)$^{23\,f.}$) is to be taken as implying exclusion from the Messianic kingdom —in which case it certainly does not harmonise with the succeeding passage. Against this it is urged that ver. 11, with its different metaphor, would not come well immediately after ver. 8. But, on the other hand, ver. 9 is as violent a contradiction to ver. 8, and *διὰ παντὸς* is not in keeping with the tone of vers. 11, 12.

$15^{19b.\ 20b.\ 23.\ 24.}$ (*ὥστε με . . . Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὅπου . . . ἀλλά*).—An interpolation, suspected on account of the references to Paul's preaching (*a*) in Jerusalem—this, it is held, is a conciliatory concession due (as in Ac $9^{28\,f.}$) to the later spirit of the church and unsupported by the facts (Gal $1^{18\text{-}24}$) of the apostle's life : (*b*) in Illyria—considered equally unhistorical : (*c*) in its general scope (which is exaggerated, *πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*) and in its special connection with Rome, which—it is argued—was an *ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον*. A case can be fairly made out, *e.g.*, by E. H. Gifford (*Speak. Comm.*, *ad loc.*), Sanday and Headlam (*ICC*, *ad loc.*), Clemen (*Einl.* pp. 91, 92), Spitta (*Urc.* i. p. 17 f.), and Denney (*ExGT*, ii. pp. 579, 580), in favour of the authenticity ; but the excision has found some support (*vide* especially Lipsius, *op. cit.* pp. 195–197 ; Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 244, 245 ; and Baur, *Paul* (Eng. tr.), i. pp. 371–379, besides the Dutch critics quoted by Clemen). The points (*a*) and (*b*) are not in themselves decisive against the Pauline authorship. Jerusalem might be referred to in a colloquial and geographical sense, although 11^{26} ought not to be seriously adduced as a parallel ; Illyria may be roughly mentioned as a limit rather than as a mission-field. But (*c*) is more crucial. The expression (*πεπλ. εὐαγγ.*) may be naturally rhetorical ; it is not safe to draw rigid conclusions from words thrown out freely in this epistle. The expression about "building on another man's foundation," however, is not to be explained by denying that Christianity had been officially or systematically preached at Rome. When Paul wrote, it was to a large and important church. A foundation had been laid by some one or some persons. Consequently, it is not so easy as it seems to reconcile 15^{20b} with passages like $1^{5.\ 13}$ 12^{3} 15^{15}.

The almost chaotic state of the text and the divergent characteristics of chpp. 15, 16 offer a problem which is commonly approached along the hypothesis of compilation and interpolation. For discussions see the commentaries (especially *ICC*, pp. xxvi, xxvii, lxxxv–xcviii, for the conservative position) : and compare Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 242–246; Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 72–74 ; Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 267–298 ; Godet, *INT*, i. pp. 395–407 ;

[1] He also is inclined to follow one or two previous critics in deleting 5^{7} as an old gloss, which interrupts the connection. Vers. 23, 24 (along with 28, *δι' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν*) are rejected in ch. 15 by Lipsius as interwoven with vers. 19^{b} 20^{b}. The Spanish journey of Paul rests upon evidence drawn from the Murat. Canon (which is probably a quotation from this passage) and a dubious interpretation of Clem. Rom 5, where *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* is as likely to mean Rome as anywhere else.

Grafe's monograph, *Ueber Veranlassung u. Zweck. d. R.* (1881); and the papers by Lightfoot and Hort, reprinted in the former's *Biblical Essays*, pp. 287–374. It is impossible here to state theories such as that of Völter (*Die Komposition d. paulin. Hauptbriefe*, i. 1890), who detects a brief original epistle ($1^{10.\ 7.\ 5.\ 6.\ 8\text{-}17}$ 5–6, 12–13, $15^{14\text{-}32}$ $16^{21\text{-}23}$) amid a mass of interpolations from later hands. Upon similar lines, but less extravagantly, Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 16–30) with characteristic ingenuity detects two letters to Rome in the extant epistle, (*a*) $1^{1\text{-}6.\ 7b}$ 1^{13}–11^{36} $15^{8\text{-}33}$; (*b*) $1^{7\text{-}12}$ 12^{1}–15^{7} $16^{1\text{-}20.\ 21\text{-}24\ (27)}$. The latter was written after Paul's release from his Roman captivity, so that on this hypothesis the personal references[1] of chap. 16 are quite intelligible; the former is to be dated during his third missionary tour. Most of the partition theories, however, require to be supplemented by some common sense. Whatever may have been the precise relation subsisting between the writer and his readers, or the aim which he had in view in penning some of these pages, it is obvious that when a public man like Paul wrote to a Christian community, his deliverance could not fail to be somewhat more exhaustive than an ordinary letter. Possibly, too, in this case, the plan of the epistle grew on him as he wrote. It is interesting, *e.g.*, to compare Burke's method in composing his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. He began it as a private letter to a gentleman in Paris, but found that his opinions and ideas grew in extent as he went on. The matter so gained upon him, that its importance and bulk demanded wider consideration than could be given in a mere letter. Yet, having begun with the epistolary form, he found it hard to change the form of semi-private address, and this duality was not without its effect upon the arrangement and handling of the various topics. "I wish," he says at one point, "to communicate more largely what was at first intended only for your private satisfaction. I shall still keep your affairs in my eye, and continue to address myself to you. Indulging myself in the freedom of epistolary intercourse, I beg leave to throw out my thoughts, and express my feelings, just as they arise in my mind, with very little attention to formal method." I suspect that some such method was employed in the composition of Romans. But in any case there are several similar circumstances in practical life which may easily have affected the aim and product of the apostle as he wrote there and then; these do not occur to us, so long as we apply purely literary canons to the epistle, or take it as a mere document of theology.

$16^{25\text{-}27}$.—In its present setting a duplicate benediction—or finale—added to the original letter, either Pauline (Renan, Weiss, Godet, Jülicher, Sanday) or else an unauthentic addition (Schürer, Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, von Soden (*HC*, III. 2. p. 203), W. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 184, 185),

[1] This is at any rate better than Zahn's view, which regards the original place of the doxology $16^{25\text{-}27}$ as having been at the close of chap. 14, and takes chap. 16 as an integral portion of the Roman epistle. The Jewish-Christian names in this section are introduced, he thinks (*Einl.* i. pp. 274–276), in order to certify to the Romans Paul's affection for his own people, despite his apostleship to the Gentiles. "The Romans are to know that Paul is anything but a recreant Jew without any affection for his unhappy nation." As if he had not amply proved that already ($9^{1\text{-}5}$ $10^{1\text{-}4}$ $11^{1\text{-}6}$ 14), without resorting to so round-about and enigmatic a method of apologetic! Oltramare's defence of the integrity of the whole epistle, including $16^{25\text{-}27}$, is better, but equally unconvincing (*Comm. sur l'épître aux Romains*, I. pp. 15–38); a verdict which must be regretfully applied to Denney's section in *ExGT*, ii. pp. 580–582, although afterwards (p. 723) he admits that $16^{1\text{-}20}$ may have originally been an independent epistle, and that $16^{25\text{-}27}$ "reminds one uncomfortably of the pastoral epistles."

Weizsäcker (*AA* i. p. 382), and others). In the latter case, the peculiarities of language and expression (*e.g.* the description of God) point to the author of "Ephesians" (Holtzmann), the era of conflict with Gnosticism (Lucht), or, as Volkmar, Mangold (-Bleek, p. 547), and Pfleiderer prefer, the anti-Marcionite epoch. In the former case it is either the original conclusion of the epistle, or else incorporated from some unknown source:—at any rate a genuinely Pauline fragment (cp. Clemen, pp. 98, 99). The affinities of the passage with Judas 24 f. either (i.) prove the dependence of the latter writing on Romans, or (ii.) suggest that the passage is to be traced to the period and possibly the author of that epistle, or (iii.) indicate that both doxologies followed a traditional form derived from Jewish sources (cp. Mangold, *Der Römerbrief*, pp. 44–81; Holtzmann, *Ephes. Col. Brief*, pp. 307–310).

The presence of $16^{25\text{-}27}$ after 14^{23} (in one or two MSS and versions, cp. evidence lucidly put by Zahn, p. 269 f.) has been explained in several ways. Renan[1] (*S. Paul*, pp. lxiii-lxxv, chap. xvii), *e.g.*, regards Romans as a circular letter which originally existed in four different forms, one of which (addressed to an unknown church) contained $1\text{–}14^{33}$ $16^{25\text{-}27}$. The other editions were intended by the apostle for Thessalonika (1–14, $16^{21\text{-}24}$), Ephesus (1–14, $16^{1\text{-}20}$), and Rome (1–11, 15). So Sabatier (p. 207) and Denney (*ExGT*, ii. p. 578). This would be corroborated by the omission (in G; cp. Zahn, pp. 278, 279, and Nestle, *Einf.* p. 245) of ἐν Ῥώμῃ in $1^{7.\ 15}$, unless that omission is due to transcriptional error, or to deliberate purpose (upon Marcion's part?), or to the hand of the later church, which not unnaturally wished to broaden out the epistle for a wider circle of Christendom. Less drastically, Lightfoot advocates a double recension of the epistle, the original draft having been addressed actually to the Roman church (*i.e.* $1\text{–}16^{23}$), while the later was, like Ephesians, circular. In this second recension, besides the excision of ἐν Ῥώμῃ ($1^{7.\ 15}$) as in G, vers. 15, 16 were omitted as of too local an interest for the wider audience, and a doxology ($=16^{25\text{-}27}$) was added to the close (*i.e.* at 14^{23}). Subsequently this doxology was transferred to its present place in the original and earlier recension, which is represented by the canonical epistle. The textual phenomena are still more cautiously handled by Hort (cp. *Romans and Ephesians*, pp. 51–58; also *WH*, ii. pp. 111 f.) who regards the doxology as an integral part of the epistle. Its insertion at the close of ver. 14 is due to the fact that it furnished an appropriate finale to the epistle when chpp. 15, 16 were passed over as less suitable for public reading[2] in the church. A somewhat similar theory is elaborated by Sanday and Headlam in their edition (*ICC*, p. xcii ff.); they unconvincingly exploit the influence of Marcion to account for the present irregularities of the text. Partially anticipating Spitta, E. H. Gifford (*Speaker's Comm.*, Introd. "Romans," pp. 27–30), again, regards $16^{3\text{-}20}$ as part of a second letter addressed by Paul to the capital after his release from the first imprisonment at Rome. This ingenious theory certainly meets the difficulty which rises on the canonical view, that Paul could scarcely have so many personal friends in a church to which he was as yet unknown. Cp. on the whole subject of the conclusion to Romans the papers by Riggenbach, *Neue Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*,

[1] "Les éditeurs ne copièrent qu'une fois les parties communes; cependant, comme ils se seraient fait scrupule de rien perdre de ce qui était sorti de la plume de l'apôtre, ils recuillirent à la fin de la copie *princeps* les parties qui variaient dans les différents exemplaires, ou qui se trouvaient en plus dans l'un d'eux."

[2] Similarly Godet, *op. cit.* p. 400 f.

1892, pp. 498–525, and—for the textual criticism of the doxology—*ibid.* pp. 526–605.

The hypothesis which seems to meet most fairly the textual phenomena, the inner evidence, and the general probabilities of the chapter, is to regard vers. 1–20 as containing the letter to Ephesus, 21–23 as the original conclusion to the Roman letter or as a paragraph belonging to it, and 25–27 ("it seems artificial rather than inspired" Denney), as a much later doxology added—after the Roman epistle and the Ephesian note had been put together—by some scribe or editor, who not unnaturally considered the epistle had an unfinished look when it ended with 16^{23}, and that it ought to be rounded off by a doxology couched in the Pauline phraseology. As Romans often closed the Pauline letters in the canon, the doxology may have been put as a finale to the whole collection as well. At the same time, no satisfactory theory has yet been offered to account for the disordered text and internal variations of Romans. That adopted in the present edition involves what may be called the reasonable minimum of conjecture and editorial change. But it is possible that still more radical treatment will have to be applied, particularly along the lines suggested by Renan, before a coherent set of results can be attained. At any rate, the starting-point of all sound criticism of the canonical "Romans" is that, wholly genuine or not, it lies before the modern reader in a different condition from that in which it left the apostle at Kenchreae.

Col $1^{18\text{-}20}$.—Following, in part, criticisms by Weisse, H. J. Holtzmann, and von Soden (*JpTh*, 1885, pp. 333 f., 497 f.), Clemen (*op. cit.* pp. 127–129) unconvincingly regards this passage as the work of a later redactor, modelled upon the preceding argument in vers. 14–17. The close connection between Ephesians and Colossians in argument and structure has also led to conjectures, at one point after another, that the text of either has been conformed to the other (cp. above, p. 217); and it is not without reason that at one or two other passages interpolation has been suspected (*e.g.* $2^{14a.\ 18.\ 23}$). But the extant text, especially of chap. 2, is not in a good state, and corruption from this source may exist in these verses. "This epistle, and more especially its second chapter, appears to have been ill-preserved in ancient times" (*WH*, ii. p. 127). In 2^{14}, for example, I should conjecture that the words ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν are simply a gloss upon καθ' ἡμῶν. They read like the marginal explanation of a copyist, which has become incorporated in the original text, and probably they are not the only phrase which would come under a similar estimate. Such alterations by copyists were easily introduced, as we know from very early times. Unless it refers to pseudonymous authorship (in which case it forms a parallel to 2 Th 2^{2}), there is a reference to this habit of scribes as far back as the difficult passage Jer 8^{8b}, אָכֵן הִנֵּה לַשֶּׁקֶר עָשָׂה עֵט שֶׁקֶר סֹפְרִים (εἰς μάτην ἐγενήθη σχοῖνος ψευδὴς γραμματεῦσιν, LXX). On the latter phrase Prof. G. A. Smith has kindly furnished me with the following note:—"The charge is made against those who boast that the law of Yahveh is with them; therefore probably against the custodians of the written law, *i.e.* Deuteronomy. The charge implies that they have written some things that are not the Torah of Yahveh, but lies. These things cannot be the original Deuteronomy promulgated by Josiah, for Jeremiah quotes from this as the word of God, though he afterwards supersedes it by the new covenant. The question remains, are they (1) any of the later additions to Deuteronomy which are now found incorporated, or (2) parts of the Levitical legislation concerning ceremonies and rites which may

already have been in existence, and which Jeremiah appears to condemn as not from Yahveh (7^{22}), or (3) other written fragments inculcating heathenish practices? I do not think one can possibly decide among these alternatives. All that the passage proves is that after the publication of Deuteronomy the pens of scribes were busy with additions which Jeremiah condemned as not from Yahveh, though of course their writers, as the keepers of Yahveh's Torah, must have given them forth as from him. Whether any of these pieces have found their way into our Deuteronomy and Leviticus, is an interesting question. It is very probable, from Jer 7^{22}, that they did." This throws light upon the extent of a scribe's power, the sinister as well as the unconscious and simple nature of his possible motives, and the rapidity with which such alterations grew up in the original. The principle applies to Col-Ephesians, and generally to the whole of the NT documents.

Philem $^{5.\ 6}$.—Working out his theory of Col-Ephesians, Holtzmann finds in vers. 4–6 traces of the post-Pauline atmosphere (= Eph $1^{15\text{-}17}$, Col $1^{3.\ 4.\ 9}$) which link the letter to these epistles (*ZwTh*, 1873, pp. 428–441; *Einl.* pp. 246, 247). W. Brückner (*Chron.* p. 200 f.), however, accepts the letter as genuinely Pauline; only, vers. 5, 6 are a later interpolation due to the author of the Ephesian epistle in the time of Hadrian. But it is hard to see any purpose in such a procedure. These passages, along with others which Hausrath detected, are quite intelligible upon the hypothesis that the note is Pauline and a unity, especially when Colossians and Philippians ($1^{9\ f.}$) are held to be genuine. Deissmann, upon literary grounds especially (*Bibel-Studien*, 1895, pp. 236, 237), pronounces the theories of its unauthenticity insipid and unnatural: he very properly compares the note to the letters of Epicurus and Moltke, as a bit of charming naïveté and humanity. Its authenticity in fact is no longer to be seriously questioned. On these two verses in particular and their exegetical difficulties, cp. especially the treatment in Haupt's edition (-Meyer).

Philipp $3^{2\ ff.}$—"Das aufrauschen aller Wasser der Kritik an dieser Stelle lässt vermuthen, dass hier eine Klippe verborgen ist" (Holtzmann). Arguing from the apparent hiatus and sharp change of tone, Hausrath (iv. p. 162) and a few others (cp. Pfleiderer, *Urc.* p. 149) have found a different epistle in chaps. 3, 4, which may have been written previously to that preserved in chaps. 1, 2, and addressed to a narrower circle, or composed at some later period. But the transition of thought admits of explanation from the simpler level of exegesis. Polykarp has indeed a vague reference to Paul's "letters" addressed to Philippi (Polyk. *ad Phil.* iii. ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς), but the plural (which is elsewhere used of a single letter) may well be rhetorical, and in any case the allusion is too indistinct to be decisive for the present question.[1] A letter or letters of Paul to Philippi may very conceivably have been lost, but it does not follow that in chap. 3^{1}–end of our extant epistle, such a letter, otherwise unknown, has been incorporated. Clemen takes $2^{19\text{-}24}$ 3^{2}–4^{3} $4^{8.\ 9}$ as fragments of an earlier letter to Philippi, written about the same time as Galatians (54–58 A.D.) [*Einheit.* pp. 140, 141; *Chron.* pp. 37 f., 197, 280], probably during Paul's imprisonment in Palestine. The rest of our

[1] Zahn (followed by Haupt) suggests that Polykarp's "letters" refer to a collection which included those addressed to the neighbouring church of Thessalonika; McGiffert inclines to believe in a previous letter addressed by Paul to Philippi and referred to in 3^{1}, while Hofmann and Zahn had already conjectured that the canonical epistle is a reply to one from that church to the apostle, alluded to in 1^{3} (ἐγὼ μὲν εὐχαριστῶ).

"Philippians," his "second letter to Philippi," is dated 64 (63) from Rome, upon his scheme (*i.e.* 1^{1}–$2^{18.\ 25\text{-}30}$ 3^{1} $4^{4\text{-}7.\ 10\text{-}23}$). Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 218–222) also analyses the letter, thus :—

1^{1}.—*σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις* : interpolation of later age (=pastoral epistles), in the interests of the church (so Völter).

1^{18}.—Superfluous, contradictory to 3^{2} 1^{28} : to be omitted as an interpolation due to the irenical consciousness of the later church in Hadrian's reign or later. The *τοῦτο* (vers. 19) refers back to ver. 14 ; after the parenthetical limitation (vers. 15–17), Paul overlooks this obstacle and resumes the weightier consideration of vers. 12–14.

$2^{6.\ 7}$.—*ἐν μορφῇ. . . . ὡς ἄνθρώπος* : an interpolation interrupting the course of thought between vers. 2–5 and 8–11, inserted by later dogmatic prepossessions and incompatible with the Pauline Christology (Brückner of course rejects Col-Ephes), which knows neither this pre-existent divinity nor semi-doketism in the humanity of Christ.

3^{20}.—. . . *σωτῆρ* as applied to Christ, suspiciously un-Pauline.
3^{21}.—Similar to $2^{6.7}$ and opposed to 1 Co $15^{27.\ 28}$.
} Later unauthentic interpolations.

By such sacrifices Brückner considers he can save the epistle as genuinely Pauline ; but it is to be feared that there will always be some critics who reckon this a very dubious salvation.

$2^{19\text{-}24}$.—Following Völter, Clemen regards this as a misplaced insertion; since ver. 19 does not satisfactorily connect with ver. 18, ver. 21 is incredible in view of 1^{14} and 4^{21}, and the sending of Epaphroditus (ver. 25) is the occasion of joy (vers. 18 and 28) (*Einheitlichkeit*, pp. 138, 139). Still more rigorously, Völter (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1892, pp. 10–44, 117–146), laying stress, like Brückner, on the "ecclesiastical" propensities of the letter, analyses it into two different epistles, one genuine and the other spurious, which have been combined at a later period by a redactor:—

Genuine.		Spurious. (Written under Hadrian, or possibly Trajan.)
1–2 (exc. *ἐπισκ. καὶ διακ.*), 3–7, 12–14, 18^{b}–26.	i.	8–11, 27–30.
17–20, 22–30.	ii.	1–16.
	iii.	1^{b}–21.
10–20, 21 (23 ?).	iv.	1–9 (22).

To the redactor are assigned the interpolations 1^{1} $1^{15\text{-}18a}$ 2^{21} 3^{1a}.

On the whole subject of the partition-theories, as applied to Philippians, all that needs to be said is stated by Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 377–378, 397–398), and Haupt (-Meyer, pp. 97 f.). Harnack, however, has quite recently attempted to prove from Polyk. *ad Phil.* 11 (Latin text), that a collection of Pauline epistles was known to the writer, that he had a correct understanding of the Thessalonian church and its epistles, and that the latter in his judgment referred to Philippi (*TU*, 1900, neue Folge, v. 3, pp. 86–93).

Mark 1.—The abrupt opening of the gospel has often suggested a primitive corruption or disturbance of the text (Weiffenbach, *JpTh*, 1882,

pp. 668–680), though MSS evidence is awanting. Weiffenbach was content with deleting 1^{2b} (*ἰδοὺ ἐγω . . . σου*) as an ancient gloss and interpolation, thereby "opening a beautiful and grand portal" to the gospel. Reuss, however, went further, and conjectured that vers. 1–20 (1–15 ?) were a subsequent addition, compiled from or parallel to Mt and Lk, prefixed to the original gospel which opened with Jesus in Kapharnahum. Along with $16^{9\text{-}20}$ this prelude was added to round off the narrative (§§ 189, 240). Dr. Paul Ewald, while refusing to go so far, has recently suspected at least vers. 1–3 as a later addition (*Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage und der Weg zu seiner Lösung*, 1890, pp. 178–180), since the quotation, if that in 15^{28} be put aside as non-authentic, would be the solitary reference to OT prophecy made by the author. "Wir haben denn eine Schrift, welche nach Anfang und Ende durchaus zusammenstimmend dem Bilde entspricht, welches wir uns, wie sich zeigen wird, von jenen Aufzeichnungen des Hermeneuten Petri machen dürfen." Holtzmann, too, ingeniously conjectures that in the original Mark only the Isaiah quotation existed, the Malachi passage being an insertion from Mt 11^{10}, Lk 7^{27}. The correct solution is probably given by Professor Nestle, who (*Exp.*[4] x. pp. 458–460; *Einf.* pp. 130, 131, 219; *Phil. Sacra*, pp. 45, 46) regards *εὐαγγέλιον* Ἰ. Χ., afterwards expanded into *ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, as the original title of the gospel—a heading which was subsequently taken as the opening of the text. Similarly Bruce (*ExGT, ad loc.*), Swete (*ad loc.*), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 220f.). In early Christian literature (cp. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litt. bis Eusebius*, i. pp. 988–1020), *ἀρχη* never occurs thus as the opening of a book, while *καθώς*[1] (1 Ti 1^{3}) is used in such a position four times, *καθάπερ* four times, *ὡς* twenty-eight times. This natural explanation of ver. 1 as the superscription might cover Mt1^{1} also.

The other explanations of vers. 1–3 are best given by Schanz (*Commentar über das Evglm. d. heiligen Marcus*, 1881, pp. 59–62).

7^{24}–8^{26}.—Suspected also by Paul Ewald (*op. cit.* pp. 181–189) partly on the grounds of style and language, which he finds inconsistent with the rest of the gospel, partly as the episode seems to be interpolated for the first time at a later stage of the evangelic tradition. By omitting $1^{1\text{-}3}$ 7^{24}–8^{26} $16^{9\text{-}20}$ from the extant Mark, he reaches what appears to him to represent the Ur-Marcus. As the first of these passages is crucial, it may be added that the main alternatives in regard to Mk 1^{1} are (*a*) the canonical, and (*b*) the textual hypotheses. When the former is adopted, the book opens with ver. 2; the preceding words were added when it occupied the first place among the canonical gospels, thus forming an introductory title to all four. In process of time this general heading naturally became absorbed in the text of the gospel which stood closest to it. The improbabilities of this theory suggest, (*b*) that the words in question form the author's own title to his book. It is clumsy and contrary to Mark's direct style to take them with ver. 4, and to regard the intervening quotation as a parenthesis. They probably form a heading and description not for the opening ($1^{4\text{-}8}$ or $1^{4\text{-}15}$), but for the whole book. It is intended to portray the start and origin (cp. Ac 1^{1}, Heb 2^{3}, Jn 15^{27}) of the gospel of Jesus in his lifetime, and particularly—in accordance (Ac $10^{36\,\text{f.}}$) with early tradition—from the mission of the Baptizer ("The Christian church sprang from a movement which was not begun by Christ. When he appeared upon the scene, the first wave of this movement had already passed over the surface of the Jewish nation," *Ecce Homo*, chap. i.). Such, on this hypothesis, is the programme of Mark. The unique quotation

[1] Yet in Mk-Mt it consistently refers to a preceding sentence.

from the OT is only another proof of the exactness with which the author strove to reproduce the primitive tradition of Jesus upon this point. Soltau, however (*Eine Lücke d. Synopt. Forschung*, pp. 1–7), has recently adhered to those who delete 1^{2b}, adding also $11^{25.26}$ (from Mt $6^{14.15}$). Mk 1^{1-11} is unfortunately amissing in Syr-Sin.

Mark $9^{38-40\ (41)}$.—Perhaps one of the few interpolations inserted (from Lk 9^{49-50}?) by another hand: note especially the interruption of the argument between vers. 37 and 41, and the reference to the Name (?). For this and other instances *vide* Pfleiderer, *Urc.* pp. 391, 392, 416, and Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 280 n. Keim, however, attributes the paragraph to the writer of the gospel (iv. 334), who has misplaced it, and this "episodical" view is quite sufficient for the data; similarly Schanz (pp. 304, 305) and Weiss (-Meyer, pp. 162–164). In common with many who reject the Ur-Marcus hypothesis (recently defended by Réville, I. pp. 472–477), Sir John Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, p. 122) takes the extant gospel as practically representing the Petrine source used afterwards by Matthew and Luke. He finds, nevertheless, the hand of a later editor or scribe or owner of a gospel, in passages like 1^{1} (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), 9^{41} (*ὅτι χ. ἐστέ*) ["a marginal gloss," Schmiedel, *EB*, i. p. 752], 8^{35} and $10^{29.30}$ (mention of gospel and of persecutions), 6^{37} and 14^{5} (the numerals, 200 and 300), 5^{13} (the 2000) and 14^{56-59} (the disagreement of the false witnesses). The list might be extended, however. For Zahn's admission, see above, pp. 28–29. He remarks, *à propos* of *ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ* (9^{41}), "it is not the words of Jesus but of his church (Ro 8^{9}, 1 Co 3^{23}, 2 Co 10^{7}) that we hear." Which is undeniable, and points either to the insertion of these words in a genuine logion, or more probably to the apostolic origin of the whole passage in its present form. Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, p. 81 f.) traces a series of such secondary features and references throughout Mark with considerable skill.

Mark 13.—An analysis of the eschatological section in the synoptists (Mk 13 = Mt 24 = Lk 21) yields the interesting result,[1] that along with the sayings of Jesus the evangelists have incorporated a "small apocalypse," which lay before them already in written form. This apocalypse, printed above in darker type, consists of matter set in the usual triple division common to apocalyptic literature (*e.g.* Apoc 9^{12} 11^{14}).

ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων—Mk	$13^{7.8}$	=	Mt 24^{6-8}	=	Lk 21^{9-11}.	
θλῖψις — „	13^{14-20}	=	„ 24^{15-22}	=	„ (21^{20-24}).	
παρουσία — „	13^{24-27}	=	„ 24^{29-31}	=	„ $21^{25-27\ (28)}$.	

The intervening passages (*e.g.* Mk $13^{9-13.21-23}$) are Christian[2] exhortations conceived in a different spirit of comfort, and interpolated between the apocalyptic phases to emphasise the Christian atmosphere, while the saying Mk $13^{30.31}$ = Mt $24^{34.35}$ = Lk $21^{32.33}$ may quite well be a genuine logion of Jesus. Although details of reconstruction differ,[3] the

[1] "Es gibt wenig Hypothesen, die sich in den Grundzügen ihres Bestandes so unausweichbar erwiesen und so einleuchtende Begründung erfahren haben, wie diese" (Holtzmann). The distinction between genuine and later sayings cannot be carried out as precisely, however, throughout the rest of the discourse. The general hypothesis that outside passages have passed into the evangelic tradition is an inference from the literary situation of the evangelists, and rests on evidence both within (*e.g.* Lk 11^{49-51}) and without the NT.

[2] The feud between kinsfolk is a standard trait of apocalyptic (4 Esdras 5^{9}, 6^{24} etc.); so is the international quarrel of Mk 13^{8} (4 Esdras 5^{5}, Apoc Bar 49^{32} etc).

[3] Wendt, *e.g.* (*LJ*, i. p. 10 f.; *Teaching of Jesus* (Eng. tr.), ii. p. 366 n.), finds the oracle in the words preserved by Mk $13^{7.9a.14.20.24-27.30}$, which represent a Jewish-Christian apocalypse, absorbed for the most part in external and political circumstances.

apocalypse as a whole detaches readily from the context, and forms by itself an intelligible unity, even although it has been overlaid with fresh colours[1] by the various evangelists or by their predecessors. It forms a fly-leaf of prophecy, a palimpsest which lies beside the surrounding contents of the gospels with a distinctly alien appearance. A fragment from it is also used elsewhere in Lk 17^{31}.

Like most apocalyptic sketches, it goes back for its scenery and imagery to Daniel, from which it derives the ideas common to itself and the Jewish pseudepigrapha. Coincidences are to be noted between it and the Johannine apocalypse, but these are little more than the stereotyped conceptions of the general apocalyptic literature.

Wars,[2] earthquakes, and famine	Mt 24^{6-8}	= Apoc $6^{4-8.\ 12-14}$	cp. Bar. 70^{8}, 4 Esd 6^{24} 9^{3} 13^{31} etc.
preaching to nations	,, 24^{14}	= 14^{6} (fulfilled, Col $1^{5-6.\ 23}$).	
endurance[3] to end	,, 24^{13}	= 2^{26}	cp. 4 Esd $9^{7.\ 8}$, 6^{25}
unparalleled affliction	,, 24^{21}	= 16^{18}	cp. Dan 12^{1}
physical disturbances	,, 24^{29}	= 6^{12-14} 8^{12} 9^{12}	cp. Ass. Mos. 10^{4} f.
mourning over Son of man's appearance	,, 24^{30}	= 1^{7}	cp. Zech 12^{10}, Barn 7^{9}
commission to angels of winds	,, 24^{31}	= 7^{1}	cp. Dan 7^{2}, Enoch (*passim*).
passing of earth and heaven, etc.	,, 24^{35}	= 6^{14} 17^{17} 21^{1}	cp. 4 Esd 7^{31}, Enoch 91^{15}
standing before God	Lk 21^{36}	= 6^{17}	

(The parallels are quoted from Matthew, as that gospel preserves the apocalypse in a more primitive form—cp. *μηδὲ σαββάτῳ*, *εὐθέως*—than even Mark, a proof that the original text was accessible to the author of Matthew.[4] Such parallels might be multiplied, as Baldensperger shows,

The rest of the chapter contains genuinely Christian elements, which the redactor has blended with the other piece. For another ingenious reconstruction by J. Weiss, cp. *SK*, 1892, p. 259 f. He distinguishes a Jewish apocalypse in Mk $13^{14.\ 17-20.\ 22.\ 25b-27}$, and refuses to admit that even the rest of the chapter is in its present form a unity. Vers. 9^{b}–13 and 28–31 originally occupied other settings. Kabisch simply finds an interpolation in Mt 24^{15-31}; Réville (ii. p. 310 f.), in Mt $24^{11-12.\ 26-28.\ 37-51}$ 25^{1-46}, disinters fragments of the Logia.

[1] In Luke 21^{13} *μαρτύριον* may have its darker and later sense of martyrdom (Clem. Rom. 5), as J. Weiss suggests, although the customary interpretation, "an opportunity for bearing witness," serves well enough. In vers. 12–15 Paul and Stephen are certainly in the author's mind as he writes.

[2] These formed part of the apocalyptic stock-in-trade, and are probably due to little else than the fashion of the literary tradition. But, as it happens, contemporary phenomena of nature can be found to match most of the descriptions; cp. particularly Renan's vivid picture, *L'antéchrist*, chap. xiv.

[3] Remarkable enough to deserve printing in full, as an instance of the general similarities:

Mt, *ὁ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται*=Esd. $9^{7.\ 8}$, et erit omnis qui salvus factus fuerit et qui poterit effugere per opera sua vel per fidem, in qua credidit, is relinquetur de praedictis periculis et videbit salutare meum.

[4] As is well known, Papias attributed an apocalyptic passage to Jesus (Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 33. 2) which originally belonged to one of the pre-70 A.D. sources of the Apocalypse of Baruch (chap. 27–30). The same tendency betrays itself in the attribution to Jesus of passages taken from or founded on the Wisdom literature (Mt 11^{28-30}, Lk 11^{49}). On the exposure of the early church to such theologoumena, cp. Harnack, *HD*, i. pp. 100–105. It may be (as Driver, after Sanday, conjectures: *DB*, i. pp. 12, 13) that the language of the original synoptic apocalypse was more general, and that, "during the years of agitation and tension which preceded the final struggle of A.D. 70, it was modified so as to give more definite expression to such apprehensions." All literature of that class was liable to such revision and adaptation. But there is really no evidence in this case to justify the supposition. Apocalyptic interpretation was never greatly concerned to be literal.

almost indefinitely from the current literature of the time). How congenial such utterances were to the feverish age, 60–70, in Jerusalem and Palestine, may be illustrated from Josephus' story of the wild peasant who roamed through the capital in the year 62, howling in a wail of doom, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" His name is given as Jesus ben Ananias.

The date and the character of the synoptic apocalypse are allied questions. If its origin be in Caligula's age, a product—like some part of the Johannine apocalypse—of the stress and horror stirred up then by his desecrating insults to Judaism,[1] it is of Jewish origin (Iselin, *ZSchz*, 1886, p. 134 f.). Against this, however, must be set the general result of recent criticism upon the larger apocalypse, which does not seriously favour the Christian exploitation of Jewish pieces. It is much more probable that the small apocalypse is a Jewish-Christian production, composed amid the restlessness and fevered anticipations of the seventh decade[2] by some Palestinian author, as the horrors and fears of the Roman campaign began to throw their shadows over the country and the church. Hausrath, like Colani, Pfleiderer, and Keim, dates it (iv. p. 247) from or just before the years 68–70 A.D., as it seems to have a certain retrospect of suffering and warfare already behind it, while Renan seems to put its composition after the siege altogether (?). Wendt more probably locates it somewhere between 60 and 70; in the earlier part of that seventh decade it is most reasonable (with Weizsäcker) to look for its period, before the crisis had become definite. Spitta, however, holds to the period *c.* 40 A.D. (*Offenbarung Johan.* pp. 493–497), interpreting the apocalypse as an outcome of Caligula's freak, while J. Weiss (*SK*, 1892, pp. 246–270) chooses widely between 40 and 69. But really almost any of these periods would suit the conditions and nature of the synoptic apocalypse. It represents the growth of semi-literal imagery round the nucleus of language that was used by Jesus in a free and ideal sense, a growth fostered by the Messianic hopes of the period, and by the undoubted connection of Jesus with these hopes in the primitive evangelic tradition.

Generally, the theory of this "small apocalypse" was started by Colani (*Jésus-Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps*,[2] 1864, p. 201 f.), and Weiffenbach (*Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, 1873, pp. 69 f., 135 f.), adopted by writers like Baldensperger and Schwartzkopff, from the side of research into Christ's consciousness, and reinforced by others from the side of literary and historical criticism, *e.g.* by Vischer (*TU*, II. 3, p. 9 n.), Pfleiderer (*Jahrb. d. Theol.* 1868, pp. 134–149; *Urc.* p. 402 f.), Simons, Mangold (-Bleek), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. p. 22 f. (*c.* 64–66 A.D.)), Renan (*L'antéchrist*, chpp. iii. xii.; *Les Évangiles*, pp. 123–125), Carpenter (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 247–250), and Cone (*Gospel Criticism*, p. 276 f.). Keim has a full exposition (v. p. 235 f.); cp. also Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 363, 373, 374; *HC*, i. p. 259 f.; *NTTh*, i. pp. 327, 328), Wernle (*Syn. Frage*, pp. 212–214), O. Holtzmann (*Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens*, p. 669), Cheyne (*EBi*, i. pp. 21–23), Charles (*Crit. Hist. Eschatology*, p. 324 f., dating

[1] In this event, and if the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* be identified with the "man of sin" (2 Th 2[3-12]), it follows that the author of the third gospel has altered the original purport of the saying. In his hands it is shaped into a picture of the Roman siege of 68–70 A.D.; indeed his whole treatment of it reflects the wider experiences and retrospect of Christians in the outside Empire.

[2] It was a time, says Tacitus (*Hist.* I. 2), "Opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum. Quattuor principes ferro interempti. Trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta." Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5) bears a similar testimony to the demoralised and excited condition of Palestine.

it 67–68), and apparently W. A. Brown (*DB*, iii. pp. 676, 777), with Dr. G. L. Cary (*IH*, i. pp. 274–292).

There are adverse discussions in Godet's *Luke* (*ad loc.*), and Briggs's *Messiah of Gospels* (1894), chap. iv.; also in Haupt's *Die Eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den Syn. Evglien* (1895), pp. 21–45, which is the fairest conservative statement of the case.[1] Like Weiss and Beyschlag, Dr. Sanday still hesitates (*DB*, ii. pp. 635, 636), and even to Prof. Bruce the critical analysis was "ingenious but not convincing" (*ExGT*, i. p. 290; cp. *The Kingdom of God*, chap. xii.). Stevens (*NTTh*, pp. 152–156), while admitting that Matthew's version "involves Jesus in a tissue of contradictions," chooses also to refer the incongruities of the discourse to "subjective combinations and misapprehensions on the part of the early disciples."

The well-known references in Papias and Irenaeus, to say nothing of the freedom with which Luke has handled the primitive evangelic tradition, show how easily edifying material could be attributed to Jesus, particularly as the early Christians breathed apocalyptic hopes and fears at the age when the sources of the gospels were composed, and even later (*vide* Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus*, 1893, pp. 1–12). It has often been conjectured that this apocalypse is actually the oracle which, according to Eusebius (*HE*, III. 5. 2, 3, *κατά τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκδοθέντα κτλ*), was the means of prompting the Christians to migrate from Jerusalem to the refuge of Pella in Peraea. At any rate, this fly-leaf of prophecy was intended, like other apocalypses (Apoc 13^{18} 17^{9}) to be read (*ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω* = Barn. 2^{9} f. 4^{6}, *συνιέναι οὖν ὀφείλετε*, 4 Esdras 6^{10})[2] and solemnly pondered in view of the crisis. Its incorporation with the eschatological utterances of Jesus is due (*a*) to the probable existence of genuine eschatological sayings in the evangelic tradition, which received fresh accent and emphasis when the crisis of 65–70 arrived; and (*b*) to the vivid zest for apocalyptic ideas which gained more and more foothold in the Palestinian circles of early Christianity, especially during these years of crisis. It is quite a pre-critical idea to confuse this position with the dogmatic assumption (*omne vaticinium ex eventu*) that Jesus could not have foreseen the course of events beyond his own lifetime. The point is, that whatever he could have uttered, it is in the highest degree unreasonable to attribute to him this programme of events and ideas, many of which were not even upon the horizon in the third decade of the first century (notice even Paul's references, some nineteen or twenty years later, 1 Th $4^{13\text{-}18}$). Unless historical criticism is to be deliberately abandoned, the only method of reaching back to the genuine eschatological logia of Jesus is to strip away

[1] Though even Haupt is forced to admit (p. 45) the possibility that alien words may have been attributed to Jesus in good faith, but erroneously; also, that later ideas of time and events have been worked into his words. Cp. Holtzmann, *GGA* (1895), p. 329 f. "So much of the Jerusalem discourse as is true apocalypse represents the belief of the early church; so much of it as is simple prophecy of suffering ending in victory speaks to us from the heart of Jesus himself" (Cary). But it is doubtful whether these two elements can still be disentangled with much certainty. [N. Schmidt (*Journ. Bibl. Lit.* 1900, p. 22) dates the apocalypse too late.]

[2] Cheyne aptly compares Dante, *Inf.* $9^{61\text{-}63}$.

> "O you that have a sane intelligence,
> Look ye unto the doctrine which herein
> Conceals itself 'neath the strange verses' veil" (W. M. Rossetti).

There is no need to attribute the words in Matthew to Jesus, in Mark to the evangelist (*IH*, i. p. 276).

the self-evident accretions of the apostolic age. Otherwise, the alternative would be to treat the whole evangelic eschatology as a series of free compositions, in which the original thoughts of Jesus lie hopelessly buried. As they stand, the synoptic apocalypses cannot be brought within the limits of a single personality or situation without self-contradiction.

THE LOGIA

For obvious reasons it has not been possible to mark in the printed text of Matthew or Luke, the strata belonging to the incorporated Logia-document. This source, however, can be detected with approximate certainty.[1] It probably consisted of "Logia," *i.e.* sententious words of Jesus regarded as utterances of the divine Mind, preserved in prose (as opposed to χρήσμοι, the poetical form), and carrying with them a certain flavour of authority. Designed for instruction and edification, these traditional sayings of Jesus (λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, Clem Rom 13^1 46^7) naturally covered only a small portion of his life; even with the attached fragments of introductory narrative, they afforded little more than a bare sketch of the more salient points and phases in his career. Probably they emanated from the Palestinian, or even the Jerusalemite, circle of the early Christians. They represented the earliest attempt to crystallise in written form the apostolic tradition of Jesus as the teacher. Their contents may be most adequately defined as a practical manual of evangelic principles (which in the nature of the case assumed a biographic form), reflecting the current tradition of Jesus and his personality, but ultimately drawn up by a man who had somewhat definite views of his own, or rather who belonged upon the whole to the more liberal party of Jewish Christianity. "While the author was a man of conservative views, he was without controversial temper or interest" (McGiffert). Probably he sympathised with that large central body in the early church, which stood aloof from theological extremes. His personality is therefore less marked than his position. Indeed, so far as it is proper to speak at all of any one author or final editor in connection with these Logia, he was the representative of that average, characteristic piety which silently maintained itself amid the various parties of primitive Christianity, just as it afterwards formed their rallying-point. Behind the author of the Logia stood the generation whose faith he voiced. In this document, and in the

[*Continued on page* 643.

[1] This is admitted by many who refuse to go further in the critical analysis of Matthew. The hypothesis that this gospel represents a compilation of various documents has been for some time quite a derelict; but it has recently been refitted with considerable skill by Soltau (*Eine Lücke d. Synopt. Forschung*, 1899; *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 219–248, "zur Entstehung des I Evglms."), who finds that our canonical Matthew is a second edition, containing additions from the hand of its final editor (1–2, $3^{14.\ 15}$ $4^{14\text{-}16}$ 8^{17} $12^{17\text{-}21}$ $13^{14.\ 15}$ 13^{35} $26^{53.\ 56}$ $27^{9.\ 10}$; also $21^{2\text{-}5}$ 26^{15b} $27^{3\text{-}10}$, as due to the prophetic tendency of the writer; also, additions to the story of the passion, 27^{62} 28^{20}, with $27^{19.\ 24.\ 25.\ 52.\ 53}$ $27^{34.\ 43.\ 57}$, and the three Petrine legends; besides $5^{18.\ 19}$ $19^{10\text{-}12}$). These are coloured by a uniform tinge. They reflect an author of catholic sympathies and dogmatic prepossessions in favour of the OT, anxious to discover a *modus vivendi* between Christianity and the Empire. The original Matthew, undogmatic and anti-Jewish, already lay before him, with its combination of the Marcan tales and the Logia. Its author, however, was not a Jewish-Christian, nor a Paulinist, but a sharp opponent of Judaism who endeavoured to mediate between Jewish-Christianity and Paulinism. The author of the third gospel, Soltau conjectures, knew only the Proto-Matthew, not the final edition.

Réville's Reconstruction.

Group I. "The new law."

Mt 5^{3}–7^{27} = Lk 6^{20} f. 11^{33}
,, 8^{16} 14^{34} 16^{17}
,, 12^{58}. 59 16^{18}
,, 6^{29}. 30. 32-36 11^{2}-^{4}
,, 12^{33}. 34 11^{34}-^{36}
,, 12^{22}-^{31} 16^{13}
,, 6^{37}. 41 f. 11^{9}-^{13}
,, 6^{31} 13^{24}. 25-27
,, 6^{47}-^{49}

Group II. "Apostolic instructions."

Mt 9^{37}. 38 / 10^{5}-^{16}. 23-42 = Lk 10^{2}. 4-12. 3
,, 6^{40} 8^{17} 12^{5}-^{9}
,, 12^{51}-^{53} 14^{26}. 27
,, 17^{33} 10^{16}

Group III. "Defence of the kingdom."

Mt 11^{7b}-^{19}. 21-24. $25b$-30 / 12^{24}. 25. 28-30. 37. 39. 41-45 = Lk 7^{24}-^{28}
,, 16^{16} 7^{31}-^{35}
,, 10^{13}-^{15}. 21. 22
,, 12^{10} 6^{43} 45
,, 11^{29}-^{32}. 24-26

Group IV. "Parables of the kingdom."

Mt 13^{24}-^{52} = Lk 13^{19}. 21

Group V. "Members of the kingdom."

Mt 18^{2b}-^{35} 20^{1}-^{16} / ,, 21^{23}-^{27} 22^{1}-^{6}. 8-14 = Lk 17^{1}. 2 15^{4}-^{7}
,, 17^{3}. 4 14^{16}-^{24}

Group VI. "Woes."

Mt 23^{2}-^{39} = Lk 11^{46}. 52. 42. 39. 44. 49-51 13^{34}. 35

Group VII. "Coming of the kingdom."

Mt 24^{11}. 12. 26-28. 37-51 / 25 = Lk 17^{23}. 37
,, 17^{26}-^{30}
,, 12^{36}-^{40}
,, 19^{12}-^{27}

Réville, I. pp. 299, 469–470. Also other passages like Mt 8^{11}. 12 13^{12}. 16 15^{13b}. 14, 16^{2}. ^{3}, to be recognised as interpolations when the context is compared with the corresponding section in Mark.

Wernle's Reconstruction.

(*a*)

Mt 3^{7}-^{12} . . . = Lk 3^{7}-^{9}. 16. 17
,, 4^{3}-^{10} . . . = ,, 4^{3}-^{12}

(*b*)

,, 5^{3}-^{48} 7^{1}-^{6}. 12-27 . = ,, 6^{20}-^{49} 11^{33} 12^{58}. 59 / 16^{17}
,, 8^{5}-^{13} . . . = ,, 7^{2}-^{10} 13^{28}-^{30}
,, 8^{19}-^{22} 9^{37}. 38 / 10^{5}-^{16}. 23-25. 40-42 / 11^{20}-^{27} 13^{16}. 17 = ,, 9^{57}-^{62} 10^{1}-^{16}. 21-24

(*c*)

,, 11^{2}-^{19} . . . = ,, 7^{18}-^{35} 16^{16}
,, 12^{22}-^{37} . . . = ,, 11^{14}-^{23} 12^{10}
,, 12^{38}-^{45} . . . = ,, 11^{29}-^{32}. 24-26
,, 23^{1}-^{39} . . . = ,, 11^{39}-^{52} 13^{34}. 35

(*d*)

,, 6^{9}-^{13} 7^{7}-^{11} . . = ,, 11^{2}-^{4}. 9-13
,, 6^{19}-^{24} . . . = ,, 12^{22}-^{34} 11^{34}-^{36} 16^{13}
,, 13^{31}-^{33}. 44-46 . . = ,, 13^{18}-^{21}
,, 10^{26}-^{39} . . . = ,, 12^{2}-^{12}. 51-53 14^{26}. 27
,, 18^{7}. 12-22 . . = ,, 15^{3}-^{10} 17^{1}-^{4}
,, 22^{1}-^{14} . . . = ,, 14^{16}-^{24}
,, 24^{26}-^{28}. 37-51 . . = ,, 17^{23}-^{37} 12^{39}-^{46}
,, 25^{14}-^{30} . . . = ,, 19^{12}-^{27}

Synoptische Frage, p. 221 f. Also others like (?) Mt 17^{20} (= Lk 17^{6}) in (*d*) Mt 6^{1}-^{8}. 16-18 in (*b*), Mt 11^{28}-^{30} in (*b*). He proposes to rearrange the Logia by placing the materials in three sections preceded by (*a*) the historical introduction upon the baptism and temptation of Jesus: of these three, (*b*) contains rules for Christians and missionaries, (*c*) sayings of a more polemical and outward character, (*d*) instructions for Christians in their own lives, particularly in view of the second advent. The division is ingenious, but has a touch of artificiality.

Hawkins' Reconstruction.

Mt 3^{7}-^{10}. 12 . . . . . = Lk 3^{7}-^{9}. 17
,, 4^{3}-^{11} . . . . . = ,, 4^{3}-^{13}

,, 5^{3}. 4. 6. 11. 12. 13. 18. 25. 26. / 39. 40. 42. 44-48 = ,, 6^{20b}. 21. 22. 23 / 14^{34}. 35 16^{17} 12^{58}. 59 / 6^{29}. 30. 27. 28. $35b$. 32. 33. 36
,, 6^{9}. $10a$. 11-$13a$. 20-33 . . = ,, 11^{2}-^{4} 12^{33} b.-34 11^{34}. 35 / 16^{13} 12^{22}-^{31}
,, 7^{1}. $2b$-5. 7-14. 16 18. / 21-$28a$ . . = ,, 6^{37} a. 38 b. 41. 42 11^{9}-^{11}. 13 / 6^{31} 12^{23}. 24. (?). 6^{43}-^{46} / 13^{25}-^{27}. (??) 6^{47}-^{49}

,, 8^{5}-^{10}. 13. 11. 12. 19-22 . . = ,, 7^{1}-^{10} 13^{28}. 29 9^{57}-^{60}
,, 9^{37}. 38 10^{7}. $10b$. 12. 13. 15 . = ,, 10^{2} 9^{2} 10^{7b}. 5. 6. 12
,, 10^{16a}. 24. 25 a. 26-38. 40 . = ,, 10^{3} 6^{40} 12^{2}-^{9}. 51-53 / 14^{26} (??) 27 10^{16}
,, 11^{2}-^{13}. 16-19. 21-27 . = ,, 7^{18}-^{28} 16^{16} 7^{31}-^{35} / 10^{13}-^{15}. 12. 21. 22

,, 12^{27}. 28. 30. 38. 39. 41-45 . = ,, 11^{19}. 20. 23. 16. 29-32. 24-26
,, 13^{16}. 17. 33 15^{14b} [16^{2}. 3] . = ,, 10^{23} b. 24 13^{20}. 21 6^{39b} / 12^{54}-^{56} (??)
,, 17^{20b}. 18^{7}. 12. 13. 15. 21. 22 . = ,, 17^{6} (?). 1 15^{4}. 5. 7 17^{3}. 4
,, 19^{28} [21^{44}] 23^{4}. 12-14 . = ,, {22^{28-30} (?) 20^{18} (?) 11^{46} 14^{11} / 11^{52}
,, 23^{23}. 25. 27. 29-31 . = ,, 11^{42}. 39. 44. (?) 47. 48
,, 23^{34}-^{39} . . . . . = ,, 11^{49}-^{51} 13^{34}. 35
,, 24^{26}-^{28}. 37-41 . . . = ,, 17^{23}. 24. 37. 26. 27. 34. 35
,, 24^{43}-^{51a}. . . . . = ,, 12^{39}-^{40}. 42-46

Horae Synopticae, pp. 88–92. Possibly also Mt 5^{15} [= Lk 11^{33} (?)], Mt 5^{32} – Lk 16^{18}, Mt 25^{29} = Lk 19^{26}, Mt 12^{22} = Lk 11^{14}. The above list represents about 185 verses in both gospels (Mt = 1068 verses, Lk = 1149). From these data three inferences are drawn: (i.) that the order and sequence of the Logia was of no moment to the authors of Mt and Lk; (ii.) that Mt's characteristic expressions are more freely used in the Logian than in the presumably Marcan passages, the reverse being true of Lk; (iii.) that the Logia have been so worked over by both writers, that it is no longer possible to determine the characteristic style and language of that document. See also his admirable study in *Exp. Ti.* xii. pp. 72–76, on the internal evidence for the use of the Logia in Mt and Lk.

Wendt's Reconstruction.		Roehrich's Reconstruction.	
Mt 3$^{7\text{-}12}$ . . . =	Lk 3$^{7\text{-}9.\ 16.\ 17}$	Mt 3$^{1\text{-}12}$ (14. 15?) =	Lk 3$^{1\text{-}20}$
,, 5–7 (pt.) . . =	,, 6$^{20\text{-}49}$ 16$^{17.\ 18}$	,, 4$^{1\text{-}11}$ . . =	,, 4$^{1\text{-}13}$
,, 8$^{5\text{-}13}$ . . =	,, 7$^{2\text{-}10}$	,, 5–7 . . =	,, 6$^{20\text{-}49}$
,, 11$^{2\text{-}19}$ 21$^{28\text{-}32}$. =	,, 7$^{18\text{-}35}$ 16^{16} 7$^{36\text{-}50}$	,, 8$^{5\text{-}13}$ . . =	,, 7$^{1\text{-}10}$
,, 8$^{19\text{-}22}$ . . =	,, 8$^{1\text{-}3}$ 9$^{57\text{-}62}$	,, 8$^{18\text{-}22}$ . . =	,, 9$^{57\text{-}60}$
,, 9$^{37.\ 38}$,, 10$^{1\text{-}16.\ 40\text{-}42}$,, 11$^{20\text{-}24}$. =	,, 10$^{1\text{-}16}$	,, 9$^{32\text{-}34.\ 37.\ 38}$. =	,, 11$^{14.\ 15}$ 10$^{9\text{-}16}$
,, 11$^{25\text{-}30}$ 13$^{16\text{-}17}$. =	,, 10$^{17\text{-}24}$ 10$^{25\text{-}37.\ 38\text{-}42}$	,, 10$^{5\text{-}15}$ 26-33 . =	,, 12$^{2\text{-}9}$
,, 6$^{7\text{-}15}$ 7$^{7\text{-}11}$ . . =	,, 11$^{1\text{-}13}$		
,, 9$^{32\text{-}34}$ 12$^{22\text{-}45}$ 16^{4} =	,, 11$^{14\text{-}32}$ 6^{45}		
,, 6^{22} f. 23$^{1\text{-}36}$. =	,, 11$^{33\text{-}54}$		
,, 10$^{24\text{-}33}$ 12^{32} . =	,, 12$^{1\text{-}12}$ 6^{40}		
,, 6$^{19\text{-}34}$ . . =	,, 12$^{13\text{-}34}$		
,, 24$^{43\text{-}51}$ 25$^{1\text{-}12}$. =	,, 12$^{35\text{-}48}$ 13^{25}		
,, 10$^{34\text{-}39}$ 5^{13} . . =	,, 12$^{49\text{-}53}$ 14$^{25\text{-}35}$ 17^{33}		
,, 16^{2} f. 5^{25} f. . . =	,, 13$^{1\text{-}9}$ 12$^{54\text{-}59}$ 13$^{10\text{-}17}$		
,, 13$^{31\text{-}33}$ 7^{13} f. 23 f. ,, 8^{11} f. 22$^{1\text{-}14}$ =	,, 13$^{18\text{-}30}$ 14$^{15\text{-}24}$		
,, 23$^{37\text{-}39}$ . . =	,, 13$^{31\text{-}35}$		
,, 12^{10} f. . . =	,, 14$^{1\text{-}6}$ 14$^{7\text{-}11.\ 12\text{-}14}$ 15$^{3.\ 8\text{-}32}$		
,, 25$^{14\text{-}30}$ 6^{24} . . =	,, 16$^{1\text{-}13}$ 19$^{11\text{-}27}$ 12$^{47.\ 48}$ 16$^{14\text{-}31}$ 18$^{9\text{-}14}$		
,, 18$^{6\text{-}35}$ . . =	,, 17$^{1\text{-}4}$ 15$^{4\text{-}7}$		
,, 17^{20} . . . =	,, 17$^{5.\ 6}$ 17$^{7\text{-}10.\ 11\text{-}19.\ 20.\ 21}$		
,, 24$^{26\text{-}28.\ 37\text{-}41}$. =	,, 17$^{22\text{-}35.\ 37}$ 18$^{1\text{-}8}$ 19$^{11\text{-}27}$ 21$^{34\text{-}36}$ 4$^{16\text{-}30}$ 5^{39} 19$^{1\text{-}10}$		
,, 21^{15} f. . . =	,, 19$^{37\text{-}44}$		
,, 21^{44} . . . =	,, 20^{18}		
,, 19^{28} . . . =	,, 22$^{1\text{-}4.\ 7.\ 26\text{-}32.\ 35\text{-}38}$		
,, 5^{14}b 7^{6}			
,, 9$^{27\text{-}30}$			
,, 12$^{5\text{-}7}$ 13$^{24\text{-}30.\ 47\text{-}50}$			
,, 13$^{44\text{-}46.\ 52}$			
,, 16$^{17.\ 18}$			
,, 17$^{24\text{-}27}$			
,, 18$^{19.\ 20}$ 19$^{10\text{-}12}$			
,, 20$^{1\text{-}16}$			
,, 23$^{1\text{-}12}$			
,, 25$^{31\text{-}46}$			

gospels, as in the Homeric epos or the Scots ballads, we hear the collective genius of an age; it is not an individual utterance so much as that of the nation, or of the Community.

In the accompanying five specimens of critical reconstruction, the occasional Marcan or Johannine parallels have been excluded, for the sake of clearness. In spite of the divergences, it will be noted that the various attempts coincide in attributing to the source and its editors a large number of common sections throughout Matthew and Luke; the apparent intricacy of the problem will be surprising only to those who forget the more complex process by which early documents, like those of the Hexateuch, could be edited and arranged by various redactors.

Holtzmann's discussion of the contents of this second source is given in his *Synopt. Evglien.* (1863), pp. 126–157; cp. also Bruce, *Miraculous Element in Gospels*,[2] pp. 103–108. For Wendt, cp. his *Lehre Jesu, passim*; for Roehrich, his *La composition des Évang.* p. 94 f. 265 f. Weiss (*INT*, ii. § 45) prefers to call the document an original apostolic source (= the Hebrew Matthew) accessible in a Greek translation to all three evangelists, containing not a collection of sayings or speeches, but discourses grouped round certain leading events in the life of Jesus, which were not chronologically arranged, but simply marked by the formula preserved in Mt 7^{28} 11^{1} 13^{53} 19^{1} 26^{1}. Resch (most recently in his *Die Logia Jesu, nach dem griechischen u. hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt*, 1898) makes the Logia cover the sufferings, death, and ascension of Jesus as well, concluding with a list of the apostles (Ac 1); but he has found little or no support. It is to be noted that on Réville's analysis the eschatological discourse in Mt (p. 638) is composed of the apocalypse taken from the Proto-Mark, with the following fragments of the Logia intercalated, $24^{11.\ 12.\ 26\text{-}28.\ 37\text{-}51}$ 25. The Logia, he thinks, were as a whole considerably more sober in their employment of prediction than the other synoptic sources; Mt $23^{34.\ 35.\ 37.\ 38}$ is a quotation from some unknown apocalyptic source.

If these Logia be referred to the traditional writing of Matthew, their date[1] is in the seventh decade of the first century. This is corroborated, and for most critics independently suggested, by the internal evidence; there are no indications of the fall of Jerusalem, but, on the other hand, the writer has lived long enough to see the hope of the second advent wane. His motive for writing was in part the desire to rekindle this hope, and that implies the death of a considerable number of eye-witnesses. The general standpoint is that of the Palestinian circles in early Christianity. "Wenn wir in der Grundschrift sehen, dass die abschliessende Begründung der neuen Gemeinde mit der Einweihung in den Tod Jesu und der Umbildung der messianischen Hoffnungen durch denselben eins ist, so lernen wir aus den Zukunfts- und weiterhin den Gemeindereden der Redesammlung, wie das Mittelglied dieser grossen Umwälzung eben die Lehren sind, auf Grund welcher die Zurückbliebenen sich ganz im Dienste des zu seiner Erhöhung hingegangenen, als Verwalter seiner Sache, und Erben seiner Zukunft wussten, und wie sie von diesem Standpunkte aus allmählich aus seine Weissagungen die Geschichte der Welt als die Geschichte seine Reiches erkennen könnten" (Weizsäcker). The characteristics of the source, however, are not quite homogeneous, and have been variously interpreted as Jewish Christian or neutral. There is also uncertainty as to its original scope—whether it embraced the latter part of Christ's life or not—and upon the possibility that it was edited in more than one translation before it reached the

[1] Wilkinson dates it (in Hebrew) *c.* 40 A.D. and (in Greek translations) some twenty-five years later, finding traces of it in the Ebionite gospel and the gospel according to the Hebrews; but this is certainly too early. The author or authors cannot any longer be ascertained. See above, pp. 265–266.

It is usually held that Matthew had access to no sources beyond the Logia and Mark, or at least that such can no longer be traced. A possible exception, however, is the genealogy (Mt $1^{1\text{-}17}$), which may have been adapted by the writer for his own didactic ends. Such registers were carefully kept in many families, owing to the importance of a pedigree for official purposes—if we may trust contemporary Jewish evidence (Schürer, *HJP*, II. i. pp. 210, 212).

Several passages, *e.g.* 11^{27}, 23^{3}, 24^{20}, are repeatedly but inadequately taken as glosses; it is at any rate needless to mark them in the text, as they formed part of the original book, though not of its earliest component source.

synoptic authors. The popularity of the book would naturally lead to its reproduction in many versions, just as its incorporation in the larger gospels would account for its own disappearance. They increased, but it decreased. Its function was discharged when its contents were absorbed in writings of wider scope and depth; and there would be no further interest in preserving it, side by side with these more comprehensive volumes. The rise of the synoptic gospels shows that, as time went on, the simple and impressive stories of Jesus, which formed the earliest deposit of the Christian tradition, failed to satisfy the wider needs of Christendom, and that the class of writings to which the Logia as well as the Ur-Marcus belonged, had come into existence when the requirements of faith were less exigent. Like most popular growths, their exact origin eludes the research of later ages.

Who ever saw the earliest rose first open her sweet breast?

Even their shape would have remained for ever indistinct, had it not been that the artless, unpremeditated nature of such counsels and reminiscences led to their partial preservation in those ampler and more deliberate compositions which bloomed in the last quarter of the first century—that flowering-time of early Christian literature.

Mt $5^{18.19}$.—Widely taken as a Jewish-Christian interpolation, *e.g.* by Baur, Hilgenfeld, Strauss, Köstlin, Holtzmann (*HC, ad loc.; NTTh*, i. pp. 152–154), Dr. Cone (*Gospel and its Interpret.* p. 89), Soltau, Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 492 f.), Réville (II. p. 37), and Jacoby (*NT Ethik*). The apparent contradiction between the legalistic standpoint here and a passage like 22^{40} would not be a sufficient reason for rejecting the verses, for this duality is a feature of Matthew's representation of Jesus; nor is the particularism quite isolated (cp. $10^{5.23}$ $23^{2.3}$). But ver. 20 follows ver. 17 very naturally (cp. Klöpper, *ZwTh*, 1896, p. 1 f.), when the fulfilment is taken to mean the real completion of the Law by the Christian δικαιοσύνη, in contrast to the imperfect method of the current religionists. In that case the saying (17 + 20) forms the basis of the subsequent antithesis between the higher method of Jesus, which is the true and ideal fulfilment of the Law, and the inadequate traditional fulfilment. Consequently, to re-affirm in rigid Jewish fashion (Bar. 4^{1}; cp. Edersheim's *Jesus the Messiah*, i. pp. 536–539) the literal significance and perpetuity of the Law is out of place, whether authentic or not (cp. Wernle, pp. 113, 183; Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. pp. 103, 104).

The whole question is bound up with the difficult[1] problem of Christ's actual relation to the Jewish Law (literature in Weiss-Meyer, apud Mt 5^{17-20}), and the interpretation of that attitude by the apostolic age with its own strong and varied currents. I see no reason for suspecting (with Holtzmann) more than vers. 18, 19 as an interpolation, or for taking the whole section as a Jewish-Christian programme against Gal 2^{14-21}, 2 Co 5^{17}; nor is it likely that Jesus merely quoted the words of vers. 18, 19 as Pharisaic tenets (as Weizsäcker suggests, *AA*, i. p. 36 f.). When they are held, as is quite legitimate, to be an accurate reflection of Christ's conservative recognition that the written Law was absolutely and

[1] 5^{18-19} is not so clearly apostolic as 16^{18} $18^{15 f.}$ 28^{16-20}. To the man who cannot hear in these latter passages the voice of primitive apostolic Christianity, the historical criticism of the gospels will remain for the most part a sealed book.

eternally valid (Keim, iii. pp. 322–324) for himself and his disciples, the best expositions are to be found in Wendt (*LJ*., Eng. tr. ii., pp. 7–22), Bruce (*Kingdom of God*, pp. 63–68), and Denney (*DB*, iii. pp. 73, 74). The saying (cp. Lk 16^{17}) seems to have belonged to the Logia, but in its present form represents a Jewish-Christian current of tradition in the early church. Jesus is correctly represented as repudiating iconoclasm. But would he have extended the aegis of his authority to the ceremonial details of the law without qualification?

Mt 16^{18}, *καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*— (Unfortunately Mt 16^{15}–17^{11} is lost in Syr-Sin). An addition to the original gospel, composed in the second century as a result of and a support to the Petrine catholicism of the Roman church: so Harnack (*TU*, i. 3, p. 149 f.), Wendt (*LJ*, i. pp. 180, 181), and Resch (*TU*, x. 2, pp. 187–198, 441; *Logia Jesu*, p. 55). The silence of the early church literature at points where it would most naturally have quoted such a passage (and where even ver. 19 is quoted)[1] is striking:[2] not even in the Jewish-Christian Clementines, devoted to the glorification of Peter, nor in Justin or Clem. Alex., can any definite trace of the saying be found. It occurs first in Tertullian and Origen. Even in the Petrine Mark it is omitted. Hence the conjecture that it is the addition of a Western redactor in the second century. The chief reconstructions are:

Wendt: *Μακάριος εἶ Σίμων βαριωνᾶ· σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσίν σου.*

Resch: *Μακάριος εἶ, Σίμων βαριωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκαλυψέν σοι, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· κἀγὼ λέγω σοι, ὅτι πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσίν σου.*

Weiss rejects ver. 19 also, but this is unnecessary. Like $28^{16\text{-}20}$, this passage, however, is quite credible in the period 75–90.[3] Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, pp. 325–331) regards the original saying (less the reference to Peter and the allusion to the church) as addressed to the twelve, and based on Lk 10^{21}; and Wernle (*op. cit.* pp. 135, 136, 192) suggests that the canonical text blends two different conceptions of the "Rock"-name: the one personal, referring to the experience of the second Coming (parallels in *TU*, xiii. p. 26), the other ecclesiastical, denoting the primacy of Peter. The origin of the passage, he conjectures, may have been the strife between the original apostles and Paul; the whole section 17–19 is an addition—whether of the evangelist or of his predecessors or followers—not the oldest text. So Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. pp. 214–218. Whatever view be adopted, it is no argument to defend the passage by insisting on its highly poetic or dramatic character. Why should we assume that the writers of the gospels were dull, prosaic beings? No one denies that the

[1] Tatian, *e.g.*, appears to have merely read *καὶ εἶπεν· μακάριος εἶ Σίμων· καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσίν σου· σὺ εἶ Πέτρος* (but cp. Zahn, *GK*, ii. p. 546).

[2] Cp. Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, pp. 275-277), Soltau, Drummond's Hibbert Lectures, *Vita, Veritas, Vita* (Lect. i. p. 15 f.), and J. Réville, *Les origines de l'Épiscopat*, i. p. 31 f. In any case the passage is Christian, even if it is not Christ's. The question at issue really is, whether Jesus contemplated a permanent society of his followers; and if so, whether such an expression of it is historically probable within his lifetime (Réville, ii. pp. 220, 485 f., 499).

[3] To defend the passage (vers. 16-20) as an integral part of a Christian book written in the seventh decade (Keim, iv. pp. 266, 267; Stevens, *NTTh*, p. 136 f.; and Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 294, etc.) is a highly improbable solution. The alternatives are (*a*) either a late interpolation in an early gospel, or (*b*) an integral part of a gospel which is a product of the advanced Christian consciousness. I prefer the latter.

passage is worthy of Jesus. Had it been unworthy, we may be sure it would not have been inserted. In fact, the ordinary defence of the passage as a noble idealistic conception, worthy of its occasion and author, is quite irrelevant. To say, for example, that "no ordinary man who saw the form in which the church actually became historical, could have spoken of it in this lofty strain" (Denney, *Studies in Theology*, p. 178) is hardly accurate, even if an agreement could be arrived at upon the definition of "ordinary." Surely, *e.g.*, Paul had an experience of the local churches that would have sickened most men, and turned their idealism into a dull, sober estimate. But did that prevent him from cherishing and expressing in a grand style such conceptions of the church as those given in 1 Co 12, Col $1^{18\,f.}$, etc.? See also Ephesians throughout, 1 Pet $2^{1\text{-}10}$, and the magnificent rhapsody in Heb $12^{22\,f.}$ (after the experiences of $10^{25\,f.}$ $12^{3\,f.}$!), besides the dream of a later writer (Apoc 21, 22), who had passed through a disenchanting experience (Apoc 2, 3) of the actual churches in Asia Minor. The whole problem, indeed, is often misstated. It is not a question of whether Jesus gathered a circle of intimate companions, whom he trained to propagate his ideas, or of how far he anticipated a future career for them which would involve his memory and spirit as their religious authority. The question is whether, with his belief in his own speedy return and the evident limits by which his outlook was beset, Jesus could have laid down the details of an ecclesiastical structure (Mt 16^{18} $18^{15\,f.}$) which presupposed a settled and expanding future; in a word, whether Jesus the religious idealist, the prophet, the martyr, was also the religious organiser.

$28^{9.\,10}$.—The disruption of the narrative (vers. 7, 8, 11) by this passage, together with its similarity to Jn $20^{14\text{-}18}$, has suggested the idea that it represents an editorial addition (date, 100–150 A.D.), inserted for the purpose of increasing the Jerusalem-appearances of Jesus after the resurrection, and thereby producing something like uniformity between the synoptic stories and that of the fourth gospel. Rohrbach (*Der Schluss des Markus-evangeliums*, 1894) also attributes to the same editorial process of supervision, under the charge of the Asiatic presbyters, the displacement of Mark's original close by the extant appendix ($16^{19\text{-}20}$), which was taken from Aristion and corresponds to the gospel of Peter, besides the insertion, in the third gospel, of 24^{12}. The passage in Matthew ($28^{9.\,10}$), even if it is not "meaningless and undignified" (Keim), certainly adds nothing to what has already been said by the angels (Wernle, *op. cit.* pp. 176, 177). The writer also is apparently acquainted merely with the incomplete Mark (1–16^{8}). For this and other less probable interpolations in Matthew's narrative, cp. Keim (vi. pp. 308, 309) and Soltau (as above, p. 641). Otherwise, the verses must be simply taken (Weiss) as a characteristic addition made by the evangelist himself to the apostolic source upon which he worked. Mt $28^{8\text{-end}}$ is unfortunately amissing in Syr-Sin.

$28^{16\text{-}20}$.—A later appendix: so, besides Strauss, Hilgenfeld, and Havet (iv. p. 280), Keim, who regards it as a wandering passage, containing a baptismal formula, which originated in the first half of the second century (vi. pp. 368–373, v. pp. 338, 339), but recapitulating some genuine commands of Jesus. Resch (*Logia*, p. 217) reconstructs it thus: πορ. οὖν μ. π. τ. ε. καὶ βαπτίσατε αὐτοὺς εἰς μου τὸν θάνατον ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μαρτυρίᾳ πνεύματος παρακλήτου κτλ. Similarly Schwalb, *Unsere vier Evgln*, 1885, pp. 201, 202. Besides the conception of Jesus as the source of authoritative rules and regulations for the church, and the idea of Christ's spiritual presence (ver. $20 = 18^{20}$), which can hardly be primitive,

there are three notes of a late period in this passage. (*a*) The universal mission (vers. 19, 20)[1] can hardly have been known to the first disciples, or else they lived for years in flagrant disobedience to their Master's solemn command, and only reluctantly recognised its fulfilment in the Pauline gospel. For such an injunction as this could not be fulfilled by any merely passive acknowledgment of its claims as met in another man's person. It demanded active personal propaganda on the part of the disciples, and this is precisely what was not forthcoming, to judge from our records of the apostolic age. (*b*) The incipient Trinitarianism marks a stage of apostolic reflection which is in advance even of that indicated[2] in Paul (2 Co 13^{13}). It is not possible to hold that the formula "sums up simply in a single phrase the theology of Jesus" (Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 464, and more cautiously Stevens, *NTTh*, pp. 146–149), for although Jesus spoke of God as Father, and like every Jew had an idea of the Spirit, it is the objective collocation[3] of these with himself that marks off this passage as unique. Besides, the references to the Spirit in the synoptists require very careful sifting before they can be used as evidence for Christ's own conception. (*c*) The use of the baptismal formula[4] belongs to an age subsequent to that of the apostles, who employed the simple phrase of baptism into the name of Jesus (*εἰς χριστόν*, *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι* I. X.). Had this phrase been in existence and use, it is incredible that some trace of it should not have survived; whereas the earliest reference to it, outside this passage, is in Clem. Rom. and the Didachê (Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61).

The earliest background for such a passage, whose original form may have resembled Jn $20^{22.23}$ (M. Arnold, *Lit. Dogma*, pp. 152, 153), is to be found in the last quarter of the first century; and when the gospel as a whole is placed *c.* 80 A.D., it is not incredible that the words should form an integral part of it. In this event they form a secondary tradition, due not to Jesus but to the later spirit of the church,[5] which, on the basis

[1] The presence, side by side, of universal and particularistic sayings (*e.g.* $10^{5.23}$ with this passage), forms, however, only one of several contradictions in Matthew. The author seems, as Holsten remarks, to have had two souls within his breast. The true praetorian guard of the universal principle in Christianity was not drawn from the first companions of Jesus.

[2] In view of 1 Co 12, 2 Co 3^{17-18}, this amplified expression requires nothing to account for it, outside the ordinary usage of the terms. Certainly the passage in Mt., though late, need not therefore be untrustworthy. "One tradition may be later than another and more limited in circulation, and yet not be any less authentic" (Sanday, *DB*, ii. pp. 213, 214). But it is begging the whole question to proceed and argue that the triple baptismal formula was imposed on Paul and the early church, and that therefore it must rest on some authority.

[3] This forbids us to treat the Spirit here as the specific gift of the Messianic salvation. Its usage and its context point unmistakably to the later Christological sense.

[4] Resch (*TU*, x. 2, pp. 381–428, 447 f.), like Roehrich (pp. 317–319), still asserts the genuineness of the logion on baptism (*vide Exp. Ti.* vi. pp. 395–398), but on inadequate grounds. Cp. also Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 309), and on the historical connection of Jesus and the rite of baptism, Keim (*op. cit.*) and Bruce (*Kingdom of God*, p. 257 f.). On the other side, Teichmann (*ZThK*, 1896, p. 357 f.), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 252–254), but especially Holtzmann (*NTTh*, i. p. 378 f.).

[5] This legitimate and faithful development is recognised on all hands. Cp. besides Weizsäcker and Wendt (*LJ*, i. pp. 212, 213), Harnack (*HD*, i. 79 n.), W. Brückner (*PM* 1899, pp. 107–110), Weiss (*NTTh*, i. p. 139 n., and in Meyer,[8] *ad loc.*), Professor Bruce (*Apologetics*, pp. 463–465, and *ExGT*, i. pp. 338–340), Wernle (*op. cit.* pp. 192, 195), McGiffert (*AA*, p. 61 n.), and even Canon Robinson (*EBi*, i. p. 474). Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, i. pp. 136, 158 f., 235) promises a discussion in a future volume.

of Dan $7^{14 f.}$, idealised and expanded his earlier teaching under the growing stress of reverence for his authority (Beyschlag, *NTTh*, i. pp. 178, 318), and out of a consciousness of what his person and purpose meant to themselves and to the world. "In maintaining that these commissions" [Mt 28^{16-20}, Lk 24^{45-49}, Jn 20^{21-23}, Mk 16^{15-18}] "are genuine" [*i.e. ipsissima verba* of Jesus], "theologians simply waste their words and provoke unqualified scepticism" (Blair, *Apostolic Gospel*, pp. 390-393). The least obnoxious device of the harmonists[1] is to regard the references in Acts and Paul (baptism into the single name or person of Jesus) as abridged statements of the fact that the baptism was Christian, not as expressions of the baptismal formula, which was really that enjoined by Christ. A passage like Ac 18^{3} certainly implies a connection of the Spirit with baptism, but the connection is plainly (ver. 6) on a line with the other references in Acts to the ecstatic connection of the two. It must not be viewed (as *e.g.* by Denney, *DB*, i. p. 577) as a witness to the custom of Mt 28^{19}.

It is very tempting to regard, not merely 18^{b}, but the whole commission, vers. 18–20, or even 16–20, as a later addition (so Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. p. 156, on 18^{17-20}), composed out of the developing "catholicism" and christology of the church, and inserted as a conclusion to the gospel. The main drawbacks are the absence of a textual basis and the abrupt state of what would be the original Matthew. Could that writing have deliberately ended with οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν, or μέχρι τῆς σήμερον? Mark 16^{8} is but an imperfect parallel, and it would be rather difficult to conjecture how so elaborate and considerable a history was left unfinished. Still in some aspects the ending μ. τ. σ. is rather effective; it would be quite possible as the close of the narrative, were it not for the obvious artistic motive of the author in opening (chap. 5) and closing his narrative of Jesus' work with a mountain scene.

[*N.B.*—The general background for later interpolations in the synoptic gospels is hinted at in the well-known passage where Eusebius (*HE*, III. 37. 2) speaks of the work done by Christian evangelists during Trajan's reign, in circulating the scripture of the divine gospels (τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφήν) among those who were still ignorant of the Christian faith. Both Holtzmann (*HC*, I. p. 23) and Réville (I. p. 327) infer that Eusebius has confused the circulation of the gospels with their composition, and that this period really saw the final editing rather than the propagation of the gospels; these writings being based on documents like the Ur-Marcus and the Matthaean Logia, which had been in circulation for decades. But the passage may also be a reflection of that editorial activity (in Asia Minor) during the early years of the second century, by which, as many scholars imagine, our canonical gospels were harmonised and shaped into something like a uniform collection. It is highly important to remember that our gospels were thus arranged in a preliminary canon at this time, for the step may have easily set in motion harmonising influences which would affect the text

[1] In regard to (*a*), the desperate plight to which literalists are reduced in refusing to see the apostolic origin of Mt 28^{16-20}, is plain, when a scholar of Dr. Hort's candour (*Ecclesia*, pp. 85–90) solves the problem of the twelve and the Gentiles thus. It is inconceivable, he admits, that previously to Paul they preached beyond the limits of Palestine. Up to the time of Ac 15 they did not believe themselves clearly commissioned to go in person to the nations; when the Pauline mission occurred, they patronised it, and by this recognition believed themselves to be discharging their task! As if Mt 28^{16-20} was not an explicit "divine monition"! And as if approving more or less cordially of another person's work absolved one from the duty of personal obedience to the same command (πορευθέντες)!

of the different books. Add to this their use in the worship of the churches—a fact which helps to explain their structure, just as one sometimes unravels the composition of the Scots ballads by recollecting that they were originally made to be chanted to some homely lilt among the peasantry. These and other contributory causes were at work upon the text, and must have produced their effects prior to the earliest MS. Indeed, the first quarter of the second century saw the rise of such processes upon a not inconsiderable scale. The problem somewhat resembles that set by the Psalter, in whose extant arrangement editorial labour and liturgical aims are traceable, not only in the general scheme of the collection, but in the structure of many individual psalms.]

Heb 3, 4.—It has been conjectured by Clemen that this represents an original Christian homily inserted by the author at some later time in his epistle (*Exp.*[5] iii. p. 392 f.). He argues that 3^{1-6} and 4^{14-16} are alien to their present context, that they unite neither with the preceding nor with the subsequent passages, and that the writing 3^{7}–4^{13} implies conditions different from those which obtain throughout the rest of the epistle. Chapters 3, 4 are consequently to be taken as episodical. But the arguments in support of this position depend on special interpretations of certain phrases, and are in no sense decisive. The contrast of Christ with Moses certainly seems superfluous to a modern mind, and even comes as an anti-climax after the contrast with the angels; but Hebrews was not written for a modern mind. In fact, the data ingeniously collected by Clemen are only conclusive if we adopt *a priori* ideas of the author's purpose and literary methods; they fail to prove the case for an interpolation here. The passage in question fits in to the context with sufficient relevance, and it cannot be said that the ordinary exegetical methods for explaining the connection do real violence to the text. At the same time it is quite credible that this section, like other parts (11, 13) of the book, originally filled the rôle of a Christian homily. The composite nature of Hebrews was felt as far back as the sixteenth century; to Luther it seemed "put together out of many pieces." Yet the apparently disjointed episodes (2^{1-4} 3^{1}–4^{13} 5^{11}–6^{20} etc.) can for the most part be explained in their present context as digressions. Whatever their career and function may have originally been, the different parts of this epistle have been skilfully disposed by an author of much literary tact, whose work contains (von Soden) moral homilies, but is very far from being a mere collection of such pieces.

13^{18-24} ($^{22-25}$).—An addition intended to give an epistolary character[1] to the book, or to secure belief in its Pauline authorship: so Overbeck, *Zur Gesch. Kanons*, pp. 12–17; Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. p. 158; Harnack, *TU*, II. 2. pp. 106, 107, *HD*, ii. p. 47 n.; Lipsius, *GGA* (1881), p. 359 f.; and Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 36 f., 248 n. 1. This might involve also either the accidental loss of an opening paragraph (cp. Deissmann, *Bibel-Studien*, pp. 242, 243) containing the real author's name, or its deliberate excision about 160–175 A.D. in order to further the epistle's reception into the canon. The former hypothesis has a parallel in 3 Macc, of which the opening leaf has evidently been lost. But the whole theory is dubious. It lacks confirmation, either in the textual or in the canonical history of the writing, and there is every reason to

[1] Reuss (pp. 241, 242) takes the whole chapter as a sort of after-thought, an addition made by the author in order to apply his treatise to a particular circle of Christians. The directions and motives of this chapter are consequently different from those which prompted the composition of the previous twelve.

suppose that, had a later writer introduced interpolations with the object of Paulinising, he would have made his meaning much more clear and explicit. The meagre reference to Timothy would hardly have been adequate to bring the epistle under Paul's aegis. So, besides Clemen and Holtzmann, von Soden (*JpTh*, 1884, pp. 435–439), and Zahn (*GK*, i. p. 300 f. ; *Einl.* ii. pp. 121, 122). The passage, in fact, is as integral and natural a part of the writing as any postscript could be. Even the loss of a preface is rather an unnecessary supposition. The abrupt and stately opening of Hebrews is like that of 1 John. In the case of both, the original readers had a knowledge of the author from other sources, which has quite faded from reliable tradition ; it was the less likely to be preserved, as both writings were never meant or allowed to be merely local.

There seems as little reason for doubting (with G. A. Simcox, *Exp. Ti.* x. pp. 430–432) the homogeneity of chap. 13 as a letter of commendation or a series of excerpts from such letters. The double reference to ἡγούμενοι (7, 17) is quite credible, if during the past history of the church some of its leaders had died. Memory of the dead and obedience to their living successors are not incompatible, nor do the two counsels require to be bridged by the notice that successors had been appointed. That might well be taken for granted.

[*N.B.*—In Luke (and even in Matthew), Acts, and the Apocalypse, it has been found impracticable to notice all passages where an earlier source and a later redactor can be suspected together. These passages fall to be discussed in a commentary, and should be noticed in any first-rate edition. As far as possible, only such passages are noted in these books as are held to be interpolations by an editor or scribe, subsequent to the composition of the book as a whole. But it is hard to carry out this principle consistently.]

Lk $1^{34\text{-}35}$.—Like $1^{67,\ 76\text{-}79,\ 80}$, etc., an interpolation by a redactor, according to Hillmann (*JpTh* (1891), pp. 192–261, "Die Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu nach Lucas"). He traces this redactor at work especially in the "supernatural" passages of Luke 1–2 ; cp. Holtzmann (*HC*, i. pp. 26–54 ; *NTTh*, i. pp. 412, 413) and the critique by Resch (*TU*, x. 5, p. 73 f.). Wernle objects with reason (*op. cit.* pp. 102–106) to the un-Lucan hypothesis of bold interpolations in an earlier source, as it conflicts with the general method and characteristics of the historian. He agrees with J. Weiss, however, that the tradition and source used by the author came from Palestinian Jewish Christianity.[1] J. Weiss (-Meyer, *ad loc.*), for his part, is more reticent than Hillmann in pronouncing on definite interpolations ; he correctly refers Lk $1^{49\text{-}55}$ to the death of Herod Agrippa (Ac 12)—if Jewish-Christian—and dates the whole source previous to 70 A.D. from its allusions to the Temple cultus (1^{9} $2^{22,\ 37,\ 49}$), the Messiahship ($1^{32,\ 68}$), etc. Professor Bruce (*ExGT*, i. p. 460) assumes the use (with a few editorial touches) of an Aramaic Jewish-Christian source, which is allowed to speak for itself ; and this may be said to represent the general standpoint of many investigators. The problem of Luke 1, 2 can be, in fact, approached along three avenues. (*a*) The use of a Jewish-Christian source, revised and incorporated by the author of the gospel. (*b*) The translation of a Hebrew (Aramaic ?) source by a later author, who may

[1] On the "Messianic Psalms of the NT" (Lk 1–2), see Warfield, *Exp.*[3] ii. pp. 309 f., 321 f. ; also Zahn, *Einl.* ii. p. 404 f. : and Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 17 f. N. Schmidt (*EBi*, i. p. 936) conjectures even that an Apoc. of Zechariah has been used in Lk 1^{72}, which was current among the disciples of the Baptizer.

have deepened the Christian element in his version. (*c*) The free composition of the section by an author who skilfully suited his style so as to be in keeping with this archaic and biblical subject. The first and most likely of these methods is referred to above. The last-named has been advocated by Zeller (Overbeck-Zeller, ii. p. 295 f.), Abbott,[1] and most recently Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1899, pp. 31, 32), while (*b*) is the well-known theory of Resch and—in a modified form—of Blass (*Evglm sec. Lucam* XXIII.; *PG*, p. 195). Vogel (*Zur Charakteristik des Lukas*, 1897, p. 32 f.), however, regards the source as now indistinguishable from the whole work.

The attempts to find a source for the birth-story in Mary (Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 18 f.,[2] etc.), or to trace feminine characteristics in the record, belong to homiletics rather than to historical research. Luke's object in presenting these narratives is probably due (Zeller, ii. pp. 233–238) to the fact that he wished to assign a place in Christianity to the traditional Jewish-Christian views of Jesus, especially as these existed in sources which had come to his hand. These tales form a circumstantial historical setting for the idea, which even Paul frankly recognised, that Jesus had been "born under the law" (Gal 4^5) as "a minister of the circumcision" (Ro 15^8). The songs, which are not distinctively Christian, probably were in existence among the Palestinian communities, and are preserved here in much the same way as the verses that occasionally recur in 1 Macc. On their resemblance to the Pss. of Solomon, cp. Ryle and James's edition of the latter, p. xci f.; Chase (*Camb. Texts and Studies*, I. 3, pp. 147–151) acutely traces both back to the Greek-Jewish prayers of the Hellenistic synagogues. It can hardly be said that the songs of Mary and Zachariah are entirely appropriate to the situations in which the author has introduced them; but they are at least as apt as those put into the mouth of Hannah (1 Sam $2^{1\text{-}10}$), Job (Job 28), or Jonah (Jon $2^{2\text{-}10}$). Cp. Harnack's essay on "Das Magnificat der Elisabet (Lk $1^{46\text{-}55}$), nebst einigen Bemerkungen zu Lk 1–2" (reprinted from *SBBA*, 1900).

The sources of the third gospel may be summarised as follows:—

(*a*) The gospel of Mark. (Blass argues that while Mk was variously translated, by Luke among others, the extant Greek text of Mk is not Luke's version, which is preserved in D and some old Latin MSS; *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Markus*, 1899).

(*b*) The Logia, in a Greek recension, possibly different from that used by the author of Matthew.

[1] He compares the difference between Shakspere's ordinary style in his English plays and the massive dignity of his writing in *Julius Caesar*.

[2] The most candid defence of the traditional position. It is even admitted that to accept the narrative as substantially historical is not incompatible with the supposition that the angelic appearances and communications reported in chaps. 1–2 are "imaginative, outward representations of what were in fact real, but merely inward communications of the 'divine word' to human souls" (pp. 21, 22). It is rather a drop from this momentary faithfulness to historical criticism, when the writer goes on to seriously explain that Matthew 1–2 is based upon a sort of moral certificate left by Joseph, in order to vindicate Mary's character! Resch (*Das Kindheits-Evlgm.* 1897) similarly builds upon family papers, from which excerpts were made by the evangelists. On the function of the historical conscience in dealing with these narratives, cp. Gardner, *Explor. Evangelica*, pp. 234–254, Réville, I. pp. 374–384, and also Mr. Jas. Thomas' *Our Records of the Nativity and Modern Historical Research* (1900), where some of the discrepancies and unhistorical elements in Mt 1–2, Lk 1–3, are discussed with unprejudiced ability.

(*c*) Jewish Christian narratives originating in the Palestinian communities, including—
the birth narratives,[1] chaps. 1–2. (On the family registers preserved for religious reasons, cp. Schürer, *HJP*, II. i. 210–212, iii. 14, with McGiffert's note in his translation of Eusebius, apud *HE*, I. 7; also Réville, I. pp. 301–408).
(*d*) A collection of parables (*i.e.* those peculiar to Luke).
(*e*) A special source (Aramaic original?) excerpted in 9^{51}–18^{14}.
(*f*) Certain Aramaic sources (?)
(*g*) Matthew's gospel (?)

These, with the matter contributed by (Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 397–424) oral tradition or the writer's originality, constitute the materials of the gospel as it lies before us. But their precise form and original colouring cannot always be recognised, since the author of the gospel has treated his sources quite freely, without any attempt at slavish reproduction (K. Stockmeyer, *ZSchz* (1884), pp. 117–149, on the varied sources of the Lucan gospel).

$22^{19b\text{-}20}$, *τὸ ὑπὲρ . . . . ἐκχυννόμενον*.—Most complete textual and critical discussion in Resch, *TU*, x. 3, pp. 624–656. The textual problem resolves itself into a question of the relative originality of the primitive abbreviated Western text (D) or the fuller text represented in most MSS. The former is decisively and, upon the whole, rightly upheld by *WH* (ii. pp. 63, 64, "no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of Luke"), although textual evidence to the contrary is very formidable. The scale is turned by considerations of internal probability, however, which seem to weigh rather in favour of the omission. At least the difficulties upon that theory are not greater than those offered by the ordinary text. To contract an existing text was not so obvious a practice as that of expanding one which appeared, in comparison with other narratives, to be disordered and incomplete. (It is noticeable that Luke's order of the temptations ($4^{5\text{-}12}$) also varies from that of Matthew.) The question is, whether is it more likely that an early account of the supper (transposing as in Did 11, the order of the bread and the cup) was expanded and altered (by the addition of vers. 19^{b}–20)[2] in order to bring it into line with the Pauline tradition (1 Co $11^{24\,f.}$), or that an originally ampler statement was contracted, owing to the difficulty felt in a double mention of the cup which contradicted NT tradition and liturgical practice alike? It is a nice point of criticism, and opinion is divided. Dr. P. Gardner (*Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1894), who attributes the supper to Paul's initiative, moulded by the Eleusinian mysteries, follows *WH*; similarly Brandt, Schürer, Gräfe, Wendt (*LJ*, i. p. 172 f.), Haupt (*Ueber d. ursprüngliche Form u. Bedeutung d. Abendmahlsworte*, p. 5 f.), J. Weiss

[1] The pedigree-source used by Luke is on the whole more trustworthy, though less original, than that of Matthew; but both are discrepant, mnemonically arranged, compiled with considerable freedom, and due to the characteristic feeling of the Palestinian Jewish Christians that the Davidic descent of Jesus was essential to his legitimacy as Messiah—a notion, of course, foreign to the primitive tradition.

[2] This derivation would be all the more natural, since Luke's gospel was in some circles taken as the gospel of Paul. Blass (*SK*, 1896, p. 733 f.; *PG*, pp. 179–182) goes even further, and omits ver. 19^{a} as well. Vers. 19^{b}–20 were added from Paul by a scribe to give apparent completeness to Luke's record, while (as he conjectures) ver. 19^{a} was put in from Mark by a still later hand. This removes the institution of the supper altogether, but it rests upon the very dubious hypothesis that Luke deliberately omitted the incident because it was already familiar to his readers.

(-Meyer,[8] *ad loc.*), Sanday (*DB*, ii. p. 836), Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 324, 325), Plummer (*DB*, iii. p. 146), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 357 f., reading—after *b*, *e*,—16, 19[a], 17, 18, 21); cp. Nestle, *Einf.* p. 229. In any case, as Sanday points out, "both these types of texts existed early in the second century." Upon the other hand, the passage is retained by the majority of editors, followed by Schmiedel (*HC*, ii. pp. 163–164), Jülicher (*ThA*, p. 235 f.), Spitta (*Urc.* i. p. 295 f.), and many others; see particularly Holtzmann (*HC*, i. pp. 279, 280) and Bruce (*ExGT*, i. *ad loc.*). The latter discusses the point (*With Open Face*, p. 271) without finding any evidence for a certain conclusion.[1]

$22^{43.\ 44}$.—For the textual evidence, cp. *WH* (ii. pp .64–67), who [2] bracket the passage as an early addition, made by a scribe of the second century, from some traditional source (*vide* Resch, *TU*, x. 3, pp. 690, 691). Dogmatic reasons would explain alike the omission, or, as is more probable, the insertion of the passage. Keim, *e.g.*, retains the verses (vi. 17 n.) as the result of Luke's dependence upon a "confused Ebionitic source" which led him to exaggerate and intensify the human conflict of Jesus; but they are struck out for very similar reasons by other scholars (cp. Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, pp. 71, 352). Prof. Bruce, again, omits them as "out of harmony with the subdued nature of Luke's narrative in general" (*ExGT*, i. pp. 629, 630); and they are deleted by J. Weiss as a product of the same legendary nature as Jn 5^{4}. The passage may have come from some line of oral or written tradition, or may be simply the invention of a later editor. It is at any rate non-Lucan. Dr. G. L. Cary (*IH*, i. p. 301) hesitates to pronounce ver. 44 unauthentic, though he accepts ver. 43 as apparently a legendary accretion. But authenticity or non-authenticity is not the point, and the MS evidence for both verses is uniform.

23^{34a}, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς . . ποιοῦσιν.—Like vers. 43, 44, probably a non-Lucan fragment of genuine[3] tradition which vindicates itself upon internal evidence, as does the fragment Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, although for textual reasons (cp. *WH*, ii. pp. 67, 68; Resch, *TU*, x. 3, pp. 721–723) it is to be regarded as having been added from an early and extraneous source to the original text of the gospel. Still, it is quite possible that later ages may have found a stumbling-block in such gentleness shown to the enormous sin of the crucifixion, and that this feeling of reprobation may have caused its omission from some MSS (ℵ[a]BD[a]) and versions (Boh. Sah. Syr-Sin). Hence some editors hesitate to expunge it (*e.g.* J. Weiss, Bruce, and Dr. Cary). Blass (*PG*, pp. 92–94) supposes that it was felt by some to be in contradiction to ver. 28, which clearly implied punishment for the sin; it certainly would not be a natural expression of the mood in which the majority of the early Christians viewed their Master's murder and his murderers.

[1] Attempts to solve the difficulties of the extant text by omission and transposition in Cod. Copt. (omitting vers. 16–18), Pesh. (omitting vers. 17, 18), and in Syr-Cur, 16, 19[a] [b], 17, 18 } 21, 22 f.
Syr-Sin, 16, 19, 20[a], 17, 20[b], 18 }
The point is constantly discussed in the recent investigations upon the nature of the Lord's supper. Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, p. 321 f.) conjectures that between vers. 18 and 19 a passage like $12^{49.\ 50}$ has been omitted to avoid repetition.

[2] So Nestle, *Einf.* pp. 229–230. Conybeare (*DB*, i. pp. 153, 154) regards it as certain that the Armenians possessed an early version of the NT containing the passage. Syr-Sin omit.

[3] Others find less basis for the passage, however; *e.g.* Carpenter (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 71, 352, "The early utterance of the Church, in the Master's Spirit"), Keim (vi. pp. 155–156), and Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, pp. 645, 646).

24^{12}.—See note on Mt $28^{9.10}$. Probably an interpolation, founded on and condensed from Jn 20^{3-10}. It breaks the flow of the narrative, explains nothing, and is textually suspect (om. D). The purpose of the insertion is to partially conform the stories of the resurrection, and to assign Peter what in the Johannine tradition belonged to "the other disciple." [1] Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, pp. 385–387) retains the verse, supposing that John and Luke drew upon a common original, although the former supplemented it from oral tradition, while Blass (*PG*, pp. 188, 189) fears that ver. 24 must go also. Chase, who passes over the more difficult question of the authenticity of Mt 16^{18}, admits that Lk 24^{12} may be a sign of cross-currents in the apostolic tradition. Its "linguistic similarity to John is curious, and cannot be accidental" (*DB*, iii. p. 761).

Acts.—[It has not been found feasible to mark, by means of print, the editorial insertions and notes which occur throughout this book. These are frequently as obvious as erratic boulders, and in many less glaring instances can be separated without much trouble from the written sources incorporated in the narrative. At the same time, to discuss them *seriatim* would swell this appendix too seriously. I have therefore contented myself with printing the we-journal in dark type, and some other sources in slightly inset type, indicating also, by means of single brackets, one or two minor and (as it seems) fairly certain glosses interpolated in the text, such as 8^{26} (*αὕτη ἐστιν ἔρημος*—Schmiedel, *ZNchz*, 1898, p. 50, and Hilgenfeld), 9^{31} (*καὶ Γαλιλαίας*—Blass), 10^{37} (*ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τ. Γ.*—Clemen, Blass), 14^{8} (*χωλὸς ἐκ κ. μ.*—Blass), etc. For a note on Blass's general textual theory, cp. above, pp. 610–612. Upon the whole, it may be said that the phenomenon of the double text in Acts resembles at several points that in Jeremiah. There, also, the twin texts (Massoretic and LXX) in all likelihood represent, as Kuenen suggested, not divergent recensions, but two stages in the history of what was really one and the same recension. The passages which now fall to be noticed, simply contain obvious additions, made by the editor to his sources; *i.e.* the context as a rule preserves sources from a date more or less prior to the date of these additions or of the whole book's composition.]

The use of earlier literature in the third gospel (Lk 1^{1-4}) makes it a highly probable conjecture that the author practised a similar method in the composition of his second volume, employing not merely oral tradition and such reminiscences as were available, but also written notes and older narratives, by means of which his sketch of the primitive church was largely constructed.[2] This hypothesis is amply corroborated by the internal evidence of the book. Particularly in $1–16^{9}$ one or more primitive documents have been drawn upon. Jewish-Christian in

[1] For this and the other variations, major and minor, in Lk 22–24, see Gräfe's articles in *SK* (1896), pp. 245–281, especially his textual materials, and his exploitation (*ibid.* 1898, p. 136 f.) of what may be called the "material" hypothesis to solve the well-known textual and theological problems of Lk 24 and Ac 1^{1-8}. This hypothesis (*vide* Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*; and Ruegg, *SK*, 1896, pp. 94–101) views the brevity of the narrative in the gospel as a result of accident; the writer had come to the end of his manuscript. He supplemented this sketch in his later volume, or else added some further details (*vide* the interpolation in 24^{51-53}) in the second edition of his gospel. Zeller bluntly puts the discrepancies down to the characteristic indifference of the author to contradictions.

[2] On the linguistic phenomena of the book as evidence for unity of authorship, cp. Overbeck-Zeller, ii. pp. 184–212. Recent investigations, however, have rather modified this line of argument, as well as the attempt (*ibid.*) to minimise the internal inequalities and uneven elements in the book, in the exclusive interests of tendency. A note of the main points is given in *EBi*, i. pp. 44, 45.

character, like some of the sources of the third gospel, and of varying trustworthiness, they have been revised and amplified by the editor of the whole volume, until the latter assumed its present comparative unity of style and spirit. It has been conjectured that these sources include some record of Peter's acts and preaching, a Stephen-source, a Philip-source, a Barnabas-source, and so on.[1] In fact, the distance of the author from the period makes some such general theory imperative. Otherwise, his writing becomes a free composition, founded to some extent upon oral tradition gained either at second-hand or from an informant upon the spot (21[8]). But if Acts is "no mere aggregate of unrevised fragments," it is still less an imaginative picture, uncontrolled by any steady reference to historical reality. The truth is, this book will never yield its secrets except to those who combine both methods, tendency-criticism and source-analysis. Here it is with the latter that we are chiefly concerned. But although the legitimacy of this method is now a postulate of criticism, the extent, date, and characteristics of the literary sources, together with the precise method of their treatment by the redactor (or redactors), remain, in some measure, insoluble—at any rate, unsolved—problems. The verbal dissection of the book is often dominated by *a priori* conceptions of such rigidity that it passes off the ground of criticism altogether, and occasionally becomes quite an otiose problem. Several lines are scarcely worth following out, and others have little in their favour beyond ingenuity and a certain skill in literary filigree work. With some of the other phases the trouble is, as Aristotle once remarked of the Hellenic dream-oracles, that it is hard either to believe or to despise them. Yet, extravagances apart, there is little doubt that the structure of Acts contains phenomena which, at more points than one, practically justify the general principles of this source-criticism; indeed, at the present day, the legitimacy of these is denied for the most part only by amateurs and obscurantists. It is absolutely essential for many reasons that a serious and frank attention[2] be paid to these structural facts and to their bearing upon the historical contents of the volume.

On the general question see Overbeck-Zeller (Overbeck, i. pp. 54–64; Zeller, ii. pp. 291–328), Wendt (-Meyer), *Einl.* §§ 4, 5; Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 394–397; *HC*, i. pp. 310, 311; Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 367–372; Weizsäcker, *AA*, i. pp. 24 f., 208 f., 236–248; Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 268–271; Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung* (1891), pp. 124–212; Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien* (1895), p. 109 f.; McGiffert, *AA*, pp. 82 f., 214; Blass, *Acta Apost.* prolegomena, § 5; Hilgenfeld's invaluable articles in *ZwTh* (1895–1896), together with his recent edition of Acts; Clemen, *SK* (1895), pp. 297–360, an elaborate survey; and Heitmüller, *TR* (1899, Feb.–April). Rose (*Revue Biblique*, vii. pp. 325–342) lays stress, again, upon the inherent unity of the writing, and conservative defences of the historicity are offered by K. Schmidt, *Die Apgeschichte unter dem Hauptgeschichtspunkte ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit* (1882), Belser (*TQ*, 1895 and 1897), and Knowling (*ExGT*. ii. p. 22 f.). The dominant motives of the book are brilliantly

[1] Blass (*PG*, pp. 141, 193 f.) exploits a conjecture of Weiss's, and holds that Luke's source for the early part of Acts was an Aramaic history of the primitive church, written by Mark as a continuation to his gospel. See above, p. 606.

[2] Shortly before his death, Professor Bruce once remarked that English criticism upon Acts, the fourth gospel, and the epistle of James, still remained practically stagnant. He predicted that these three books would make a storm-centre during the next period of advance in NT criticism. One would be strongly inclined to substitute for James, however, the pastoral epistles.

analysed by J. Weiss in a recent essay, *Ueber die Absicht und den liter. Charakter der Apgeschichte* (1897).

Among most schools and shades of opinion, chaps. 1–5 at least are held to derive from more or less primitive notes or reminiscences which have been recast by an editor writing at some distance from the events in question, and viewing them from the standpoint of subsequent reflection. His dominant interest is to exhibit the progress and popularity of the early Christian community within the stronghold of Judaism. Hence, it is argued, these records as they now survive are like the narrative of the origins in Genesis, more valuable occasionally for their religious and ethical significance than for the precise historical facts through which that significance is mediated. This point of view often fails to get justice done to it, simply because there is a widespread tendency to forget that to be realistic, circumstantial, ethically appropriate, spiritually bracing, is not to be "historical"—in the strict and modern sense of the term. These early narratives in Acts both tell a story and point a moral. It need not be hastily assumed that either here or elsewhere in the historical part of the NT a circumstantial and straightforward tone is absolutely incompatible with any ulterior motives such as those grouped under the name of "tendency." There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that these tales were composed in archaic style upon some kind of traditional basis, forty or fifty years subsequent to the period of which they treat; composed, too, in order to satisfy some contemporary need in Christian thought or action. Such primary or collateral aims in the mind of a writer do not necessarily conflict with the telling of a plain tale, any more than, *e.g.*, the story of Ruth loses its archaic beauty when fixed in its correct historical setting as a protest against the post-exilic crusade for the suppression of foreign marriages in the community. In the same way, while it is correct to emphasise the indifference of the synoptic gospels (for example) to dogmatic and theological conceptions, and to find in this rudimentary amount of doctrinal interest a guarantee for their worth as biographies, the inference must not be carried too far. Even under the form of narrative or dialogue, elements could exist which lacked absolute historicity and bore rather upon interpretation, so that one may justly apply to Acts a judgment like that passed by Ewald upon Hebrew tradition—very moderate and sober as compared with that of Indian or Egyptian religion, and destitute, upon the whole, of fantasy and of frivolity, yet preserved in a literary record where "not a few of the sublimest thoughts were transformed into stories of a lofty kind, through the endeavour to retain these thoughts by giving them a lively historical form."[1]

Without attempting to verbally analyse the text, several critics have detected in these earlier chapters a Petrine source, either a history of Peter (Sorof) or a *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, or, as is most probable, *πράξεις Πέτρου* (so Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, van Manen, and Holtzmann). Holsten (*Die* 3 *ursprüng. Evgln.* 1883, pp. 20 f., 32 f.) inclines rather to a Jewish-Christian source underlying the speeches[2] of the earlier half of Acts;

[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Eng. tr.), i. pp. 13–45. See also his admirable statement upon the creative function of memory and imagination as factors of all tradition, and upon the auxiliary conditions for its growth in a community or nation.

[2] If these speeches are not abridged and revised reports of material taken from sources which go back to the vicinity of the period in question, it is impossible, in

and Weiss, like Feine, similarly defends the Jewish-Christian origin of the source from which the early chapters are drawn (*INT.* ii. § 50). The source used in chaps. 1–12 has been traced (*e.g.* by Schärfe, *Die petrinische Strömung in der NT Literatur*, 1893, pp. 53 f., 113 f.; and also Blass) to Mark, but Weizsäcker, on the other hand, rejects all attempts at indicating a source (*AA*, i. p. 24 f.), preferring to regard the whole narrative as a series of free sketches. McGiffert deals more courageously with the text, and assigns, like Weiss, considerable importance to the author's editorial work upon his sources, as well as to the definite contents of the letter; at the same time he rightly refuses to allow that Acts is anything like a mere collection of documents. Some such position, indeed, is axiomatic for all who believe that the author of Acts had previously composed the third gospel. There we have an example of the writer's literary method, in the free fashion in which he has used the gospel of Mark and the Matthaean Logia. Evidently he was no mere compiler, but an author who worked up his sources with comparative ease upon fresh and independent lines, writing with a dominant aim of his own to which his written sources and traditions were for the most part made entirely subservient.

The detailed analysis of chaps. 1–5 proceeds upon much the same lines as that of the major portion of the book; Clemen, van Manen, and Spitta find in it their sources practically as in the later narratives (see

the nature of the case, that they can be much else than a loose and free abstract of what the author—from his historical sense and the materials of tradition at his command—conceived might have been appropriately spoken in these situations by these characters. It is, of course, quite an improper dilemma to insist on regarding them as either "clearly authentic" or "mere unsubstantial rhetorical exercises." Some parts, *e.g.* (as even Schmiedel admits) the Christology of the Petrine speeches, shine out as undeniably primitive amid traditions of quite a different kind. As a whole, the speeches in Acts, like those in ancient historians (Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 160 f.), represent a conventional and recognised way of expressing the state of matters at the moment in question, vividly and dramatically. They form one of the methods by which it was considered proper to write history. Accordingly, in one important aspect, these speeches in Acts constitute a running comment upon the story, written from the standpoint of the author and intended to convey his judgment of the particular situation; they also bring out, by a recognised literary habit, the character of the hero in question in a more graphic fashion than any mere chronicle. The classical passage for this familiar practice among ancient historians is Thuc. i. 22. 1–3. There the writer frankly acknowledges the difficulty of recording with absolute precision (τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων) the various speeches made either before or in the course of the Peleponnesian war. "I make people speak," he continues, "just as each of them would, in my opinion, have spoken most opportunely in view of the particular situation, adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really said (ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων). As to the acts and events in the war, I did not consider myself free to write upon the information of any chance comer or from personal conjecture. My record is of matters with which I had personally to do, or of those which I elicited from other people by the strictest scrutiny with regard to details (ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών). This work of research," he proceeds, "proved a matter of some difficulty, as people were in the habit of giving conflicting accounts of the same event, variations which were due either to individual prejudice or to differences in memory (ὡς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι)." Considerations of historiography like these apply to the composition of Acts, and in some degree to that of the gospels. It is a question for editors and critics of these documents to determine how far they come up to the high standard of the Greek historian, and how far their aim and materials put them into a somewhat different class of literary workmanship. The point is, that a chronicle of deeds and a report of speeches were the two complementary channels for conveying the full impression of a life in ancient literature. Both were needed to make a biography telling and adequate. See Lucian, *Hist. Conscrib.* 58.

below, pp. 660 f.). The results of the two former critics may be tabulated thus:—

Ch.	Clemen.				van Manen.		
	Original Christian Preaching.	HPe	Rj	Ra	Memoirs of Paul. HPA	Memoirs of Peter. HPE	Final Editor.
i.		6–26 (exc. καὶ . . . γῆς, 8)				1–14	(6)
						15–26	
ii.		1–2, 3b–4	3a, 5–11			1–13*	14–36
	22–32, 36 (exc. τόν κ. τόν)	12–21, 33–35 36 (τ. κ. τ.), 37–39 (exc. καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῶν)	39 (κ. π. ἡμῶν)				
		41–43, 47b		40			
	First church hist. 44–47a						
iii.						1–10	11–26
	1–21	22–24					
	25–26 (exc. πρῶτ.)		26 (πρῶτον)				
iv.	1, 3	4	2		36–37	5–31	
	5–31 Second church hist. 32, 34 f.			36 f.	36 f.		
v.				1–11		1–12a, 15, 16, 17–24	
	12 f.	14					
	15–35 38–42			36 f.		15–42	

While chaps. 1–5 stand thus apart on an inferior level of historicity,[1] less certainly historical or rather certainly less historical, the remainder of the book (6–28) rests upon sources more or less definitely visible. Criticism of these sources, broadly viewed, tends to lay stress either upon the characteristics of the sources themselves before these came into the hands of the final editor, or upon the intention and activity of that editor. The alleged obscurity, discrepancies, repetitions, and omissions of the book are thus due either (*a*) to conflicting and independent sources which have been left side by side, or (*b*) to the editorial supervision which has introduced them for some deliberate purpose. In the latter event, one's estimate of the author becomes considerably lessened. A tendency to adopt the former position (*a*) is more prevalent in modern research upon the Acts. Spitta's theory[2] is a fair

[1] It is substantially true, though the statement needs some qualification, to say with Harnack that "the narrative of the first five chapters is of a pictorial, panegyrical, and vague description; in the section chap. vi. 1 ff., on the contrary, it is concrete and precise" (*Exp.*[3] v. p. 324 n).

[2] *Die Apgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtlicher Wert* (1891). Cp. Menzies, *CR* (1892), pp. 168–174.

representative of it, and as it has the merit of being comparatively simple, I add here his analysis of the whole book along with one or two others—although no scheme of details, apart from the requisite explanations, can really do justice to any such hypothesis. The main constructive feature of Spitta's analysis consists in the comparatively limited and unimportant function which he assigns to the redactor. Hence, beside his theory I print those of Jüngst and Hilgenfeld, and also an

(A)		(B)	
Lk 24^{50-53}, ascension of Jesus			
		[1–3]	
15-17*, 20-26*, election of Matthias	i.	4–14, ascension of Jesus; 18, 19, death of Judas	1–11*
1^{a} (. . . συμπληρ.), 4, 12, 13, 14–40, Peter's speech	ii.	1^{b}–3, 5*–6, 9–11	3^{b}*
41–52, 45–47		43	
whole	iii.*		
1, 3–5, 7–33*	iv.	36–37	
12^{b}–14	v.	$1–12^{a}$ (Ananias and Sapphira), 15–39*	
1–6 (the Seven), $9–12^{a}$ (. . . γραμμ.)	vi.	7–8, 12^{b}–15	2*
2–54, 57, 58^{a} (. . . λιθοβ.), Stephen's speech and death	vii.	1, 55, 56, 58^{b}–60	
1^{b}, 2	viii.	1^{a} (. . . αὐτοῦ), 3, $5–40^{a}$ (Philip-section)	
	ix.	1–3*, 6–31, conversion of Paul; 32–43 (Peter)	2*, 18*
	x.	1–35, 44–48	
19–21, church of Antioch; 27–30*	xi.	1–18, 22*–26	23*
25	xii.	1–24, death of James, etc.	
1–5, 13*–41, Paul's speech; 43, 50, 51	xiii.	6–12, 42, 44*–49, 52	2*
1-2, 4-6, 7*, 21–26, 28	xiv.	3, 8–20	
35–41	xv.	[1–33, the Council]	5–12*
1–19 (22–23*) (35*), 37–40*	xvi.	20, 21* (22, 23*), 24–34 (36*)	
1–4 (5*), 10–34 (Beroea and Athens)	xvii.	(5*), 6–9	
$1–5^{a}$ (. . . Παῦλος), 7–24* (25), 26–28	xviii.		
1^{a} (. . . Ἔφεσον), $8–10^{a}$ (. . . δὲ), 21, 22	xix.	1^{b}–7, 10^{b}*–20, 24–41 (riot in Ephesus)	
whole	xx.		1*
1–9, 12–14*, $15–20^{a}$ (. . . Θεόν), 27–40	xxi.	10, 11*, 20^{b}–26*	
1–29*	xxii.	30*	5*
11–35	xxiii.	1–10*	
whole	xxiv.		
whole	xxv.		18*
whole	xxvi.		
whole	xxvii.		
1–16, 30–31	xxviii.	17–23*	

* The redactor's presence is marked by an asterisk (*), and he is responsible for the passages omitted in the above list. For the sake of clearness the references have been arranged in the order of the chapters, but more than once, especially in (B), Spitta transposes whole paragraphs, *e.g.* 9^{3-21} is transferred to a place between 8^{3} and 8^{5}, and $15^{1-4.\ 13-33}$ occurs between 12^{24} and 13^{6}.

analysis of Clemen's,[1] which is an extreme but ingeniously contrived attempt to carry the criticism of the sources into elaborate detail, combining in some degree the principle of divergent sources and that of editorial initiative.

Spitta's hypothesis[2] involves two primary sources. (A), a well-informed source which underlies the third gospel also, is probably from the pen of Luke, contains the most trustworthy passages of the book, and is superior in historical insight to (B). The latter, like (A), contains "supernatural" elements, but these are drawn from popular traditions, and appear to be more highly coloured and less coherent; the stress falls on "wonders" throughout, whereas in (A) the preaching of the apostles is emphasised. Both sources, independent in origin and individually featured, have been combined, arranged, and edited by a redactor (R) before the end of the first century, though (B) was composed by a Jewish-Christian admirer of Peter much earlier—after 70 A.D.

Jüngst (*Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, 1895)[3] confines himself, like several of the more sober critics, to a bisection[4] of the book. (A), including the we-journal, extends through the whole book, the latter part of which has been interpolated by the final editor (R), who is not Luke but a companion of Paul, writing in the early part of the second century. He has used in the first half of the work an Ebionitic source (B) already employed in the gospel of Luke, but here rearranged to suit (A). The final redaction is supposed to have taken place 110–125 A.D. (cp. 13^{49}, 19^{10}, which are taken to imply a wide diffusion of Christianity). (R) is differentiated chiefly by his style and his conception of Paul's work and teaching, (B) is anti-Jewish, and (A) possibly Lucan. This theory of Jüngst evidently approximates in part to Spitta's. Upon the other hand, Hilgenfeld (*loc. cit.*) finds three sources used by the final editor (R): like van Manen, he assigns the chief importance to (C)=πράξεις Παύλου, an account of Paul's work and person by Luke, to which the final redactor, a Pauline unionist, subordinated his other source (B)=πράξεις τῶν ἑπτά, and especially (A)=(Jewish-Christian) πράξεις Πέτρου, adding passages of his own:

(A)=1^{15}–5^{42} $9^{31\text{-}43}$ $12^{1\text{-}23}$ [R. mainly in $1^{1\text{-}14}$ $2^{39b.\ 41b.\ 43.\ 45}$ $3^{13b.\ 21b.\ 25b}$ $4^{2b.\ 4.\ 12a.\ 27\text{-}28.\ 33b\text{-}35}$ $5^{14\text{-}16.\ 36}$]

(B)=6–8^{40}.

(C)=$9^{1\text{-}30}$ $11^{17\text{-}29}$ (see p. 663).

Schwanbeck's analysis is self-explanatory (*Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lk.* I. 1847); as is Sorof's (*Die Entstehung der Apg.* 1890), which includes in its Lucan source, $1^{1.\ 2}$ 2^{46} $4^{33\text{-}37}$. [*Continued on page* 664.

[1] *Chron.* pp. 97–162; and in *SK* (1895), p. 296 f. With his statement (*Chron.* § 5) upon the unhistorical elements in the book, compare the discussion in Zeller-Overbeck's edition, which still possesses educative value for the student of this question; also the paragraphs in Martineau's *Seat of Authority*, pp. 248–257, 283–285.

[2] Partially modified by J. Weiss (*SK*, 1893, p. 480 f.; *Die Absicht*, especially p. 38 f.), who finds only (B) in chaps. 1–5, only (A) in the second half of the book, and in the middle chapters a blending of material from (A) and (B). Cp. the notices by Cone (*New World*, March 1896), von Soden (*ThLz*, 1892, 639 f.), and Wrede (*GGA*, 1895, p. 497 f.), of Spitta's volume.

[3] Cp. Wrede (*LC*, 1896, pp. 369, 370).

[4] Feine's bisection, *e.g.*, includes an original Jerusalem source (composed before 70 A.D.) extending up to Ac 12, and already used in the gospel. Paul's journeys, etc., are due to other sources and to a redactor (R). The Jerusalem-source includes $1^{4.\ 5.\ 8*.\ 9\text{-}12.\ 13\text{-}17.\ 20\text{-}26}$ $2^{1\text{-}4a.\ 12.\ 13.\ 14*\text{-}42\ (43\text{-}47)}$ $3^{1\text{-}8a.\ 11\text{-}26}$ $4^{4.\ 7b\text{-}14.\ 18\ (21).\ 22\ (23).\ 24\text{-}31.\ 33.\ 36.\ 37}$ $5^{1\text{-}11.\ 12\text{-}16*.\ 24\text{-}25.\ 37\text{-}42}$ $6^{(8).\ 9\text{-}11.\ 15}$ $7^{22\text{-}28.\ 35\text{-}43.\ 51\text{-}56.\ 59.\ 60}$ $8^{1b\text{-}2.\ 4\text{-}9.\ 11\text{-}13}$ $9^{31\text{-}43}$ $10^{1\text{-}27.\ 29b\text{-}33.\ 36\text{-}42c.\ 44\text{-}48}$ $11^{2\text{-}17.\ 19\text{-}33}$ $12^{1\text{-}24*}$.

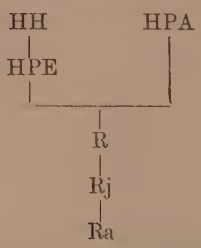
CLEMEN.

HH (A history of the Hellenist Jews.)	HPE A history of Peter: an old Jewish-Christian source.	HPA A history of Paul, including an Itinerarium Pauli.	R A neutral Redactor.	Rj A pro-Jewish Redactor, 93–117 A.D.	Ra An anti-Jewish Redactor.
9–10	7–8, 11–15		[1–6]		
1–36					
38–58^{a}, 59^{b}	37, 60				58^{b}, 59^{a}
16	2, 4–13, 18–24*, 26–40				1^{a}, 3, 14–25
				32–43	1–31
				1–35	
				37^{a}, 38–48	36, 37^{b}
19–21^{a}, 24, 26				1–15, 17, 18	16, 22–23
					24^{b}, 25, 27–30
					1–25
		1–24^{abc}, 26			24^{d}, 25, 27–31,
		32, 33, 38, 39, 43, 49, 52			34–37, 40–42, 44–51
		1, 3, 5^{ad}, 6, 7	8–18		2, 4, 5^{bc}
		21–22^{a}, 24–28			19, 20, 22^{b}, 23
				1–4, 13–18,	5–12, 19,
		35–40		20–22	23–33, 41
		7–23^{a}	23^{b}–34	1–3, 6^{b}	4–6^{a}
		35–40			
		1^{a}, 4, 5^{bd}, 6–10^{a}		1^{b}–3, 10^{b}	5^{ac}
		11, 12, 14–16, 17^{b}, 18, 34	19–33	17^{a}	13
		1–3, 5^{a}, 7–11	12–17*	4, 5^{b}	6
		18^{a}, 22^{ac}, 23	18^{acde}, 19^{ab}, 20, 21, 22^{b}, 24, 26^{b}, 27	19^{c}, 25, 26^{a}, 28	
		1^{b}–3, 5	1^{a}		4, 6
		8^{bc}–10	11–13, 15–41	8^{a}	14
		1^{bcd}–16	1^{a}, 17–19^{a}		
			20–24, 36–37, 38^{b}		19^{b}, 25 – 35, 38^{a}
		1–20^{ab}, 27, 28		20^{bc}–26, 29	
			8 (ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτα)?		
		30–39^{a}		39^{b}, 40	
				1–16, 19–21	
					15 (πάντας ἀνθρώπους)
		22–30*			17–18
				1–10	
		11–24			25–30
		31–33^{ac}, 34, 35			33^{b}
		1, 9		10–21	2–8
		22–27			
		1–23			
		1–20^{acd}		20^{b}	24–27
		22–32			21
		1–20	21–26		
		27–44			
		1–15		16–24	
		30–31			25–28

	VAN MANEN.			HILGENFELD.		
Chap.	HPE Memoirs of Peter.	HPA Memoirs of Paul (written, 90–110 A.D.).	Tr A Travel-journal, written by Luke (?), used by HPA.	(A) A Jewish-Christian source, πράξεις Πέτρου (on which 1^{5}–5^{42} rests).	(B) A Hellenistic Jewish-Christian source, πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων.	(C) πράξεις Παύλου.
vi.		1, 2 (except οἱ δώδεκα) 3-5 8–15			basis	
vii.			[1–50, Final editor]			58^{b}
viii.	1-16*, 18-24, 26-40	51–60 1–3				1^{a}, 3
ix.		15, 17, 20, 23–25, 27, 29–31		31-43		ix-xxviii ix., exc. 12 and 16
x.	32–42 1-48					1-48 (R)
xi.	1–18	19–26 27–30		2 (β-text)		1–26 (R)
xii.	3–19			1–23		24, 25 (R)
xiii.		revised				25, 27, 31, 38, 39, 42, 45–47, 50–51 (R)
xiv.		,,				19 (R)
xv.		35–41	[1–33, Fin. ed.]			7–21 (R)
xvi.		1^{a} 6–40 revised	10–12^{a}			3^{b}–5 13, 16, 24–34 (R)
xvii.		revised				17, 34 (R)
xviii.		,,				4, 56, 6 (R) 18 (R)
xix.		1, 2, 6, 9, 12, 15 f., 18 f. 22—30, 41				1–7, 12–20 (R)
xx.		1–15 revised	5 (?), 6, 13–15			18–38 (R) 4^{b}, 9 (R)
xxi.		1–4 ,,	1^{b}–4^{a}, 6^{a}			20^{b}–26 (R)
xxii.		7–9, 15 f., 18–21, 27–40	7, 9 [? Fin. ed.]			30 (R)
xxiii.			,,			1–10 (R) 27^{c}–29 (R)
xxiv.		17, 24 f.	,,			17–21, 25 [(R)
xxv.			,,			8 (ὅτι . . . ἥμαρτον)(R) 13-end(R)
xxvi.		16, 18 f.	,,			1–32 (R)
xxvii.		1-44 revised	1, 2, 4 f., 7f., 12–20, 27-41			21-26 (R)
xxviii.		1-16 ,,	1, 2^{a}, 11–15 [16–31, Fin. ed.]			17-29 (R)

Van Manen (*Paulus* I., *de handelingen der Apostelen*, 1890), detects two leading sources, HPE = περίοδοι or πράξεις Πέτρου, HPA similarly = Paul. The latter (written ±100 A.D.) is superior to, and formed the model for, the former; when it came into the final editor's hands, it had been already incorporated with a travel-source, the basis of the "we-journal." This editor, van Manen conjectures, was at work about the middle of the second century (125–150 A.D.), and used Josephus as well as the Pauline epistles. The strength of this theory primarily lies in the unmistakable parallelism drawn between Paul and Peter; for although several critics have recently denied or minimised this feature of Acts, it cannot be safely overlooked. Cp. the classical statement, reproduced partly from Schneckenburger, in Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 113–132.

Clemen, again, starts from two elements in the life of Paul as that is portrayed in Acts: his occasionally hostile attitude to Judaism and the Jews, and the equally marked instances of a more friendly relationship. These he regards as incompatible within the limits of a consistent personality. Consequently the former class of passages is to be assigned to a Redactor (Ra) of anti-Jewish tendencies acquainted with Paul's letters and with Josephus: the latter class, in which Paul appears in a more favourable and conciliatory position towards his old religion, were already in existence when the book came into the hands of the above-named universalist editor (Ra), being due to a previous redactor (Rj) of pro-Judaistic tendencies. Another and an earlier redactor, whose tendency cannot be exactly determined, is also to be traced as having revised and enlarged the sources. The primitive nucleus of the work was composed of three early narratives: a history of the Hellenists, a history of Peter, and a history of Paul (written in Rome). These latter all date from an early period in the apostolic age. The date of the various recensions, however, cannot be determined with precision; but they fall into the second century, as Rj knew Josephus' *Antiquities* (93-94 A.D.), possibly towards 150 A.D. Of his earliest source (HH) Clemen remarks, it is "thoroughly trustworthy." The genealogical plan of the book is thus:



(The passages with an asterisk on p. 662 represent paragraphs which have been recast: vi.[1-6] was added by (R) from a separate and unknown source).

The discussion of these analyses has anticipated but not exhausted the problem of the circumstantial and isolated "we-sections," 16^{10-17} 20^{5-16} 21^{1-18} 27^{1}–28^{16}. These passages, marked by the use of an anonymous ἡμεῖς, profess to be memoranda from the journal of an eye-witness, and they raise two problems in regard to the whole book and its sources: (*a*) Were they composed by the author of the Acts; and if so, what was his name and date? (*b*) Can the source be traced elsewhere in Acts?

[*Continued on page* 666.

Schwanbeck.					Sorof.				Jüngst.	
BP (A biography of Peter, including 1 6f.)	Special source.	B (A biography of Barnabas, including 4$^{36f.}$)	Special source.	S (A memoir by Silas.)	Genuine Lucan source: a sketch of early Christianity developing among the Gentiles. Paul prominent.	A Petrine source, somewhat legendary in character (13$^{2-24}$ 31–43 45 51–11).	The whole supplemented and revised by Timotheus, from a Jewish-Christian standpoint.	Chap.	Analysis of his main source (A) in three parts: (a) 1-12 (15), (b) 13–21, (c) 21–28. (Besides 1$^{2.3.6-8.12a.13a.14b}$ 2$^{4.12}$ 23. 32-33. 36-39. 41a. 43c. 46-47a 3$^{1-3a.5-8a.11-13.14b-17.19.20.23a.26}$ 4$^{1.6-14.18-21b.22-27a.30.32.33}$).	(B), inferior to (A) in point of historicity, an edifying Jewish-Christian narrative of the development of the Palestine Churches. (Besides 1$^{15-21.22b-26}$ 2$^{1-2a.3.5-11}$ 3$^{25b.21-24.18.14a}$ 22$^{4-31.34.35.45.43a.41b-42}$ 4$^{36.37}$ 5$^{12a.14-16.17-25.34-38a.39b.40a}$.)
	7–15				whole			vi.	9–10, 12^{c}–14	1–6, 7^{bc}, 8, 11, 15
	1–59				1–58^{a}, 59, 60		58^{b}	vii.	1–21, 29–34, 44–50, 58^{b}–60	22–28, 35–43, 51–58^{a}
1, 3–40	2				1^{b} (except πλ. τ. ἀ) 2	5–40	1^{a}, b^{x}, 3, 4	viii.	1^{bc}	1^{a}, 2, 3, 5–9^{ac}, 11–13, 19–24$^{\wedge}$, 26–40^{a}
31–43		1–30				32–43	1–31	ix.	1–5, 22^{b}–25, 30^{b}	6–15, 17–20^{a}, 26–28 [32–43 [1–35, 44–48: after 12^{17}]
whole						whole		x.		1–15, 17^{ac}, 24^{a}
1–18		19 30			19–30	1–17	18	xi.	19–23, 25, 26 [27–28^{a}–30, after 14^{28}]	
		25			25	3–23	1–2, 24	xii.	[25^{ab} ,, ,,	1–3, 4–6*, 7–14, 15*, 16, 17, 18*
		whole			1–26, 32, 33, 38 52	27–31, 34–37		xiii.	1–8*, 13–23, 26–27^{a}, 28, 30–33, 38, 43, 50, 51	40, 41 | R (among other passages) 44–49 8–21^{a},
		2–4	3–13	rest	1, 2, 4–7, 11^{b}–18,	3, 8–11^{a},		xiv.	1, 2*, 6, 7, 21^{b}–27^{b}, 28	
				whole	1–6, 19–33 (except σὺν ὁ. τ. ἐκκ. 22), 35–41	7–18, 22*		xv.	[1–4, 30^{a}, 32–35] 36–41	13^{bc}–18, 20 [931] 5–13^{a}, 21–29
				,,	6–10, 18^{b}–49	1–5, 10–18^{a}		xvi.	1, 3^{a}, 6^{a}, 7–23^{a}, 35*, 37–40	3^{bc}–5, 23^{b}–34
				,,	1–14^{a}, 16^{b}–34	14^{b}–16^{a}		xvii.	1–6, 8–16^{a}, 18^{ab}, 34	18^{cd}–33
				,,	1–4, 19 (exc. καὶ κ . . . αὐτὸς δέ)–23,	5–18, 19*, 24–28		xviii.	1–5^{b}, 7, 8, 11, 18^{b}–19^{b}, 21^{c}, 22, 22–24, 26, 27^{b}, 28*	12–17
				,,	1^{b}–10, 21–41	1^{a}, 11–20		xix.	1^{ab}, 8–10^{a}, 21, 22	10^{bc}–20, 23–[41
				,,	1–3, 17–38	4–16		xx.	1*–19^{a}–22, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38^{c}	
				,,	20^{b}–24, 26–40	1–20^{a}, 25		xxi.	1–10^{a}–20^{a}, 27–37^{a}, 39, 40	20^{b}–26
				,,	1–19, 21–29	20		xxii.	1–4^{a}, 5–10^{a}, 21^{a}–29	30
				,,	whole			xxiii.	11–27, 30	1–10
				,,	,,			xxiv.	1–14^{b}, 17–19, 22–27	
				,,	,,			xxv.	(1–24^{a}), 26	
				,,	,,			xxvi.	1–5, 9–32	
				,,		whole		xxvii.	1–20, 27–44	
				,,	16^{b}–31	1–16^{a} besides 2$^{43-45.47}$ 4$^{4.32}$ 5$^{12-42}$		xxviii.	1–16, 30, 31	17–28
									Jüngst dates the Council previous to Ac 13, 14 (like Weizsäcker), and regards the first of his three parts in (A) as inferior to the other two.	

(*a*) The conjectures upon the authorship of the "we-sections" range over the names of Paul's companions, but the two which are really probable[1] are those of Titus (so Krenkel, *Paulus*, p. 214 f; Jacobsen, *Die Quellen Apgeschichte*, p. 24; O. Holtzmann, *ZwTh*, 1889, p. 409; Seufert, *ZwTh*, 1885, p. 367 f.), and Luke (so the majority of critics). If the latter be the author, an important question rises with regard to the relation of the source to the whole book. Did Luke delicately and intentionally mark, by the use of ἡμεῖς, his companionship and association with Paul, introducing fragments of his own journal in the larger history (so *e.g.* Ramsay (*SPT*) and Zahn)? Or did Luke merely write the journal, and is the composition of the whole book to be referred to another hand? These alternatives are variously answered. On the one hand, the evidence from style is adduced to prove that the "we-sections" must have been composed by the author or editor of Acts as a whole.[2] But against this it is urged that these correspondences are perfectly intelligible if we suppose that the author of the book worked over his materials instead of merely incorporating them in the exact form in which they reached him. Again, if it be granted that Luke wrote this journal, which has been inserted by some later and unknown writer, does it not seriously conflict with our estimate of the latter's literary and historical skill? Surely, it is asked (*e.g.* by Zeller-Overbeck, Renan, Weiss, and Ramsay), to leave material in this abrupt and ragged form, is characteristic of a monkish chronicler rather than of a painstaking writer of history? This may be so, but a statement like this really begs the whole question. Was the author of Acts a "painstaking writer of history"? That is an opinion which must be proved from the evidence of his style and skill as these lie before us. It is unfair to reject a theory of his literary method simply because it is at variance with a preconceived and exaggerated idea of his genius, which is seriously in conflict with the evidence of the third gospel and Acts alike. Indeed, the one parallel which can be found for the we-sections rather confirms the hypothesis that they may quite well be drawn from an author who was not the author of the larger work. In Ezra 7^{27}–8^{34} $9^{1\text{-}15}$, Neh 1^{1}–7^{5} $12^{27\text{-}43}$ $13^{4\text{-}31}$, memoirs exist, composed in the first person,[3] which are certainly earlier than the final compiler of the whole history. He has used these, often left the first person unaltered as he found it, but as often continued his tale in the third person and followed other sources. As the history stands, then, it is a proof that historical composition was perfectly compatible with an exact reproduction as well as a free adaptation of sources. This argument does not imply that Acts is no better authority for its period than Ezra-Nehemiah for the post-exilic age; it is merely a warning against *a priori* modern conceptions of authorship, which readily tend to

[1] The possibility of Timotheus (cp. Holtzmann's biographies of this figure and of Titus, *Pastoralbriefe*, pp. 65–83) is still admitted by Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. p. 242–244), while Sorof (*Entstehung der Apg.* 1890) attributes to him not merely the composition of the journal but also the editing of the whole book from an originally Lucan writing. Schmiedel (*EBi*, i. p. 44) thinks Luke the most likely author for the we-sections, but properly abandons the attempt to ascribe them to any of Paul's companions that we know.

[2] Cp. interesting linguistic statements by Stanton, *Exp.*[4] vii. pp. 341–349; K. Schmidt, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (1882), especially pp. 11–91; and Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 149–154; besides Spitta, *Die Apgeschichte*, pp. 235 f., 257 f.

[3] Also in Tobit 1^{3}–3^{6}. If the we-sections are written by the author of the whole book, then he is either Luke using a diary to indirectly show his companionship with Paul, or a later author who wished to make his book pass for the vivid report of an eye-witness by using this literary device.

become misleading in the criticism of an early document. The final editor[1] of Acts may have deliberately left the intercalated we-passages in their original shape, in order to make it clear[2] that for these sections he was employing the memoirs of an eye-witness. On the other hand, if Luke wrote journal and history alike, his work may be compared roughly to the history of Polybius, the author being dependent upon his predecessors and the oral tradition for the earlier part of the record, whereas in the later part his own observations and experiences afford him a surer basis.

(*b*) The idea that the we-sections formed part of a larger work, that this larger work was used by the author of Acts, and that traces of this use can be discovered (even in chaps. 24–26), has been frequently and forcibly advocated, *e.g.*, by Spitta, O. Holtzmann, Jülicher, and Jüngst. Clemen and Hilgenfeld[3] find it underlying the book as early as chap. 13, while Wendt (-Meyer[8]) goes even further back. But the arguments, it must be confessed, are precarious (cp., on the other side, Weizsäcker, *AA*, i. p. 242 f., and McGiffert, *AA*, pp. 238, 239).[4] Certainly if the author obliterated all traces of this vivid source elsewhere, his retention of the "we" in the under-noted passages does not seem particularly worthy of a good historian; indeed, it lacks adequate motive. Why did he not leave the graphic pronoun in the earlier stories?

The date of this travel-journal—

$16^{10\text{-}17}$	=	journey from	Troas to Philippi,
$20^{5\text{-}16}$	=	„	„ Philippi to Miletus,
$21^{1\text{-}18}$	=	„	„ Miletus to Jerusalem,
27^{1}–28^{16}	=	„	„ Caesarea to Rome—

is even less certain than its authorship. No data exist to determine even

[1] In this case, the author of Acts cannot be the author of the third gospel, if the latter be the Luke who composed the journal. Either the Lucan authorship of both gospel and history must be abandoned (as recently by McGiffert), or one must work along the lines suggested by Sorof and Gercke (*Hermes*, 1894, p. 373 f.), *i.e.* that Acts may represent the later edition of an originally Lucan writing which included the we-sections, and which was composed by the author of the third gospel, or possibly that Luke is connected with the third gospel merely as Matthew—the editor of the *Logia*—was with the first. Cp. on the whole question of the we-sections, Zeller-Overbeck, i. pp. 31–54, and for a proof that the third gospel and Acts are by one author, *ibid.* ii. pp. 213–254.

[2] The retention of the first person plural need not have been due either to negligence or to accident. Certainly it was not the result of a deliberate desire on the part of the author to represent himself as an eye-witness. A modern book would have contained at the foot of the page a reference to the journal from which the extracts were taken. But an ancient author had no mechanical aids of this kind, and in incorporating an ancient source he might well leave the original phrasing intact for the sake of vividness, a procedure which is only awkward when it is tried by modern standards of composition. To the readers of Acts it was probably quite intelligible. They understood what the writer meant them to understand, that the "we" marked a diary of some companion of Paul. Possibly they knew this man; but even if they did not, there is little to be surprised at. That his name has not been preserved is due to the fact that interest naturally centred not in the author but in the subject of the diary. Its omission is not any more surprising than the familiar case of anonymity in 2 Co 8^{18}.

[3] So J. Weiss, *Absicht*, p. 30, and von Soden, *EBi*, i. pp. 813, 814.

[4] On the improbability of any other sources for Acts, such as letters, speeches, or narratives, the best statement is given in Overbeck-Zeller, i. pp. 55–64. Overbeck's opinion is, that the source from which the we-sections were taken originally covered several years of Paul's life (as that lay between the limits of 16^{10} and 28^{16}), and that "in all probability it contained a very thorough description of Paul's apostolic journeys by the hand of an associate," although it cannot have been a mere itinerary (p. 44).

its relative priority to the other NT writings. The *terminus a quo* is, of course, the year when Paul came to Troas: if the source is actually a diary written contemporaneously with the events which it records, it is to be placed between 54 and 62 A.D. Ramsay (*CRE*, pp. 6-8; *SPT*, p. 383 f.) dates it 62–64 A.D., and plainly it cannot be much earlier.

2^{43-47}.—As (3, 4^{16}) the healing of the lame man evidently is represented as the first miracle of the disciples, the reference in 2^{43} is an anticipation. It is also difficult, in view of the later narrative, to see how 3000 people (ver. 41) could have lived as vers. 44^{a}, 46 imply; while vers. 44–47 are practically parallel to 4^{32-35}. The previous story ends with vers. 41, 42, and is resumed with 3^{1} (note the verbal connection, ταῖς προσευχαῖς . . . τῆς προσευχῆς), whereas the intervening paragraph has all the appearance of a general summary added by the editor as he revised his sources. Feine refers it to his Jewish-Christian source, while Wendt (p. 100) conjectures that we have reproduced here the source which underlies 4^{32-35} 6^{1} f. But it is simpler to refer the section completely (Weiss), or at any rate in part (Sorof, ver. 46; J. Weiss, vers. 43^{b}, 44; Hilgenfeld, vers. 41^{b}, 43, 45), to the editor himself, who regarded the community of goods[1] and the increase of the church as much more extensive than the sources warrant us in believing. Ramsay (*SPT*, pp. 365, 366) again, who believes chaps. 1–5 are based on two different and informal sources which have been worked over, regards the summaries 2^{43-47} 4^{32-35} as partly proleptic.[2] The historicity of the fact underlying this "communistic" phenomenon is supported by the consideration that such a practice would not be unnatural in the case of people who were living in momentary expectation of an eschatological crisis. The treatment of it by a later writer would, however, be dominated by the prevalent conception, both within and without Judaism, that the golden or ideal state of matters socially rested upon such an economic division of property.

4^{4}.—An awkward insertion, which breaks the continuity of the narrative 4^{3-5}, and has no special point to contribute to the development of the situation. Evidently an editor's note, like 6^{7}, on the lines of 2^{43-47}. So Weiss (ver. 4^{b}), Sorof, Jüngst, Clemen, and Hilgenfeld. Throughout the rest of the narrative it is hardly possible to distinguish source and editor precisely, though the analytic critics have correctly noted several discrepancies and improbabilities, which are in all likelihood the result of such a dual origin. The numbers here and elsewhere are treated by Zeller (i. pp. 207–209) and Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 24, 25) as artificial, while—at the opposite extreme of criticism—others find in them circumstantial evidence of a written source. But inexactness in numerical data, equally with freedom in the composition of speeches, does not impair the trustworthiness of the general narrative either in Acts or in 1 Maccabees. These were simply elements in the contemporary literary atmosphere.

5^{12-16}.—The roughnesses in this section, which is really a third general summary of events, are certainly due to the fact that a source has been revised by the editor. Opinion differs upon the limits of the revision,

[1] On the fluctuating conceptions of this phenomenon in the early church as communism (in the Pythagorean sense) or charity, and the traces of that fluctuation in the record, see Schmiedel, *EBi*, i. pp. 877–880, *PM*; ii. pp. 367–378; Holtzmann, *NTTh*, i. pp. 387–391; and Zeller, Overbeck-Zeller, i. pp. 212–214, 306, 307. A conservative defence in Knowling, pp. 100–102.

[2] Bartlet thinks they "do not aim at definite harmony with the facts immediately preceding or succeeding" (*AA*, p. 40).

but most agree that ver. 14 is at any rate either a parenthesis or more probably an insertion,[1] as ver. 15 follows ver. 13[b]. Some (*e.g.* Spitta and J. Weiss) regard ver. 13 as editorial; Weiss, vers. 14 and 16; Hilgenfeld, vers. 14–16; Jüngst, vers. 12[b], 13; Schmiedel, vers. 12[b]–14. Laurent (pp. 138, 139) most ingeniously transfers 12[a] to a place between γυναικῶν and ὥστε.

6[8-15].—The dual origin of this passage, and indeed of the whole Stephen-story, is brought out by its repetitions (*e.g.* vers. 11, 13, 14) and the apparent uncertainty, to which Weiss calls attention, whether the proceedings were judicial or tumultuary. The analytic critics clear up the difficulties more or less convincingly by means of their different sources (Spitta and J. Weiss most cleverly, giving vers. 1–6 and 9–12[a] to one, 7, 8 and 9[b]–15 to another source). But it is simpler with Weiss and Wendt to distinguish the two strata, marking perhaps (with the latter) at least vers. 11, 12, 15, as editorial additions inserted to represent the business as judicial. The subsequent speech in chap. 7 is probably to be regarded as based on some primitive source, although the editor has not reproduced it without a somewhat free treatment. But an analysis of the two elements is hardly possible.[2] Kranichfeld, indeed, has recently argued that the whole passage 6[16]–8[2] was taken by Luke from an old and excellent source of a special character, the speech of Stephen being practically authentic as it stands (*SK*, 1900, pp. 541–562, "Der Gedankengang in der Rede des St."). But he reduces the editorial faculty of the author too severely.

7[58]–8[3].—The repetitions and inconsistencies of the section following Stephen's speech are most satisfactorily removed by the hypothesis[3] that the references to Saul (7[58b], καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες . . . Σαύλου; 8[1a], Σαῦλος . . . αὐτοῦ, 8[3]) were inserted by the editor in a source which narrated the fanatical riot and the outbreak of persecution after Stephen's death, but which was ignorant of Saul. When these editorial glosses are set apart, the narrative runs more smoothly. By their incorporation its continuity is broken. Note the repetition of ἐλιθοβόλουν (ver. 58[a], 59[a]), explicable only on the assumption that the editor in the second καὶ ἐλ. resumes the thread of the source dropped at ver. 58[a]. Also 8[3] repeats what has been already said in 8[1bc] (though, *e.g.*, Weiss and Schmiedel make even that[4] an interpola-

[1] From the same source as the similar passages 2[43-47] 4[32 f.] 6[1 f.], which otherwise are due to the author's love of repeating himself. At all events, they concur in representing the Christian community as relatively small (Wendt), while the editor of Acts lays stress on the rapidity and importance of its growth. The miraculous activity of Peter is enhanced just as that of Jesus is in the third gospel (cp. Lk 4[40] with Mk 1[34], Lk 9[11] with Mk 6[34], Lk 7[21] with Mt 11[3 f.]).

[2] This remark applies further to the composite narrative of chap. 8, where Wendt ingeniously traces three sources: (*a*) an account of Philip's mission to Samaria (vers. 5–8), followed by the episode of vers. 26–40; (*b*) an account of Simon and his simony, probably due to the same tradition as the Ananias story, 5[1-11]; (*c*) a notice of Simon the Samaritan conjurer and prophet, whom the author of Acts identified ("vielleicht mit Recht") with Peter's opponent, Simon. Renan (*Les Apôtres*, chap. xv.) wildly conjectures that Simon Magus was alive when Acts was written, and that he had not yet completely broken with Christianity (8[24]).

[3] So, besides the analytic critics who assign the section to different sources, Bleek, Weiss, Clemen, Sorof, Hilgenfeld, Schmiedel (*EBi*, i. p. 45), and (particularly for ver. 58[b]) Wendt. Ramsay also finds Lucan touches in 7[58] 8[1], and elsewhere.

[4] It is needed for 8[4], unless that be also taken as an editorial interpolation to introduce 8[5 f.]. The original source, as Weiss correctly points out, closed with the remark that although persecution instantly broke out, the first martyr was honoured with a pious burial (a matter of great moment to Orientals). The alternat-

tion), changing it into a personal attack of Saul's (as in 8^{1a}). The burial of Stephen (8^{2}) refers back to ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμ. in any case, the intervening clause being proleptic. It need hardly be added that from whatever source,[1] written or oral, the editor draws his information, it represents an actual fact; Saul was an accomplice in the martyrdom and an agent in the subsequent persecution. Only, these details did not exist in the original source used by the editor at this point.

As the source described the state of matters in Jerusalem, the words τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις are evidently an editorial addition (as 6^{7}) for the sake of clearness; so is the phrase πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων. That the apostles remained in Jerusalem during so severe a persecution, which would naturally, as at other times, strike at the leaders, is a conception of history due to the author's pragmatism. He considered the apostles not only as indomitable heroes, but as an official body resident in Jerusalem and invested with dignity and authority. Also, he had the reference in 8^{14} to explain and prepare for. The Samaritan mission would not have been legitimate apart from apostolic inspection and superintendence. So Wendt, McGiffert, and Schmiedel, among others, after Zeller.

$11^{22\text{-}26a}$.—As Wendt points out, the source dropped at 8^{4} is resumed in 11^{19}, in order to explain in rather an elliptic and colourless fashion (J. Weiss) the existence of a Christian Gentile community at Antioch, from which the prophetic mission of $13^{1f.}$ started. That mission introduces Barnabas and Saul, who are evidently brought forward in the source[2] for the first time, spoken of as if no previous reference had been made to either. This seems to throw back light on $11^{22\text{-}26a.\ 30}$ 12^{25}. These passages clearly were added by the editor (from some other source, perhaps[3]) to the source with which he was working, in order to furnish an introduction and pave the way for the events of chaps. 13, 14, as well as to emphasise his dominant conception of the Jerusalem-church as the patron and promoter of missionary effort (McGiffert, pp. 108, 109). He also found the mention of the Antioch collection in his source, and naturally supposes that Paul and Barnabas were its bearers to the capital; although the evidence of Gal 2^{1} f. leaves hardly any room for such a visit between that of chap. 9 and that in chap. 15. The subtle methods of reconciling Acts and Galatians upon the question of Paul's visits to the capital are not of primary interest to the critic of Acts, whose business is first of all to discover not what actually happened, but what the various documents

ive is to suppose, with Zeller (ii. p. 208), that the verses do not present successive events in an orderly way.

[1] Ramsay (*SPT*, p. 379) regards 8^{1a} as a dramatic, agonised touch due to Paul himself (22^{20}), while as a whole the narrative 6^{9}–8^{39} follows closely a Philip-source.

[2] The mention of Barnabas (4^{36}) and Saul (at Tarsus, 9^{30}) is due to another source. Wendt, reading with D in ver. 28, and attributing this passage to the we-source, rightly regards ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος (11^{28}) as an editorial addition (so previously, Jacobsen, Weiss, and Hilgenfeld). He is introduced in 21^{10} as a new-comer, of whom nothing has been said before. A much less probable conjecture is that the author of Acts had composed the second part of his work before the first (K. Schmidt); but it is not unlikely that 21^{10} is the original from which 11^{28} was drawn (Zeller).

[3] Though Weiss considers they might have been written from hearsay by a Paulinist, so meagre and inexact they are. But they are a proof at least that Barnabas and Paul had some share in the development of Gentile Christianity at Antioch. 11^{30} is ignorant of the Seven ($6^{1,6}$), who would have been the most natural trustees and administrators of finance; it is ignorant also of the apostles. Zeller agrees that the record followed by the author in 13^{1} f. knew nothing of the journey, 11^{27} f. 12^{25}; but as usual he attributes the journey to the author's imagination.

intended to represent as having happened. Plainly, the author of Ac 11^{30} and 12^{25} meant to suggest a visit of both Paul and Barnabas to the capital. Paul may have stayed in Judaea or may have failed for some reason to meet the apostles in the city, but neither of these conceptions is the conception of the passage. Also, the chronological sequence of Gal $2^{1\text{-}11\ f.}$ 1^{13}–2^{10} preceding $2^{11\text{-}16}$, is too plain to admit of the order being reversed (as by Mr. Turner, and Prof. R. A. Falconer, *Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 487–490) and Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$ identified then with Ac 15^{1}.

$13^{42\text{-}52}$.—The obvious interweaving of two narratives requires some analysis like the following :—

	Source or Sources.		Editorial.
Spitta .	43, 50, 51	44–49, 52	42
Clemen .	43	49, 52	42, 44–48, 50, 51
Jüngst .	43	50, 51	42, 44–49, 52
Hilgenfeld.	43, 44	48, 49	42, 45–47, 50, 51
Wendt .	42, 44, 45		43, $46^{f.}$, 51^{a}, 52

To the present editor the narratives seem to run most coherently upon Clemen's scheme : ver. 52 at any rate forms the natural sequel to ver. 49.

$14^{2.\ 3}$.—It is simplest and quite legitimate to reverse the order of these verses (Wendt), which have somehow got displaced; less probable here are interpolation-hypotheses and analysis-criticism, though Sorof and Spitta omit ver. 3 altogether as a foreign insertion, and Ramsay (*SPT*, pp. 107–109) regards it as an early gloss, admitting that some corruption underlies the obscure narrative given by the present text. The traditional order is obviously inconsistent beyond explanation : ver. 4, not ver. 3, is the sequel of ver. 2. But there is really nothing in ver. 3 to justify its exclusion because it is a fragment from the legendary accretion of the miraculous round Paul. It goes no further than the common belief in these phenomena which pervades Acts. The later addition to 14^{2} (*ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔδωκεν* [*ταχὺ*] *εἰρήνην*) is a clear attempt to smooth down the contradiction, though Blass, Hilgenfeld, and Salmon all prefer the Bezan text of ver. 2 as a whole : "but the presidents of the synagogue of the Jews and the rulers [of the synagogue] directed a persecution against the upright, and embittered the minds of the Gentiles against the brothers. However, the Lord soon gave peace."

$16^{4.\ 5}$.—With Spitta, Clemen, Jüngst, Hilgenfeld, McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 211, 212), and Wendt (pp. 256–257, 275), ver. 4 is to be taken as an interpolation, in accordance with the editor's peculiar conception of the decree as universally binding. Paul's letters are silent upon any such method of instruction.[1] Like the previous and similar references, ver.

[1] The district in question lay outside that covered by Ac 15^{23}. Upon the literary and historical difficulties of chap. 15, cp. the literature quoted in Wendt-Meyer, pp. 255, 256. The original basis and the time of the so-called decree are variously reconstructed, and the passage has been analysed into different sources and strata of revision, but (as it seems to the present editor) unconvincingly. The clue to its problem lies in the interests and conceptions of the final editor, who has at this point treated whatever source he used with such freedom that the extant result defies analysis.

5 is also inserted to mark progress. If the grave difficulties which beset the statement in ver. 3 are (as many feel) insoluble, that verse also would require to be taken as a later addition to the narrative (cp., besides Holtzmann, *ad loc.*, McGiffert, pp. 232–234). The passage in vers. 5–8 is a genuine transition, however, and does not deserve to be ranked (by Weizsäcker) as a link freely composed to fill up a gap.

16^{25-34}.—On this insertion, which is almost unanimously regarded as editorial, cp. the critical editors *ad loc.*, Overbeck–Zeller, ii. pp. 45–51, and the parallels from Lucian and Euripides' *Bacchae* (436–441, 602–608) quoted respectively by Zeller (*ZwTh*, 1864, p. 103 f.) and Schmiedel (*ZSchz*, 1894, p. 47). Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. p. 246) groups it with the greater speeches of Paul as the work of the editor, one of a series of passages (*e.g.* 14^{8-18} and 19^{13-19}) which represent freely constructed narratives of the marvellous based upon certain facts in the tradition.

$18^{5b.\ 6}$.—Apart from the other points in this section which render it difficult (Weizsäcker, *AA*, i. pp. 307 f.; McGiffert, pp. 268, 269) to reconcile the narrative entirely with Paul's own account of his Corinthian experiences, the passage *διαμαρτυρόμενος . . . πορεύσομαι* seems to betray itself as an editorial interpolation.[1] The purport of the original narrative which flows on continuously from vers. 4 to 7 is plain. Paul changed, not his sphere of teaching, but his quarters (*μεταβὰς*) ; and he changed not from but towards the synagogue. The removal from Aquila's house was one result of his growing anxiety (*συνείχετο*) to reach especially the Jewish proselytes, and showed his apparently good prospects of success. He resolved to further his mission by this alteration of ground, maintaining his connection with the Jews, but choosing a more feasible and convenient field of operation (*συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ*). The editor of the source has confused this narrative and introduced quite a different motive. Jewish obstinacy must justify Paul's mission to the Gentiles, he conceives. Accordingly in his addition (vers. $5^{b.}$ 6), based probably upon 13^{45-51} or 19^{9}, Paul's change of settlement forms a retreat, the result of an open rupture with the synagogue, and also a defiance, the climax of unconciliatory behaviour. This is a view which finds no support in 1 Corinthians. It is best then to preserve the original source by regarding this passage as a gloss superimposed by an editor who probably had no acquaintance with Paul's epistles, and wished as far as possible to conform Paul's various experiences with the Jews to a uniform standard. The interpolation [2] is upheld by Spitta, Jüngst, O. Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1889, p. 404), Clemen (adding ver. 4), Hilgenfeld (adding vers. 4, 8^{a}), and Wendt (p. 301).

[1] To carry back *ἐκεῖθεν* to Aquila's house is not any more difficult than to refer it to the synagogue (ver. 4). Perhaps, as Schmiedel (*HC*, II. i. p. 52) suggests, it was added with vers. 5^{c}, 6 to the extant narrative. Vers. 5, 6 partly repeat ver. 4 by mentioning the Jewish mission, partly contradict it by omitting to mention any corresponding topic of preaching to the Greeks. The bold attitude of the apostle (ver. 6) reads strangely beside his own reflection (1 Co 2^{3}), ver. 8 is more intelligible after ver. 7 than after vers. 6, 7, and the fact of a preliminary and original Jewish mission is contrary to the outline of events in 1 Co 1. Upon the whole, it may be said that while even the primitive source in Ac 18^{1-12} presents features which diverge from Paul's account, these are seriously accentuated by this editorial comment on the situation. Ramsay explains the *status quo* of the text with the obvious but unsatisfying remark that "Paul had not a very conciliatory way with the Jews when he became angry."

[2] Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 308–310) regards vers. 1–4 as an interpolated introduction, in which "Ελληνες is introduced prematurely. He gives up ver. 6, and retains merely the conception of "an extensive and successful work." Sorof (*Entstehung d. Apgeschichte*, pp. 26-29) takes the whole section 18^{5-18} as a graphic description inserted by Timotheus, who was himself a spectator of the various occurrences.

$18^{18\text{-}22}$.—The curious brevity and obscurity of the narrative at this point suggest that the source has been recast by the editor. This is especially the case in ver. 22, where Paul is reported to have visited Jerusalem, although nothing in ver. 21 suggests this, and indeed the evidence for such a pointless visit is generally regarded as quite insufficient (Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, McGiffert, Wendt, and Holtzmann). The later visit (Ac 21^{25}) certainly implies that he had not visited the city since the council, and it is unlikely that he would have gone without the collection (Ro $15^{30\,f.}$). The editor[1] interpreted his visit to Syria as implying a visit to Jerusalem, probably because he thought this a natural proceeding, or because he again followed his pragmatic idea of bringing Paul into docile relations with the authorities. At any rate, the ambiguous visit (like that of 11^{30}) is an editorial and not an original piece of writing. Wendt (pp. 305–307) conjectures that the author enlarged[2] his source, which merely described Paul's advance to Antioch and his promise (not to the Jews, but to Aquila and Priscilla) to return. Similarly, but more simply, Spitta omits ver. 19^{b} as a gloss, and Jüngst, vers. 19^{b}–21^{a}, while Laurent (pp. 148, 149) boldly transfers ver. 11 as a marginal note to ver. 18 (*ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας*).

18^{25}.—Several solutions of this enigmatic and confused narrative ($18^{24\text{-}28}$) have been offered. *E.g.*, Wendt (pp. 368, 369) deletes verse 25 as a redactor's addition to the source. His theory is that to the author (or editor) of Acts Apollos seemed a disciple of John, like those mentioned in $19^{1\,f.}$, whereas in reality and in the original source they were different entirely.[3] The latter are introduced in 19^{1} as a new group. Probably, then, ver. 25 is a subsequent gloss, in order to approximate this Alexandrian Jew to the class of people who followed in the source. Jüngst (p. 168 f.) similarly takes the verse (with *συνεβάλετο—γὰρ*, ver. 27^{b}, 28^{a}) as a gloss; but McGiffert (pp. 291, 292) contents himself with deleting ver. 25^{a}, which he regards as an insertion of the author in his source, to avoid the appearance of making a Jew preach the Messiah and yet be ignorant of Jesus. Apollos, he thinks, was really a disciple of John who did not know Jesus

[1] Like the author of the gloss in the β-text of ver. 21, *δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, which both Renan and Ramsay adopt. But, as the former confesses (*S. Paul*, p. 280 n.), "Le texte pour toute cette partie est plein d'ambiguïtés et de lacunes."

[2] By vers. 19^{b}, 20, 21^{a}, 22^{a} (probably). Cp. Harnack's essay, *Ueber die beiden Recensionen der Geschichte der Prisca u. des Aquila in Ac. Apost.* $18^{1\text{-}27}$ (reprint from *SBBA*, 1900).

[3] To Apollos (according to ver. 25) the baptism of John culminated in Jesus. To the group in $19^{1\text{-}6}$ that baptism was compatible with a complete unconsciousness that it had been fulfilled in Jesus. It is plain that in the original source Apollos was merely an Alexandrian Jew, who taught the OT Messianic doctrine, and was led forward by Aquila and his wife into the knowledge of its Christian fulfilment. The statement in ver. 25, when taken with its obvious parallel in $19^{2\text{-}4}$, implies that an adherent of John's could be ignorant of the connection between Jesus and the Messianic spirit—a truth which formed the keynote of John's teaching and an elementary principle of Christ's work (*τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*). This is not possible (cp. *Exp. Ti.* viii. pp. 522, 523). Can *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* be confined to the Baptist's "prophecy of the immediate coming of Christ" (Ramsay, *SPT*, p. 267)? Or is it historical to speak, with Zahn (*Einl.* i. p. 187), of Apollos as originally a teacher of "ausserkirchlichen Christentums," and afterwards brought to the knowledge of "kirchlichen Christentums"? At the opposite pole of criticism, Weizsäcker (*A.I.*, i. pp. 403, 404) gives up $18^{24\text{-}28}$, $19^{1\text{-}7}$ as obscure and remodelled traditions; they simply imply that non-Pauline Jewish-Christians existed at Ephesus, and reflect the author's intention of proving that the Jewish-Christian faith required Paul's doctrine to raise it into mature spiritual Christianity.

as the Messiah. Schmiedel goes further (*HC.* II. i. pp. 55, 56 ; *EBi*, i. pp. 263, 264), rejecting vers. 25c, 26bc, and suspecting needlessly even ver. 28 (ver. 26a ?) as inconsistent with Apollos' subsequent preaching to a Gentile church (1 Co 3[6]) ; while Spitta gives to the compiler οὗτος . . . κυρίου and ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (ver. 25). As ἀκριβέστερον (ver. 26) seems to answer ἀκριβῶς (ver. 25), I think both passages must stand or fall together. There is no particular reason for doubting ver. 26bc, but ver. 26a repeats ver. 26b, and is not necessary as an introduction to ἀκούσαντες δὲ. Ver. 25c must be given up at any rate, so that with the omission of ἐπιστάμενος . . . συναγωγῇ the narrative represents in all likelihood the original source. The editor added ver. 25c from 19[1-5], in order to account for Apollos' deficiencies in Christian knowledge, while the definite mention of the synagogue (ver. 26a) was inserted partly to be in keeping with ver. 25c, partly to explain his connection with Aquila and Priscilla (although the source had already provided for that, ἤλαλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν).

The passage forms one of several in which a lucid and intelligible idea of the contents is only attainable by some use of source-criticism. The ordinary attempts to explain the passage in its textual *status quo* are unsatisfactory ; and this applies even to such hypotheses as those of Blass (*Exp. Ti.* 1895, p. 241 f. ; 1896, p. 541 ; *PG*, p. 30 f.), and Baldensperger (*Prolog des 4 Evglms.* pp. 93–99). It is very far-fetched to discover in the narrative motives such as the desire to throw light on Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, or the wish to represent Jewish Christianity as an inferior variety which required Pauline teaching to raise it up to the normal level. The latter motive is perhaps credible in 19[1-6], not in 18[24-28]. But for neither is there sufficient evidence in the Apollos incident.

19[6].—If the narrative here rests on a good source, this verse is, upon the whole, to be regarded as an insertion modelled upon 8[17], where the Spirit is represented as a gift mediated by the apostles (Wendt ; cp. McGiffert, p. 286). Ramsay's conception of Acts obliges him to give up the whole episode (19[1-7]) as unintelligible and inferior to the literary standard of the author ; and certainly 19[5, 6] is in strange contradiction to 1 Co 1[16, 17].

19[11-20].—Rightly and almost unanimously regarded as a detached and inferior fragment (cp. ver. 11 with the repetition in vers. 12–15), which, even apart from its contents, is to be taken as foreign matter, owing to its dislocation of the narrative (vers. 10, 21, where πλῆρ. clearly goes back to the events of the two years with their preaching and teaching). The vulgarity of tone and general vagueness in this passage force Ramsay (*SPT*, pp. 272, 273) to regard it as a popular tale, in which the author "is rather a picker-up of current gossip, like Herodotus, than a real historian." But belief in superstition impairs an early writer's general title to credibility as little as belief in the Phœnix-myth discredits Tacitus as a historian.

20[26, 27, 33-35].—The farewell speech does not belong to the we-source ; but although it has been remodelled by the editor from some source or other, it rests upon good tradition, as it agrees in more than one point with the internal evidence of the Corinthian letters, and refers to much that the account (in Acts) of Paul's Ephesian stay omits. The editorial revision is seldom visible. But vers. 26, 27 clearly break the connection between the counsel of ver. 28 and its motive in ver. 25. Similarly the prayer of ver. 36 follows directly after ver. 32, which again forms the solemn and suitable close of the address. With Jüngst and Clemen (who go even further), followed by Wendt, these intervening passages, vers. 26, 27, 33–35, are to be marked as editorial glosses. Overbeck rejects the whole speech, vers. 16–38,

with $20^{7\text{-}12}$ $21^{4.\ 8.\ 10\text{-}14}$ as interpolations in the original we-source, and Zeller views it as "a retrospect of the whole apostolic ministry of Paul," like the farewell address of Moses, with which the author of Deuteronomy presents his new legislation (ii. 68).

21^{9}.—An editorial gloss, which adds nothing to the narrative, and is inserted by one who wished to make clear to his contemporaries the personality of Philip of Hierapolis. Later tradition (*e.g.* Euseb. *HE*, III. 30. 1) thus described Philip of the twelve, and the account here is due to a confusion between him and the member of the seven (8^{14}). So Gieseler (*SK*, 1829, pp. 139 f.), Renan (*Les Apôtres*, p. 151), and Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1896, p. 377 f.). The alternative is to reject the tradition as a mistake (Zeller).

In order to smooth out the narrative, when the verse is retained, Jüngst conjectures that it was one of Philip's daughters who bound Paul (ver. 11), but that the author, from motives of decency, attributed this action to a man (!). Not much more probable is the conjecture of Spitta, approved by Wendt, that in the source (interrupted at ver. 10) the daughters of Philip wept over Paul's fate, and thus led up, as it were, to the more solemn warning of Agabus.

$21^{20b\ 26}$.—With varying constructions, Spitta, Jüngst, Clemen, Hilgenfeld, and apparently Schmiedel, concur in viewing this passage as an insertion, which not only follows strangely after ver. 20^{a}, but gives little point or meaning to ver. 27^{f}. Although the passover is not referred to in $21^{15\text{-}19}$, it is as legitimate to refer the seven days (ver. 27) to it, as to the rite of vers. 25, 26. In this case, $21^{19\text{-}20a.\ 27f.}$ might belong to the we-source as well, to which O. Holtzmann and J. Weiss (less 21^{24b}) attribute even $21^{21\text{-}26}$.

In any case, ver. 25 falls with 16^{4} as an insertion (perhaps from another source, J. Weiss) due to the editor's pragmatism: so Schürer (*ThLz*, 1882, p. 348), and Wendt (p. 347). Cp. McGiffert (p. 343) and J. Weiss (*Absicht*, pp. 35, 36) on ver. 24. Evidently the decree is supposed in ver. 25 to have been unknown to Paul, and issued without his cognisance. This can be historically justified only if we consider the decree of chap. 15 to have been promulgated during Paul's absence, and confined to the churches of Palestine and Antioch—a reconstruction which involves some bold hypotheses.

21^{30a}.—As the uproar took place in the temple, and the assault and ejection followed in quick succession, it is best to regard this clause as an editorial gloss derived from ver. 31; the rumour is as usual exaggerated, or else by that time the city had had time to be afoot, but between 21^{29} and 21^{30b} there is no room for such a development. It must be taken as proleptic or else set aside (so J. Weiss and Wendt).

22^{30}–$23^{10.\ (11)}$.—As is pretty generally admitted (*e.g.* by Spitta, Jüngst, Clemen, Hilgenfeld, J. Weiss, Wendt), this passage is an insertion which breaks the continuity of the narrative 22^{29} 23^{12}, and contains some elements of extreme difficulty.[1] The words of 23^{12} follow most naturally the persecution of 22^{29}. Paul's witness was given before the crowd, not before the council, and the narrative of $23^{12\text{-}15}$ shows no sign of a previous meeting like that narrated in $23^{1\text{-}11}$. How it came to be inserted here

[1] The resurrection-idea, which here, as in 4^{2}, is regarded as the *bête noir* of the Sadducees, would not have really been a cause of such dispute or a source of such strategic advantage to Paul. The Pharisees opposed Paul on much wider grounds (cp. Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 116, 117, and Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 75–81, 327). Besides, after the fiasco of $23^{9\text{-}10}$, another meeting such as that asked in 23^{15} would have been hardly possible.

is hard to say, unless the ἀκριβέστερον of 23^{15} suggested to the editor that a previous and ineffective examination must have taken place. McGiffert admits the fact of an examination, but regards $23^{1\text{-}10}$ as based on the hint in vers. 28, 29. These, however, probably fall with $23^{1\text{-}10}$, although Wendt attributes the whole passage, vers. 23–35, to an expansion of the source. Blass finds it incredible also, that after the officer's discovery and terror (ver. 29) Paul is kept in chains till the next day; he regards the ordinary *a* text as a careless abridgment, and proposes audaciously to omit ἐπαύριον altogether or to amend it to τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ. The addition of *β* is obviously a correction: καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔλυσεν αὐτόν.

25^{3b}.—Plainly a gloss introduced by the writer from $23^{12\text{-}21}$ to supply a motive for ver. 3^{a} (so Wendt, after J. Weiss, who adds besides ver. 8, vers. 2^{a} and 3^{a}).

26^{8}.—This verse, an erratic boulder in its present position, is to be transposed to a place between vers. 22 and 23, where it exactly fits in to the argument and sense. For other instances of transposition, cp. Jn $7^{15\text{-}24}$, Ac $14^{2.\ 3}$, etc. The change of this passage was suggested by Nestle (*Philologica Sacra*, p. 54), and is approved by Wendt; it makes the εἰ-construction in ver. 23 run smoothly and naturally, while its removal from vers. 7 and 9 cannot be said to interfere with the current of the speech at that point.

$27^{21\text{-}26}$.—This speech of Paul on board ship is rejected as an interpolation of the writer in the second century who edited the whole work: so several critics, especially Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 84f., 318, Hilgenfeld (*Einl.* pp. 592, 607; *ZwTh*, 1896, p. 550), and Holtzmann (*HC, ad loc.* p. 423); cp. also Clemen (*Chron.* pp. 144, 145), van Manen (*Paulus*, i. p. 81), Jüngst (pp. 187 f.), and J. Weiss (*Absicht*, p. 35). It is argued [1] that the section interrupts the narrative, represents Paul in an elevated and assured mood foreign to him in the rest of the chapter (*e.g.* vers. 10, 31), where he appears anxious and cautiously on the alert, also that it betrays the wish to exaggerate the supernatural (*e.g.* the island, ver. 26). On the other hand, this excision would not be necessary if it were held that the context is meant to heighten dramatically the rôle of Paul (see Ramsay's discussion, *SPT*, pp. 336–339). Wendt agrees with the above-named critics in holding the passage as an insertion (-Meyer,[8] p. 410), but thinks the source must have originally contained some basis for it. This is, however, wholly problematic. The parallelism between $7^{23.\ 24}$ and 23^{11} proves nothing either way.

The passage resembles but does not involve the subsequent passage $27^{33\text{-}35(36)}$, where a very similar attitude of Paul is represented. This section, however, Holtzmann, Jüngst, Clemen, and Wendt hesitate to cut out; it coheres with the context, and the saying in ver. 34^{c} need not be taken as an insertion from Lk 21^{18}, Mt 10^{30}; it reflects quite as well 1 Sam 14^{45}, etc. The historicity of vers. 33–35 can be reasonably used to explain the connection of vers. 21–26 with the facts and feelings of the whole situation, but the latter passage is in all likelihood an insertion.

Certainly the mention of hunger (27^{21}) does not seem a particularly apt introduction to Paul's speech, in which the food question is entirely ignored, unless hunger be somewhat subtly brought forward as a reason for, or an element in, that dejection which Paul strove to overcome. Still, the explanation of this and other awkwardnesses may lie in considerations of the author's style ("non sunt haec bene constructa," Blass), rather than in the hypothesis that ver. 33 f. was added by a later hand "in order to give the impression made by the apostle even on the Romans, whose

[1] "A fair hypothesis, and deserves fair and dispassionate consideration" (Ramsay).

prisoner he was," or that ver. 21 f. is a "*vaticinium ex eventu* on behalf of a tendency."[1]

What is true of Acts holds true of the Apocalypse: the composite character of the writing is no longer a hypothesis, it is a postulate, of critical study. The keen and often arbitrary analysis to which the book has been subjected during the past fifteen years has yielded at least this general result, that sources have been used by the author (editor?) to whom we owe the work in its present form. To some extent these sources can be almost disentangled. In certain chapters material lies, belonging to a date obviously older than the period of the book's final composition; here and there the heterogeneous nature of the book is evident, and with all their variations there is a remarkable amount of common ground among the competing theories. Still, the precise extent, character (Jewish or Christian), and date of these sources, even their original language, are largely matters of debate, although in recent years there has been a welcome tendency towards some agreement upon several of these matters. The main point is that no method which neglects source-criticism can satisfactorily explain the doublets, the varying climates of religion, the abrupt connections (*e.g.* between chaps. 3 and 4, 6 and 7, 11 and 12), the reduplications (*e.g.* chaps. 13 and 17), the isolation of passages like chap. 12, the conflicting standpoints (*e.g.* $11^{1\text{-}3}$ and 21^{22}) in situation and feeling, now particularistic, now universal, and the occasional divergences that even the author's artistic genius could not obliterate.

At the same time, the Apocalypse is no mosaic of earlier and scattered apocalyptic pieces. The author, whoever he was, worked over his sources with a free and independent spirit. He has fused elements, often diver-

[*Continued on page* 680.

[1] In closing these notes on the structure of Acts, one must add a couple of sentences. First, it is to be admitted that Schmiedel's remark upon the general composition of the book is amply borne out by the internal evidence: "in general, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unlucky hit in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted." But this in no way justifies the *hauteur* with which source-criticism continues to be treated in some circles. Stripped of extravagant fancies and verbal rigidity, it is a legitimate science; and its disparagement is one cause of the prevalent ineffectiveness in English efforts to reconstruct early Christian ideas. Krüger is amply justified in the recent rebuke he has administered to the subjective and arbitrary performances of literary criticism, as applied by a critic like Völter to the literature of the first and second centuries (*ThLz*, 1900, pp. 535, 536). But the warning is not urgently needed as yet, upon this side of the channel, where the reign of timidity and superficiality lingers on in the treatment of writings such as Acts and the Apocalypse. Here it is the rights, not the limits, of analytic criticism that have still to be asserted, and Mr. Bartlet is entirely warranted in protesting, *à propos* of Knowling's commentary on Acts, that "as long as *Quellenkritik* is discounted, there will remain the element of unreality and artificial combination which haunts one's mind in reading typical English work" (*CR*, 1900, p. 440). The other point which requires to be emphasised in dealing with such historical treatises as Acts, is that they must be taken primarily as compositions, products of a given mind in a given age. There is a constant temptation to plunge into the story, and to forget that the story exists for us as the output of an author. To understand its "why" and "how" is impossible, if we break such historical relationships either in a speech or in a story; it has ties with the age of its birth and growth in the human mind which must not be severed, and it passes to us through a medium which cannot be ignored. "The first question is not, what objective reality is possessed by this or that narrative *per se*? but rather, what is the relation of the narrative to the mind of the narrator, through the medium of which it becomes an object of historical knowledge for us?" (Baur). There are plenty of conscientious writers on the NT whose work would be doubled in value by some attention to this neglected canon of historical research.

Spitta.				Chapter.	Erbes.			
J^2 A Jewish source (vials) dating from time of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, *c.* 63 B.C.	J^1 A Jewish source (trumpets) dating from Caligula's time, *c.* 40 A.D.	U A Christian (seals) apocalypse, composed by John Mark, *c.* 60 A.D.	R A Christian editor working about the close of the first century, in the spirit of John.		An apocalypse of Caligula's age, *c.* 40 A.D.	An apocalypse of Nero's age, *c.* 62 A.D., before the destruction of the Temple.	An apocalypse of Domitian's reign, *c.* 80 A.D., the Jewish-Christian editor of which has worked over the previous sources.	
		4–6, 9–19	(1–3) 7–8, 20	i.		4–19	1–3, 20	Rauch (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1894) postulates a Christian editor (*c.* 80 A.D.) who worked up two Jewish fragments, one dating from *c.* 40 (substance of chaps. 10–12), the other from *c.* 62, with another fragment originating *c.* 53 (17^{1}–19^{6} 21^{9}), and two more of indefinite date ($14^{6\text{-}13}$ 15^{5}–$16^{12.\ 17a.\ 21}$). To the editor are due chaps. 1–3 (except $1^{7.\ 8}$) and most of chaps. 21, 22.
		1–29		ii.		1–29		
		1–22		iii.		1–22		
		2–11	1	iv.		1–11		
		1–14	5^{b}, 7^{b}, (8)	v.		1–10 (11–14 ?)		
		1–17	(16)	vi.		1–17		
	1–8	9–17		vii.		1–3, 9–12	4–8, 13–17	
	2–13			viii.		1–13		
	1–8, 10–15^{a}, 16–21		9, 15^{b}	ix.		1–21 (exc. 12)	12	
1^{b}, 2^{a}, 10, 11	1a, 2^{b}–7 (exc. 4)		4, 8, 9	x.		1–11		
1–13, 15, 17, 18	(15) 19		7^{b}, 8^{b}, 14, 16	xi.		1–19 (exc. 14)	14	
	1–17 (exc. 6, 11)		6, 11	xii.	1–17			
	1–18 (exc. 9, 10, 18^{a})		9–10, 18^{a}	xiii.	1–18 (exc. 12, 14)		12, 14	
14–20	1–2^{a}, 4^{b}–6a, 7, 9–11^{a}		2^{b}–4^{a}, 6^{b}, 8, 11^{b}–12	xiv.	9^{b}–12	1 7 (exc. 4), 13–20	4, 8–9^{a}	
1–8 (exc. 7)			(1) 7	xv.		2–4	1–2, 5–8	
1–12, 17, 21	13–16, 18–20			xvi.			1–21	
1–6^{a}			6^{b}–18	xvii.			1–18	
				xviii.			1–24	
1 8 (exc. 4)	11–14, 16–21	9^{b}–10	4, 15	xix.		5–9^{a}	1–4, 9^{b}–21	
	1–3, 8–15		4–7	xx.		11–15 (exc. 14)	1–10 (14)	
9–27	1, 3, 5, 6^{a}		2, 4, 6^{b}–8	xxi.		1–4	5–27	
1–3		8–21 (pt)	4, 5, 7, 9, 14 f., 16^{b}, 18^{b}–20^{a}	xxii.		3–21 (exc. 18, 19)	1–2 (18–19)	

Völter.					Chapter.	Weyland.			Pfleiderer.			
A. The original apocalypse of John the apostle (composed in Hebrew?) 66, 66 A.D.	B. A section added by the author after Nero's death and the outbreak of the Jewish war, 68, 69 A.D.	C. Edited in time of Trajan, with addition of these passages.	D. Re-edited, in Hadrian's reign, 129, 130 A.D.	E. Final redaction, *c.* 140 A.D.		A Jewish source called ב, written under Nero, *c.* 69 A.D.	Another Jewish source = א, written under Titus, *c.* 81 A.D.	R = a Christian editor, who incorporated ב and א with other passages in his own apocalypse, *c.* 100 A.D.	Fragment(s) of Jewish apocalyptic, dating from 66–70 A.D.	A = a Jewish apocalypse, written towards the close of Vespasian's reign.	E = a Christian editor, of Domitian's time, traces of whose work appear chiefly in the following (including references to "Lamb").	R = a second Christian editor, of Hadrian's time, the redactor of the whole work in its present form.
4–6				1–3, 7–8, 9–1–29 [19 1–22	i.		10, 12–17, 19	1–9, 11, 18, 1–29 [20 1–22				1–3, 4–20 1–29 1–22
1–11					iii.							
1–10, except 6[b]			11–14	6[b]	iv.		1–11			1–11		
1–17, except καὶ ἀπὸ τ. ε. τ. ἀρνίου (16)			16 (καὶ ἀπὸ . . . ἀρνίου)		v.		1–5	6–14			1–14	
1–8			9–17		vi.		1–17	(1, 16)		1–17		
1–13					vii.		1–8, 9–17			1–8	9–17	
1–21					viii.		1–13			1–13		
	1–11				ix.		1–21			1–21		
14–19, exc. καὶ τ. χ. αὐτοῦ, 15. τῶν ν. κ. καὶ, 18	1–13	15 (καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ), 18 (τῶν ν. κ. καὶ)			x. xi.	1–11 1–13	14–18	19	1–19	1–11		8[b]
		(1–17) exc. 11	11	(1–17)	xii.	1–10, 12–28		11, 17[c]	1–10 (?)		11–17	
			1–18		xiii.	1–18				1–7, 11–18	8 (9, 10)	
1–3, exc. τὸ ὄν. α. καὶ, 6, 7, 14–20	8		1 (τὸ ὄν. α. καὶ), 4, 5, 9–12	13	xiv.	6–11	14–20	1–5, 12, 13		6–11	1 5, 10 (?), 12, 13	
			1–8		xv.	2–4	5	1, 6–8		1, 2, 4–8	3	
	1–18		1–21 exc. 15 1[a]	15	xvi. xvii.	13, 14, 16	17[b]–20 1–18	1–12, 15, [17[a], 21		1–21 1–5, 7–10, 15–18	6, 11, 14	
1–24					xviii.		1–24			1–19, 21–24	20	
1–4, 5–10[a]		11–21*	20–21 (ὁ ὑ.–ἁ.)	10[b], 13[b]	xix.	11–21	1–6	7–10, 13[b]		1–5, 11–13[a], 14 f.	6–10, 13[b]	
		1–15†	4, 10		xx.	1–15				1–3, 8–15	4–7 [(27)	
		1–8	9–27		xxi.	1–8	9–27			1–4, 10–13, etc.	5–9, 14, 22, 23	5–8 (?)
			1–5, 6, 7[b], 8–11, 14, 15, 18, 19	7a, 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21	xxii.		1–11, 14, 15	12, 13, 16–21		1–5	(1) (3)	6–21

* Exc. καὶ κ. τὸ ὀν. αὐτ. ὁ λ. τ. θ. 13[b]; ὁ ψυὸ—καὶ οἱ λ. 20, 21. † Exc. καὶ τ. ψ. τ. τ.—αὐτων, 4; ὁτ. καὶ τ. θ. καὶ ὁ ψ. 10.

gent and alien, into a glowing unity which is unmistakably marked in style, structure, and conception. The whole book is a religious and artistic masterpiece of its class; and the process of analysis which scientific criticism is amply justified in applying to the completed work, merely brings out by its very success the greater synthesis dominating the author's mind amid the heated visions of earlier seers and the medley of traditional pieces, which were often impressive and enigmatic as runes.

The hypothesis which practically set in motion the modern work of analytic criticism upon this book was Völter's. His arrangement differed from time to time, especially during the controversies with Vischer and others; but the variations never affected the main outlines of the scheme as given in the second edition of his *Die Entstehung der Apocalypse* (1885). Cp. the reviews by Jülicher, *GGA* (1886), pp. 25–38; Schürer, *ThLz* (1888), p. 135 f.; and Milligan, *Discussions on Apocalypse* (1893), pp. 20–34; besides the notices in the commentaries. The chief change made by Völter in the scheme as here printed, was the subsequent discovery of a new source in several parts of D (*e.g.* 5^{11-14} 6^{16} 7^{9-17} 12^{11} 14^{4-5} and also 14^{1}).

Vischer's analysis (*TU*, ii. p. 3) proceeds upon a simpler principle, and hardly requires detailed exhibition. The groundwork of the present book he finds in $4–22^{5}$, a Jewish apocalypse dating from the years 66–70 A.D., but in part due to a period slightly later. This writing has been interpolated (*e.g.* in the Lamb-passages) by Christians, and issued under the name of John. Chaps. 1–3, 22^{6-21} represent the Christian prefix and appendix which were added—with a double recension of the whole—(*a*) in Domitian's reign, (*b*) in ± 136 A.D. Chaps. 11, 12 form for Vischer the clue to this dissection; he is on stronger ground when he emphasises not the Jewish basis, but the final and essential unity of the whole book. Cp. approving reviews by Simcox, "Revelation" (*CGT*); *Exp.*^{3} v. pp. 425–443; Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, pp. 224–227; Overbeck, *ThLz* (1887), p. 28 f.; Ménégoz, *Revue de théol. et phil.* 1887, p. 161; also Krüger, *GGA* (1887), pp. 26–35; otherwise Milligan, *op. cit.* pp. 35–44.

The Jewish element is further developed by G. J. Weyland (*Theol. Tijd.* 1886, pp. 454–470, etc.), whose scheme is printed alongside of Völter's, with which it has some distinct correspondences. Similarly Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 318–356) finds in $4–22^{5}$ a Jewish apocalypse dating from Vespasian's reign, and including $(11^{1-13}$ 12) a still older fragment composed between 60 and 70 A.D. The book has been twice edited, first by a Christian redactor in the age of Domitian, and later by another, not earlier than Trajan's reign, to whom are due the prefix (1–3) and appendix (22^{6-21}). This general view, analogous to Vischer's, is partly shared by O. Holtzmann (in Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. pp. 658–664), who finds embedded in the extant book a Jewish apocalypse of Nero's age, containing, however, an older fragment (13, 14^{6-13}) dating from Caligula's age (reading δέκα for ἑξήκοντα, 13^{18}, and interpreting it as Γάϊος Καῖσαρ).[1]

On a different line, Schön (*L'origine de l'apocalypse de Saint Jean*, 1887)

Γ	=	3	K	=	20
A	=	1	A	=	1
I	=	10	I	=	10
O	=	70	C	=	200
C	=	200	A	=	1
		284	+		332 = 616

Cp. Nestle, *Einf.* p. 264.

[1] I strongly suspect that in its original form chap. 13 contains, more or less completely, a Caligula-apocalypse, as Erbes, O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and Zahn contend. The details suit Caligula's period so well (*e.g.* 3, 6, 8), that even the editorial touches do not altogether obliterate the original sketch. Bousset (-Meyer, pp. 433–435) rejects the reference, though not confidently, but J. Weiss seems to favour it (*SK*, 1892, p. 261 f.).

is disposed to regard the nucleus of the book as Christian and even apostolic, with 11^{1-13} $12^{1-9.\ 13-17}$ 13, 18 (except 18^{20}) as Jewish insertions. Sabatier (*Les origines littéraires et la composition de l'apocalypse de St. Jean*, 1887) takes the same general view. He considers the homogeneity of the first ten chapters in style and conception to be unimpeachable, but finds Jewish passages in 11^{1-13} 12, 13, 14^{6-20} 17^{1}–19^{2} 19^{11}–20^{10} 21^{9}–22^{5}. A third French critic, Bruston, in his latest work (*Les origines de l'apocalypse*, 1888), places an apostolic apocalypse, written in Hebrew, in the latter years of Nero: another work, written in Greek, was composed thirty years later, whereupon both were united and edited by a Jewish-Christian. Bruston had already (*Le chiffre 666 et l'hypothèse du retour de Neron*, 1880) referred 13^{3} not to Nero himself, but to the death of Julius Caesar and the subsequent re-establishment of the empire under Augustus. Still more independently, Professor Briggs (*Messiah of Apostles*, pp. 285–461), in an elaborate discussion, founds his argument on the following analysis of the Apocalypse, which must be printed separately. It implies the successive accretion of matter to an original nucleus :—

Fourth edition, close of first, beginning of second century.						
Third edition.						
Second edition.						
First edition.						
ζ	δ	γ	ε	α	β	
Letters.	Seals.	Trumpets.	Vials.	Beasts.	Dragon.	Redactor.
1^{9}	14^{6}	17^{8}	..	..	..	1^{3}
1^{10-3}	4–6	7^{1-8}	..	..	..	
..	8^{1}	8^{2-9}	..	..	..	Many notes throughout
..	..	$10^{1a.\ 3-7}$	..	$10^{16b.\ 2.\ 8-11}$	..	
..	11^{15b-18}	11^{14-15a}	..	11^{1-13}	12^{1-17}	
..	14^{1-5}	11^{19}	15–17	12^{18} 13	..	
..	79-17	$14^{16.\ 17.\ 14-20}$	19^{1-8}	14^{8-13}	..	
$21^{5b.\ 7a}$	..	..	..	..	20	
..	..	$21^{6.\ 7b-8}$	$21^{9-15.\ 16b.\ 17.\ 22-27}$	18, 19^{11-21}	$21^{1.\ 2.\ 16ac.\ 18-21}$	
22^{16-17}	22^{21}	22^{10-15}	22^{1-2} ($19^{9.\ 10}$)	..	22^{3-5}	22^{18-20}
..	..	..	22^{6-9}	..	21^{3-5a}	..

α = Reign of Caligula ; β shortly afterwards.
γ Older than δ, and ε younger than both (perhaps, reign of Galba).
} "In the main these apocalypses come from an early date, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem."
ζ = Latest of series, not earlier than Nero, perhaps as late as Domitian."

Two analyses further claim to be considered in greater detail. Spitta's (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1889) [1] is remarkable for its attempt to break up the book into two Jewish sources; and on this line Schmidt (*Anmerkungen über die Komposition der Offenbarung Joh.* 1891) has gone much further, finding at least three. The clue detected by Spitta is the use of "seven." From this he works back to his sources, and their date. Like O.

[1] Cp. reviews by Schmiedel (*LC*, 1888, pp. 74–76), Düsterdieck (*GGA*, 1889, pp. 554–564), and Weizsäcker (*ThLz*, 1890, p. 468). Schmidt dates the final editing of the Apocalypse in Hadrian's reign, considers that the Jewish nucleus (4^{1}–7^{8} 8^{2}–11^{15} 10^{1}–11^{13} 12^{1}–22^{5} 14^{6-20} 17^{1}–19^{3}) was written originally in Hebrew, partly before and partly after the year 70 (*e.g.* 17^{1} = Vespasian), and places the Christian letters (1–3) under Domitian.

Holtzmann, he takes 616 = Γάϊος Καῖσαρ and discovers a Caligula-apocalypse. In the last point, though not in the Jewish character of the sources, he is followed by Erbes, whose analysis I print side by side with his (*Die Offenbarung Johannes kritisch untersucht*, 1891).

Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 173–205) still prefers to think, not of various apocalyptic writings worked over and incorporated in one another, but of single fragmentary visions—belonging to various periods—which lay before the final author, a Jewish-Christian, who in the name of his master John gathered together into a single collection the most treasured prophecies of the last decades. Chap. 11 Weizsäcker regards as originally dating from 60–70 A.D. and, like chap. 12, referring to the Jewish war. Chap. 13 comes from Vespasian's reign, and chap. 17 somewhat later. At the same time he regards it as "hardly possible to reconstruct in any likely form whole writings as its sources." For the final composition of the whole he refuses to go much beyond the close of the first century. Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 181–183) is similarly reticent. He takes the book as a unity in its present form, but with older apocalyptic pieces incorporated; neither the sources nor the spirit of the latter can be, as he thinks, deciphered with any accuracy.

These theories, along with some others which I have passed over as either minor or inaccessible, are discussed, with reference to the whole apocalyptic problem, by Rovers (*Apoc. Studien*, 1888, pp. 56–86). A. Meyer (*TR*, 1897, Zweites und drittes Heft), Holtzmann (*JpTh*, 1891, pp. 520–545), Baldensperger ("die neueren kritischen Forschungen über die Apok. Joh." *ZThK*, 1894, pp. 232–250), Bousset (-Meyer, pp. 127–141), and Barton (*AJT*, ii. pp. 776–801). Adverse to them more or less are the critiques by Düsterdieck (*GGA*, 1889, p. 554 f.), Beyschlag (*SK*, 1888, pp. 102–138), Bovon (*Revue de théol. et phil.* 1887, pp. 329–362), and Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1882, pp. 396 f.; 1888, p. 374 f.; 1890, pp. 385–469), although the last-named admits one or two interpolations (1^{1-3} 16^{15} $19^{8b. 10b. 13b.}$ 22^{18-20}). Holtzmann's attitude to the whole problem of the sources is that of an open but cautious observer (*HC*, iv. 2; *Einl.* pp. 411–414), while Weiss (*INT*, ii. pp. 68–71; *TU.* vii. p. 1), Reuss (*Histoire de la théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique* (Eng. tr.), i. pp. 369–389), Milligan (*op. cit.* chap. ii.), and Hirscht (*Die apokalypse u. ihre neueste Kritik*, 1895), argue strongly for the essential unity of the writing.

The questions at issue really concern (*a*) the sources, their number, nature (Jewish or Christian), and date (Caligula, Nero, Domitian, or even later), and (*b*) the final editor. Was he little more than a compiler, who has rather awkwardly fitted earlier pieces together with additions of his own, or was he an author who worked with freedom and creative power, partly upon material that lay to his hand, partly upon visions and prophecies of his own?

Connected with this series of hypotheses is the important line of criticism anticipated by Dr. Barton (*Journal of Amer. Oriental Society*, xv. pp. 26, 27), but elaborately and independently worked out in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895).[1] Here the Babylonian or rather Akkadian mythology is used to throw light upon the ancient traditions underlying chap. 12 of the Apocalypse, the dragon-myth

[1] Though Zahn is contented to pass by on the other side with a flippant sentence, the hypothesis in its main outline has been tentatively favoured by Cheyne (*CR*, v. pp. 264, 265), and receives more or less favourable notice from Wrede (*ThLz*, 1896, pp. 623–631), Staerk (*ZwTh*, 1896, pp. 330–334), and Clemen (*SK*, 1895, pp. 619–630, also *LC*, 1895, pp. 481–483). *Vide* Gunkel's similar method in his recent and masterly edition of 4th Esdras (*KAT*, ii. p. 331 f.), also Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, pp. 76–78, but especially A. S. Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible*, 1897.

furnishing the basis for its anthropomorphic development in the antichrist legend; but it is obvious that if the principle is valid it applies to the nature, and indirectly to the origin, of many other parts of the book. It has been so applied especially by Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung d. Judenth.* 1895),[1] who has exploited these materials, often with convincing weight, in his standard edition of the *Apocalypse* (-Meyer, 1896), though quite independently of his predecessor. They differ in detail. But both work chiefly on the religious-historical line in preference to that of literary criticism, although Bousset follows Weizsäcker in the general treatment of the sources. Gunkel's sweep is narrower. He starts from a part of the Apocalypse so admittedly isolated as chap. 12. The key to this lies in pre-Semitic folk-lore outside both the Old and the New Testament, and has been found by different scholars in Egyptian or Greek mythology,—the former with its cycle of Hathor, her young sun-god Horus, and Typhon the seven-headed dragon; the latter with its legend of Apollo's birth and Leto's persecution by Pytho, localised in Ephesus. Gunkel, however, prefers the old Babylonian myth (mediated through Dan 7, 8) of the birth of Marduk the young sun-god, and his triumph over Tiâmat the dragon-monster of the water. To these Bousset refuses to adhere; he finds the clue not even in the Jewish tradition of a pre-existent Messiah, but in an old sun-myth, Jesus taking the place of the young god of light and the woman representing idealised Israel. Bousset's method, then, is to regard the Apocalypse not as the mechanical compilation of sources by a redactor, but as an apocalyptic writing in which, true to the apocalyptic tradition (Gunkel, *op. cit.* p. 252 f.), the author has used traditional material and adopted pieces which lay before him in a more or less stereotyped form. Along with these an oral and possibly esoteric tradition[2] has to be reckoned, persisting from age to age. Thus in $11^{1.\ 2}$ he finds an apocalyptic fragment dating from before 70 A.D. possibly Jewish in origin; in 11^{3-13} a fragment of tradition on the antichrist which reached the writer in connection with the fragment on the temple ($11^{1.\ 2}$); in chap. 13—the highest point of the apocalyptic drama—an old tradition of Nero combined with a cognate tradition of antichrist; in 14^{14-20} another foreign element, or tradition of antichrist = Enoch $100^{1.\ 2}$; in $19^{9.\ 10}$ a piece of traditional polemic against Jewish or Jewish-Christian angel-worship = Asc. Isa. 7^{21}; in $20^{2.\ 3}$ (after Gunkel, 91–95) an older picture; in 20^{4-10} a Jewish tradition on Gog and Magog = Sibyll iii. 319 f. 663; in $21–22^{5}$ the combination of two traditions, (*a*) the favourite one of the new Jerusalem,[3] existing in a written form,

[1] Cp. Schmiedel, *LC*, 1895, pp. 1545–1547; also Bousset's articles in *EBi*, i. on "Antichrist" and "Apocalypse," and the Eng. trans. of his *Antichrist* by Mr. A. H. Keane (1896), especially pp. xiv–xxiv. On the relations between the older Babylonian religion and the Jewish and later Gnostic developments, as well as on the Persian influences (Tobit), cp. Anz (*TU*, xv. pp. 4, 61–110), Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 146 f.), Beer (*KAT*, ii. p. 233 f.), and *Bible Folk-Lore*, 1884, pp. 301–318.

[2] 1 Th 4^{15} (?), 2 Th 2^{5-8}, οὐ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ἔτι ὢν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν κτλ. On which Bornemann quotes Origen's remark (*in Matth. Comm.*, iv. p. 329): "Forte quoniam apud Judaeos erant quidam sive per scripturas profitentes de temporibus consummationis se scire, sive de secretis, ideo haec scribit."

[3] The irreconcilable antipathy of the Jews to Rome's suzerainty over Palestine had, on its religious side, an undaunted hope for a new Jerusalem and for the expulsion, or even the overthrow, of the pagans. This rested on the belief in a Messiah's advent and terrestrial reign. For the annihilation of the Empire, cp. *Apoc Baruch* $10^{6\ f.}$ 63 f.). Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. pp. 225–234), however, remains sceptical on Gunkel's interpretation as a whole, in regard to the Apocalypse (see the latter's reply in *ZwTh*, 1899, pp. 581–611).

and (*b*) that of the heavenly Jerusalem, which sprang up only after 70 A.D. (cp. Apoc Bar and 4th Esdras). Apart from details, Gunkel and Bousset [1] have opened a fruitful line of research, parallel in some respects to that developed by Usener in another province of the NT; and any attempt to get behind the Apocalypse to its roots in the folk-lore and sagas of earlier and even foreign thought, is a much-needed corollary to the analytic methods of source-criticism. After discount is allowed for exaggeration and premature conclusions, it affords considerable aid in the tangled problem of dating the book and its various sources.

The critical basis upon which the book has been arranged in the present edition approximates substantially to that of Weizsäcker, and may be roughly outlined as follows. The seven letters to the churches are, I think, to be regarded, with the great majority of editors (despite Spitta and Bousset), as a separate section, among the latest in the whole book, and most characteristic of the author and of the crisis at which he wrote. As for the rest of the volume, chaps. 4–22, the standpoint of criticism here is practically that already adopted in the case of Acts. Both writings in their present form belong to the last decade of the first century. Both depend upon sources of more or less value and weight, reaching back to the period preceding the crisis of 70. In both, these sources have been partly submerged; but in part they rise visibly above the materials contributed by the final author. In the case of the Apocalypse, then, as of Acts, it is still feasible to mark by means of darker type one or two passages—varying from large to small paragraphs—which bear traces of earlier origin, and at the same time to note in brackets one or two phrases in which the later editor has Christianised the materials before him, even when the precise date and character of these materials slip away from a reasonable analysis.

Two interesting features become transparent in this collection of materials. The sources are neither consistent, point for point, with one another, nor are they always to be reconciled with the actual history to which they refer. The explanation of these discrepancies largely lies in the general nature of prophecy and apocalyptic, and is best summed up in the canon: "Prophecies, especially those of an apocalyptic nature, are retained as tradition, without reference to their confirmation or refutation by history, and merely on the ground of the authority they have acquired" (Weizsäcker). This may be quoted once for all as the clue to many of the familiar puzzles in the Apocalypse of John.

6^{16}.—The suspicion that the remarkable addition *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου* is an interpolation, is corroborated by the fact that *αὐτοῦ* (not *αὐτῶν*, an obvious correction [2]) occurs in the next verse. This may be a usage similar to that in 1 Th 3^{11}, 2 Th $2^{16.\ 17}$, but internal evidence and the parallelism turn the scale in the opposite direction. The insertion of the reference to the Lamb was natural in a later editor or scribe, in order to definitely mark the Christian allusion of the OT passages here cited. So especially Vischer, Völter, Weyland, Pfleiderer, and Spitta.

$7^{1\text{-}8}$.—The patent duality [3] in this chapter leaves only one question open: which of the two sections is the source, and which is due to the

[1] See also the latter's reply (*ThLz*, 1898, pp. 578–583) to Erbes' monograph (*Der Antichrist in den Schriften des NT*, 1897). His view is endorsed by M. R. James (*DB*, iii. pp. 226, 227).

[2] As Bousset points out, after Weiss, *αὐτοῦ* explains the variant *αὐτῶν*, not *vice versâ*.

[3] So conservative a scholar as Simcox (*CGT*, "Revelation," Appendix) is almost driven by this discrepancy to follow Vischer and regard vers. 9–17 as an interpolation.

different standpoint of the editor? Probably vers. 1–8 are to be taken as an abrupt (note the four bound winds, never unloosed afterwards) and interpolated fragment from some Jewish (?) source (so Spitta and Bousset), a hypothesis which is supported by the stylistic resemblances of vers. 9–17 to the rest of the Apocalypse. The definite eschatological horizon of vers. 1–8 comes from Jewish or Jewish-Christian tradition. The author supplements it by a wider Christian outlook (the stress falling on the Gentile Christian martyrs), whose incompatibility with the former section was probably hidden from him by the semi-spiritual way in which he interpreted the language of vers. 1–8. In its original setting the latter piece may be placed before 70 A.D., as an expression of Jewish-Christianity in Jerusalem (Weizsäcker). For a good discussion cp. Bousset, *ad loc.* pp. 336–339. The impossibility of identifying both multitudes may be taken as the starting-point of critical research, and a divergence between the 144,000 here (a faithful remnant from the old faith) and in 14^{1} (a nucleus of ascetics) is also axiomatic.

$11^{1\text{-}13}$.—This fragment, which stands quite out of connection with the following (cp. 9^{12} with 11^{14}) section, is regarded by most editors as a Jewish source to which the author of the Apocalypse leads up by means of chap. 10, although the latter (10^{11}) serves as the prelude to an even wider outlook (chaps. 17, 18). So especially Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Schmidt, Schön, Sabatier, Bousset, and McGiffert (*AA*, p. 635). It forms a sudden vision, breaking in upon the progress of the trumpet-visions with isolated contents which are neither resumed nor carried forward in the subsequent chapters. It also contains some linguistic peculiarities of its own, and represents, *e.g.*, the seer in an active capacity (not passive, as elsewhere). Some hint of the date of the passage might be found in ver. 8; but "the great city" there may be taken either as Rome (in which case, as with many scholars,[1] ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη is a gloss) or as Jerusalem (so strongly Bousset, who develops from it his theory of the antichrist's appearance in Jerusalem as a defiant opponent of God and a deluder of the people). It is safer to regard at least vers. 1, 2 as a separate fragment, written before 70 by a loyal Jew[2] who refuses to believe in the possible profanation of the temple (cp. Lk 21^{24}, Bousset). If, as is quite possible, the author was a Jewish-Christian, it is a curious instance of the fluidity and variety of such conceptions that the present idea of the temple being preserved is in flat contradiction[3] to the other tradition represented by Mk 13^{2} (= Mt 24^{2}, Lk 21^{6}) and Ac 7 (the address of Stephen), which is certainly genuine. The whole passage then

"When the servants of God have been sealed in their foreheads, and we expect the wrath of God to break forth upon the rest of the world" (cp. ver. 8) then, as he complains, "we have instead a vision of God's servants already triumphant: not of the 'great tribulation,' but of those who came out of it. . . . The vision of the saints in triumph seems out of place at this stage of events." But it is proleptic.

[1] Recently Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 181, 182).

[2] So Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, VI. p. 215 f.), who attributes this fragment to the Zealots (*vide* the well-known passage of Josephus), and chap. 12 to the Pharisaic circle in Jerusalem towards the end of the seventh decade, the latter of whom preserved a purely religious attitude, as distinct from the active patriotism of the sectaries. Both passages were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (so Gunkel).

[3] A point that is almost fatal to the hypothesis that John the apostle composed the book. The attempt to escape from this conclusion by the surmise that the author is spiritualising, is quite inadequate to meet the facts and evidence. Whatever may have been the final sense in which the editor read these and some other passages, their original meaning was certainly literal.

(vers. 1–13) represents an expectation that the Jewish people would be converted or destroyed by means of a catastrophe which would be due to their treatment of Enoch and Elijah, the God-sent messengers of Messiah. If vers. 3–10 hang with 1, 2, the whole passage falls into the years 67–70,[1] when the crisis was viewed as a sharp measure for inducing national repentance. If not, they may be brought down somewhat later; and this is perhaps easier, as vers. 3–10 do not of themselves imply that crisis.

12.—This, as the large majority of editors admit, forms an isolated and distinct section, which introduces chap. 13, but stands out of all relation to the rest of the Apocalypse. To recapitulate the birth of the Messiah at this stage (11^{19}) is almost out of keeping with the solemn series of visions which it interrupts.

Its date depends on the principle used to unlock its meaning—(*a*) historical or (*b*) mythological. In the former case, it is either Christian or Jewish; to be referred to the persecution and flight of the primitive Christians from Jerusalem to Pella in the seventh decade, or to the ideal Jewish church (Hos 1^{1-3}, 4 Esdras $9^{38\,f.}$) from which the Messiah sprang, in its troubles under Caligula or Titus. No construction on these lines is without its difficulties, and it is impossible to press the details of the dragon's manoeuvre into historical references either to Herod or to any of the Roman emperors. "The pictures . . . seem to shift like a dissolving view" (Simcox). Certainly the absence of all reference to the crucifixion and the general colours of the sketch favour a Jewish origin, upon the whole. When (*b*) is adopted (see above, p. 683),[2] an exact determination of the source's date becomes less possible than ever. In this case the groundwork of the source, possibly an old sun-myth, is found originally outside both Jewish and Christian territory; but the Christian author has taken it from a primarily Jewish application, and used it here to explain the life of Jesus and the fortunes of his followers. On the Babylonian groundwork of $3\frac{1}{2}$, especially the Babylonian divinity Adapa, a semi-mortal *Doppelgünger* of Marduk, who in his capacity of

[1] Lagarde (*GG*.1, 1891, pp. 498–520) even placed Dan 7 in this period (67 A.D.), interpreting the "small horn" as Vespasian.

[2] In *The Homeric Centones* (1898), Prof. Rendel Harris points to another source which, he thinks, the author of this saga had in mind, namely, the vision in *Iliad* $2^{306\,f.}$, where a blood-red serpent swallows a brood of little sparrows and the mother-bird. Here also (in Apoc 12) the mother has wings and more children (12^{17}) than one, but otherwise the parallelism is not so striking as that of the similar myths already cited. The storming of heaven (= Eph 6^{12}) by the dragon, as Cheyne points out (*EBi*, i. p. 1131), is a replica of Tiâmat's rebellion, and the flood of water occurs in the myth narrated in *Addit. Esther* (11^{5-11}). Jensen (apud Wildeboer, *Kurzer Hand-Comm. A. T.*, "Esther," pp. 173–176) explains the book of Esther from a similar Babylonian myth. Purim, he holds, is merely a Judaised allegorical edition of the Babylonian new-year festival, which in turn derived from the Babylonian version of the epos of Gilgamiš, with its account of the defeat of the Elamites and their national god Humman (= Haman) by their hereditary foes the Babylonians under Marduk (= Mordecai). We have cuneiform evidence that Assurbanipal recovered from the Elamites an image of Ištar (= Esther). J. H. Moulton (*Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 257–260), founding in part upon a hint of Prof. Rendel Harris (*The Story of Ahikar*, 1898, pp. vii–lxxxviii; *AJT*, 1899, p. 541 f.), similarly conjectures that Tobit represents a Jewish edition of some old Iranian piece of folk-lore, which applies and adapts the older myth to specially Hebrew needs. This current of influence as a factor in pre-Christian Judaism is also worked out by E. Stave: *Ueber den Einfluss d. Parsismus auf. d. Judentum* (1898), p. 145 f.; he discusses the relation of Jewish angelology to the NT conceptions (*ibid.* pp. 227 f.), identifying, *e.g.*, the "angels" of Apoc 1–3 with the Parsee Fravashis, and pointing out a background to Eph $6^{11\,f.}$ in the atmospheric battles of Parsee genii.

zir-amilûti ("seed of mankind") is conjectured to have been a prototype of the Messianic conception of *bar-nāshā* ("son of man"), cp. Hommel, *Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 341–345.

Both Pfleiderer and Bousset find traces of the editor's hand, particularly in vers. 10–11 (where the reasons for the victory resemble 7^{14}, and have no relation to the reason already adduced by the source, *i.e.* Michael's power, ver. 7)[1], also in 17 (where the "rest of the seed" must refer to Christians, and cannot have had a place in the original Jewish document), which is introduced partly to bridge the gap between chaps. 12 and 13. Wellhausen finds Christian additions also in vers. 11 and 17 (*καὶ ἐχ. τ. μ.* Ἰησοῦ), and takes vers. 1–6, 7–14 as variants of one idea. But the fact is, this fragment is one of several in the apocalyptic literature, and even beyond it (*e.g.* 4 Mac $18^{6b\text{-}19}$), where an interpolation cannot be sharply assigned with any conclusiveness to a Christian or a Jewish source. Both religions had much common matter in those days, and they cannot be strictly kept apart: cp. Gunkel's luminous remarks on Paul and the author of 4th Esdras, *KAP*, ii. pp. 343–349.

13^{8}.—*τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* is, as most editors rightly detect (Vischer, Völter, Spitta, Weyland, Schön, Sabatier, Pfleiderer, Bousset), a gloss. The point of the passage[2] is that the loyal remnant are predestined and enrolled in the book of life from the first; *ἀπο κ. κ.* goes with *γέγραπται* in any case (17^{8}), and the natural interpolation of *τ. ἀ. τ. ἐ.* is, like the similar case of 6^{16}, due to the later editor or to a scribe. The idea that a list and record of the faithful was preserved in heaven, formed a commonplace of Jewish apocalyptic. This gloss definitely connected it with Jesus. A similar process has been detected by some critics in 5^{13} and 14^{4}, besides 14^{10}, 15^{3}, where the introduction of a reference to "the Lamb" is either awkward or inappropriate. Suidas has this note upon *ἀρνίον*. (Ἀρνίον) *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὥς φασιν, ἀνθρωπεία φωνῇ ἐλάλησεν· εὑρέθη δέ ἔχον βασίλειον δράκοντα ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ πτερωτόν, ἔχοντα μῆχος πήχεων δ. καί τινι λελάληκε τὰ μέλλοντα.*

14.—Leaving aside as unproved the analyses of vers. 6–13, which converge upon vers. 12, 13 as a Christian interpolation in what was originally a Jewish source (so Pfleiderer, Schmidt, Vischer, Simcox, and Weyland), we may take vers. 14–20 with little hesitation as an earlier fragment which graphically but irrelevantly represents a final judgment of the earth. This is still to come, according to the Apocalypse. Upon this point criticism[3] is practically unanimous, though there is difference of opinion as to its Jewish or Christian origin. Bousset, comparing Enoch 100^{2} f., etc., finds that the primitive tradition merely described a fight of the angels against antichrist in the wilderness outside Jerusalem, which was

[1] Simcox solves this breach of continuity in ver. 11 by referring the verse proleptically to ver. 17, as ver. 6 to ver. 14.

[2] On the question of this section ($13^{1\text{-}10}$) and its historical origin, cp. above, p. 680. That it originally referred to Caligula is quite a tenable theory (Spitta, Erbes, O. Holtzmann, Zahn), but it is impossible to separate source and editor precisely, owing to the freedom with which the latter has treated his materials at this point. All that we can be sure of is, that the passage in its present form belongs to the author of the whole book, while its roots lie some decades earlier in Caligula's reign; the two beasts, as they are represented in the present text, probably symbolise the cult and the provincial priesthood of the Caesar-worship.

[3] Even Simcox admits that "if one might venture to discard as an interpolation any part of the attested text of the Apocalypse, it would be this passage." You expect, he urges, the *dénouement* of the harvest. But nothing occurs. "The earth goes on just as before."

the headquarters of antichrist. The apocalyptist has altered this in two ways: he has assigned an important rôle to the Messiah himself (ver. 14), and interpreted the city as Rome. "Ein hässliches Bild, dessen wilden Blutdurst jedenfalls aus keinem christlichen Herzen kommt, und von dem also zu wünschen wäre, dass es auch nicht von einem Christen verfasst sei" (Pfleiderer). The ghastly hyperbole[1] of ver. 20 occurs also in Enoch 100[3], and is applied in the rabbinical legends to the bloody massacres at Bether during the war against Bar-Kokhba (Schürer, *HJP*, I. 2, p. 311 n.; Wabnitz, *JpTh*, 1889, pp. 478–480).

16[15].—This may be an ejaculation of the author, cast in the form of a divine oracle (= Lk 12[37]), as 22[7. 12. 20]; but the interruption is immensely harder to understand here. It is better to expunge it as an interpolation which has crept into the text (so Vischer, Pfleiderer, Simcox).

17.—The episodical character of chap. 17 is recognised on all sides. "This chapter is one that can most easily, nay advantageously, be spared, if once we call in question the unity and integrity of the book" (Simcox). At the same time, the clue to its origin is found in its relation to chap. 13 (see especially Weizsäcker's discussion on this, *AA*, ii. pp. 178, 179, 184–193); both edit the same symbol of the beast as the Roman power. This duplicate section, chap. 17, restates the main ideas of chap. 13, and like it rests on independent and earlier sources. The writer of the original fragment lived probably under Vespasian (ver. 11), and expected the return of Nero (*τὸ θηρίον*) along with the Parthian satraps (*βασιλεῖς*, 17[12 f.])—an idea which is historically located in the eighth and ninth decades of the first century both by Tacitus and Suetonius, and also by the Sibylline oracles of the period (iv–v). Such a campaign would form a just vengeance of Providence for the cruelties of Rome to the Christians under Nero, or (if the source be Jewish) to the Jews at the end of the seventh decade, and the thought of this prompts the magnificent doom-song of chap. 18. Whatever general historical justification may be found for this attitude is stated best by Renan, *Les Apôtres*, chap. xvii. The persistence of a Nero-cult, which seems to the modern mind a psychological aberration, was probably due to the fact that the emperor not merely was successful in his foreign policy, but also possessed the same combination of personal attractiveness and brutality that marked our own King John.

But this earlier prophecy has been redacted so thoroughly that it is hardly possible to separate it from the editor's Christian incorporations, except in an obvious gloss like that of ver. 6 (*καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ*). The later writer's conception (ver. 9[a]) is of a war against the Lamb, and of the spectral Nero as a beast from the abyss. As Nero did not appear, his saga became transformed towards the close of the century into that of Nero redivivus. Its first form was based on the belief that Nero had not actually died. When facts became too strong for this, it broke out in a new fantastic form. He had died, so men believed, but from the underworld he was to return once more, a weird and gloomy potentate.

[1] During a yachting cruise the late Marquis of Bute saw the bay of Patmos at sunset, "as it were a bath of blood; and there in its midst were rocks with something of the form of horses, and from their necks hung immemorial sea-weed, as it were bridles that surged to and fro upon that crimson flood." *A propos* of 2[17], he also noticed the white pebbles on the beach of the island, with "their red veins forming themselves into names and words at the bidding of the finder's fancy" (*Academy*, Oct. 13, 1900, pp. 312, 313).

Compared also with chap. 13, chap. 17 presents—as Weizsäcker acutely proves—a later edition of the saga, introducing more definite historical applications, and re-arranging the figures of the beast and his associates.

18^{14}.—As Vitringa saw long ago, this passage has fallen out of its true place somewhere between vers. 23 and 24 (so recently Volkmar and Weiss). Its present position is extremely awkward, and unnecessarily interrupts the continuity of the context. But I conjecture further that 18^{24} either is displaced from its original position (between vers. 19 and 20?) or is (more probably) a marginal gloss.

19^{10}.—*ἡ γὰρ . . . προφητείας* is, as editors and critics almost unanimously agree (cp. also Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh*, 1890, p. 459), a gloss. It is introduced to explain that the previously mentioned *μαρτυρία* 'I. is not equivalent to the Christian revelation—which it is, in the original source—but the special prophetic gift. Bousset finds the hand of the apocalyptist already in *τῶν ἔχ. τ. μ.* 'I., and attributes the gloss to a scribe who wished to conform the passage to $22^{8\,f.}$

19^{13}.—*καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ*. A further interpolation, possibly added (cp. ver. 16) under the influence of the Johannine school. So again a great consensus of scholars, including Vischer, Spitta, Pfleiderer, Weyland, Völter, Ménégoz, Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1890, p. 460), and Holtzmann (*HC*, iv. 2, p. 354, and *NTTh*, i. p. 471), who find this Logos-idea naturally inconsistent with the rôle assigned to the Messiah in the context of the Apocalypse. Was the similar addition in Enoch 90^{38} made by the same hand (Pfleiderer)? The recrudescence of evil genii immediately before their doom is one of the features which Stave traces back to Parseeism and its eschatology.

21.—The attempts to separate (as in 5^{b}–8) the editorial interpolations from the Jewish source which evidently (cp. the doublets, $21^{2}=21^{10}$ $21^{23}=22^{5b}$ $21^{25}=22^{5a}$ $21^{27}=22^{3}$) underlies 21^{9}–22^{5}, cannot be pronounced successful, although in some passages (*e.g.* the reference to the Lamb, and to the twelve apostles, 21^{14}), the distinction is plain. Bousset marks $21^{19.\,20}$ as a purely prosaic gloss, and rather needlessly rejects also 21^{21b} and 21^{27}. The whole passage in its extant condition is a Jewish ideal conceived *sub specie Christianâ*. Hardy (*Der Buddhismus nach den älteren Paliwerken*, p. 118) quotes from a pre-Christian Buddhist tract a striking account (parallel to $21^{19\text{-}21}$) of a city of the great King, with seven walls of precious stones.

Jn [1] $5^{3b\text{-}4}$.—*ἐκδεχομένων . . . νοσήματι*. Upon the verdict (*WH*, ii. p. 77) of textual evidence this passage is to be regarded as an interpolation in the Johannine narrative; it dates in all probability from the latter half of the second century, as Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 5) appears to have been

[1] The transposition of 4^{8} to a place between 4^{6b} and 4^{6c} is found in Syr-Cur Syr-Sin, and gives a more satisfactory sense than the ordinary textual arrangement.

On the grounds which are considered fatal to the genuineness of $5^{28.\,29}$, cp. Wendt, *LJ*, i. pp. 249–251, *Joh. Erylm.* p. 122 f., and Charles, *Crit. Hist. Eschatology*, pp. 370–372.

Besides the hypotheses which involve the excision of $6^{1\text{-}26}$ $(^{29})$ (*e.g.* Delff and Dräseke, apud Wendt) as interpolated, internal considerations have suggested to several critics that the speech in chap. 6 is a compilation. Wendt (*Joh. Erylm.* pp. 70–79, 127–132) finds parts of his source in vers. 27–58 (substantially), 60, 61, $63\text{–}64^{a}$, 65–69. Chastand (*L'apôtre Jean et le quatrième évangile*, p. 243) distinguishes a speech in the synagogue (vers. 28–30, 36–40, 43–46) from another by the seaside (vers. 26, 27, 31–35, 41, 42, 47–58), while Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 216–221) regards vers. 51–59 as an addition to the original speech, introduced in order to illustrate the last supper.

acquainted with it. The internal evidence of style and contents corroborates this opinion. Though some editors (*e.g.* O. Holtzmann) still regard it as an integral portion of the text, the passage is certainly an early gloss from ver. 7, quite in the Jewish manner (Apoc 16^5), and with the sub-apostolic love of the marvellous. Zahn conjectures that it originated with Papias (*Einl.* ii. p. 557); Blass (*PG*, p. 228 f.) agrees that as a man of "very little understanding" (so Eusebius characterised him) he "was quite capable of commenting in this way," and proceeds to conjecture that this spurious gloss was not interpolated but substituted at an early date for the genuine text, which has unaccountably disappeared. But ver. 7 is quite intelligible as it stands, without any previous reference such as is here imagined. 4^{38}–5^5 is unfortunately amissing in Syr-Sin.

$7^{15\text{-}24}$.—For the displacement of this passage from its original position at the close of chap. 5, see especially Bertling (*SK*, 1880, p. 351 f.) for $7^{19\text{-}24}$ before 5^{17}, Wendt (*LJ*, i. pp. 228 f., 266 f.; *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 79-86), Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 199–203), also Blass[1] (*PG*, p. 239: "a highly probable conjecture"). The passage in its ordinary place seriously interrupts the narrative, which flows on smoothly and naturally when it is removed: cp. 7^{14} with $7^{25\text{ f.}}$ (Jesus enters the temple and teaches in public; this sets some of the people talking, *not* upon the subject of vers. 15–24, but on his openness [ver. 14] and unhindered action). On the other hand, its contents —faith in Christ's teaching, his authority and relation to Moses, his healing work on the Sabbath—directly fit in with the argument of chap. 5, and when the passage is restored to this position after 5^{47} its congruity is very striking (*e.g.* 7^{19} with 5^{18} and the naturalness of $7^{20.\,23}$ immediately after $5^{16\text{-}18}$). The cause of the displacement, here as elsewhere in this book, must have been the accidental shifting of a leaf in the MSS., which somehow slipped out of its true position, unless we suppose with Wendt[2] that the displacement was due to the redactor of a source. Any such mechanical alterations have occurred previous to all extant copies of the work, although our ignorance of the literary history of this, or indeed of any other Christian document, prevents a clear conception of how the mistake arose. On this point Spitta (p. 182 f.) has most interesting evidence, while on the internal phenomena of the passage Wendt's argu-

[1] "Inverted order seems to be a special feature in the textual condition of John; carelessness in copying, and the leaving out of sentences, which were afterwards supplied in the margin, and from thence came again into the text, but at a wrong place, may have been the early causes of this damage"; cp. Bacon, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* (1894) pp. 64–76. An example of even greater textual disorder is shown in 4 Macc 17, 18, and Bickell has attempted to solve the problem of Ecclesiastes by conjecturing that the MS leaves were accidently transposed after the author's death. Delff would place $7^{45\text{-}52}$ between 7^{36} and 7^{37}, while Becker (*SK*, 1889, pp. 117–140), in an essay on the composition of John, regards chaps. 5, 7, 15, 16 as inserted by the author after the whole work had been once written.

[2] He refers to similar instances in the synoptists (*e.g.* Mt $11^{20\text{-}24}$, Lk $16^{16\text{-}18}$ $18^{10\text{-}14}$, etc.). In this case the evangelist missed the irony of the question in 7^{15}, and consequently failed to see its connection with 5^{47}; finding the speech (except vers. 20, 21^a) in his Logia-source, he took $7^{1\text{-}13.\,25\text{ f.}}$ as a suitable setting for its contents. But the mechanical explanation is quite as credible (Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, p. 240 f.). In a roll, leaves of papyri (plagulae) often stuck together, or subsequently fell apart by accident. Besides, they were also used by themselves for short letters, or even for larger works. In the latter case the loose leaves would afterwards be glued together; but during the interval between composition and binding, particularly if any copying was required, they would be readily liable to get disarranged ("libri perscripti nondum conglutinati vel emendati," "membranae nondum consutae," Ulpian); *vide* Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 17–19.

ment for an inverted order is fairly decisive. As the latter points out, the reference in $7^{21\,f.}$ to the healing of the man ($5^{1\,f.}$) requires both situations to be neighbours in time, whereas upon the traditional arrangement the length of interval makes the allusion stiff and abrupt. Also the murderous attitude of the crowd as a whole ($7^{19.\,20.\,23}$) contradicts the statement in 7^{12}, but follows more naturally upon 5^{16-18}, while the question of 7^{25} is pointless if—as Bertling argues rightly—Jesus had just spoken these words (7^{19-21}); "τί με ζητεῖτε ἀπ.—wird 23 durch ἐμοὶ χολᾶτε nach Mt. 5^{22} erklärt und findet seine Bestätigung sowohl $5^{16.\,18}$ worauf Jesus hier zurückgreift, als auch nachher 8^{37-40}. Auch sachlich gehört das Folgende zu 5^{17}" (Holtzmann, after remarking on chap. 5, "die Anklage auf Sabbatverletzung 16 nur 17 deutlich gestreift, alles Weitere aber, was zu sagen wäre, auf 7^{21-24} verspart wird").

7^{53}–8^{11}.—The pericopē, an early fragment of tradition ("das vornehmste Agraphon," Jülicher), un-Johannine in tone and style, which first drifted as a marginal note[1] into the MSS (perhaps as an illustration introduced to explain 7^{51} or 8^{15}, ἐγὼ οὐ κρίνω οὐδένα), and came to be inserted subsequently in the text, towards the end of the fourth (Westcott) or even the third (Jülicher) century. There is little or no evidence, internal or external, to determine the date of its composition, beyond the fact that the incident seems to have been known to Papias, if not to the gospel of the Hebrews. Its origin has been variously guessed, the same source as that of the fragment preserved by D, etc., at Lk 6^{5}, the Hebrew-Gospel, the gospel of Peter (Volkmar), the original Aramaic "Matthew" (Resch), the original synoptic tradition (Holtzmann), or—as most critics, including recently Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 557, 558), prefer—the collected materials of Papias. A like uncertainty besets its position in the MSS. As it stands between 7^{52} and 8^{12}, it breaks the narrative fatally. But it occurs elsewhere in John (after $7^{36\,(44)}$ or at the close of the book), after Lk 21 (cp. ὄρθρου (Jn 8^{2}) = ὤρθριζε (ver. 38 of Luke), also ver. 37 and the mention of the hill of Olives)[2]; possibly it lay between Lk 20^{26} and 20^{27} (Holtzmann, *ThLz*, 1898, p. 536 f.), or, as Rendel Harris conjectures, between Jn 5 and 6, adjacent to the discussion on the Mosaic law. Wittichen, like Hitzig and Keim[3] (v. pp. 165–169), even suggests that it was originally placed between Mk 12^{17} and 12^{18} (*JpTh*, 1881, p. 366 f.; 1891, pp. 484, 509), while Spitta supposes (*Urc.* i. pp. 194–199) that, as a leaf or two of the gospel of John went amissing at this point, the fragment (7^{53}–8^{11}) was inserted[4] by some

[1] On the textual evidence and internal features, which are decisive, cp. *WH*, ii. pp. 82-88; Nestle, *Einf.* pp. 232–234; also Schanz's excursus, *Comm. über d. Evglm. d. heil. Johannes*, pp. 327–330, and Warfield, *Text. Crit. of NT*, pp. 196–199. The retention of the passage as an integral part of the gospel, by Thoma, Jacobsen, and Pfleiderer, after Strauss and Hilgenfeld, is quite perverse.

[2] So, following the Ferrar group of MSS, Westcott and Blass (in his edition of *Luke*, p. xlviii.; *PtA*, p. 155 f.). The latter upholds its Lucan character, but omits 7^{53}, placing the section after ver. 36, not 38. Syr-Sin entirely omits.

[3] Who depreciates its claim to historicity and regards it merely as "a very transparent clothing of an idea," artificial and exaggerated despite its affecting beauty. Sir John Seeley showed truer historical sense in pointing out that the passage is differentiated from the ordinary legendary tales by "the fact that the conduct attributed to Christ in it is left half-explained, so that, as it stands, it does not satisfy the impulses which lead to the invention and reception of fictitious stories" (*Ecce Homo*, preface to 5th edition).

[4] Hausrath had already guessed that the space was filled by an account of some miraculous gift of water (7^{38}) by Jesus, which was afterwards omitted.

early editors to fill up the blank space thus conveniently left unoccupied (cp. Conybeare, *Exp.*[5] ii. p. 405 f.).

If, in the absence of any sure position for it, the passage was originally written at the close of the canonical four gospels, as there is some evidence to suggest, then in the course of time it would naturally be supposed to belong to the last of the four, John, although its contents quite forbid such a hypothesis.

12^{44-50}.—In its common position after ver. 43 and at the close of the public ministry of Jesus, this passage forms a recapitulation or compact summary of his preaching, which does not altogether stand out of connection with the preceding historical paragraph (cp. vers. 37, 42 with 44, 40 with 46). At the same time there is an undoubted awkwardness in ver. 44 coming after 36^{b} (the cry does not suit the secrecy), and indeed after 40 f. The section, in fact, has the appearance of being "quite isolated and introduced without locality, without one fresh idea" (Keim). Literary workmanship and psychological fitness would be satisfied were the passage restored to what is conjectured to have been its original position, *i.e.* between vers. 36^{a} and 36^{b} (so Wendt, *LJ*, i. p. 236 f.; *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 90–93). The ideas of faith and light thus are carried forward without any indefiniteness or interruption. Christ's public utterances close with a sonorous completeness, and this section of the gospel is rounded off by a historical résumé (vers. 36^{b}–43), preparatory to the opening of the new section.

13–16.—That chap. 14 originally followed chaps. 15, 16 is a hypothesis which depends upon purely internal evidence. The canonical arrangement, however, has always been felt to leave some difficulties for which satisfactory answers are not easily found, *e.g.* the apparent climax and final tone of chap. 14 (especially the ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν of ver. 31), followed unexpectedly by chap. 15 and by the long subsequent discourse (in contrast to what Jesus says[1] in 14^{30}), and the contradiction between 16^{5} and 13^{36} or $14^{5.6}$ (when the latter occur earlier). To obviate this, it has been plausibly proposed to read chaps. 15 and 16 at one or other of three different places in chap. 13. (i.) Between vers. 35 and 36 (Wendt, *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 95–101). This, however, breaks up the evident reference in 13^{36} to 13^{33}, and reduces 16^{29-33} and 13^{36-38} to mere episodes lying between $16^{27.28}$ and 14^{1-2}. (ii.) Between vers. 20 and 21 (Bacon, *op. cit.*). This again breaks the dramatic and natural juxtaposition of vers. 1–11 and 21–30 in chap. 13, the intervening passage (vers. 12–20) being obviously a transition. (iii.) Between vers. 31^{a} and 31^{b} (Spitta, *Urc.* i. pp. 168–193). Of the three variants of the hypothesis, this last seems ("sehr verlockend," A. Meyer) to be the most attractive and intelligible. The course of development then runs as follows:—After the withdrawal of Judas, Jesus—*à propos* of the wine at table (Lk 22^{18}, Mk 14^{25}, Didachê 9^{2})—utters the parable of the vine, with a particular reference to the recent apostasy of his friend ($15^{2.6} = 13^{27.30}$); cp. also $13^{10.11}$ with $15^{2.3}$, $13^{17.18}$ with $15^{4.5}$, 13^{18} with 15^{16}, 13^{16} with 15^{20}. The stream of counsel and warning flows on till 16^{25-33}, when Jesus closes with a word on his departure and triumph, which is carried[2] (13^{31b-35}) to its climax by a renewed appeal for mutual love among his followers on earth. Then follows Peter's question suggested by ver. 33, with Christ's rejoinder to

[1] In the subsequent narrative only two brief words are spoken to disciples (18^{11}, 19^{27}).

[2] Exegetes like Ewald and O. Holtzmann, who adhere to the traditional order, frankly recognise that 16^{33} refers to the passage $13^{31f.}$.

him, and the general discourse of chap. 14, which contains the Master's final words (14^{27}) to his followers. The gathering then broke up. What follows (chap. 17) is a prayer spoken in presence of the disciples; probably the author means us to conceive that the company had now risen to their feet, and that in the solemn pause before the exit (18^{1})—a pause too short for such a discourse as chaps. 15, 16 contain—Jesus uttered this magnificent rhapsody of faith, which could not be followed by anything short of a heroic death. Even although the tone of chap. 17 differs naturally from that of chap. 14 (but no more than from that of chap. 16), threads of connection with the earlier context are to be traced (cp. 14^{30} with 17^{1}, $14^{6\,f.}$ (ζωή) with $17^{2\,f.}$, 14^{13} with 17^{4}).

$18^{13\text{-}28}$.—The well-known inconsistencies of this narrative, not merely with the synoptic account but also with itself (who was high-priest? and where did Peter deny Jesus?) are to be explained either by rather forced interpretations of the text as it stands, or by the hypothesis that the narrative has become dislocated in course of transmission. The former line of argument is variously worked out by the editors, chiefly Westcott, Weiss, and Holtzmann. The latter takes several forms, of which the principal are—

(*a*) 13, 24,	14, 15, 19–23, 16–18, 25^{b}-28:	Syr-Sin, Blass (*PG*, pp. 57–59).
(*b*) 13, 19–24,	14, 15, 16–18, 25^{b}-28:	Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 158–168), ver. 25^{a}, a copyist's repetition of 18^{b}, inserted for the sake of the narrative.
(*c*) 13, 14, 24,	15–23, 25–28:	J. N. Farquhar (*Exp. Ti.* vi. pp. 284–288, 429–431), ver. 24 omitted perhaps by a copyist's error from its true place, then written in the margin and erroneously inserted in the text.
(*d*) 13, 14, 19–24,	15–18, 25^{b}-28:	G. G. Findlay (*Exp. Ti.* vi. pp. 335–336, 478–479), agreeing with Farquhar that vers. 13 and 14 are inseparable.

The slightest change would be to suppose that ver. 24 is either to be read in its present position as parenthetical, an intercalated remark, or to be placed after ver. 14. The former method has found good support, from Erasmus to Edersheim. The latter, as Professor Findlay points out, is a solution as old as Cyril of Alexandria, and was adopted by Luther; nor is it quite destitute of textual support. But Spitta's theory, as modified by Findlay (*i.e.* placing vers. 19–24 after instead of before ver. 14), seems, upon the whole, the least unsatisfactory method of straightening out a narrative which Blass is hardly too severe in attributing to "blundering scribes." It gives a good and continuous sense,[1] requires little textual change, and comes from quite a credible slip on the part of a copyist (see Spitta's clever arguments on this point). The man who copied out the exemplar of the fourth gospel (vers. 12–14, 19–24, 15–18, 25^{b}–28, *ex hypothesi*) must have passed from ver. 14 to 15 by a slip, only discovering it afterwards in time to insert the passage vers. 19–24 after ver. 18, and catching up the last words of that verse in ver. 25^{a} to ease the transition and recover the thread of the narrative. There is no reason

[1] The ἄνθρ of ver. 25 gets a satisfactory subject, the high priest is Kaiaphas (as throughout John, $11^{49.\,51}$ 18^{24}), the narratives of Jesus and Peter flow on consecutively, the former being resumed in ver. 28 after the latter has been rounded off, and the despatch of Jesus to Kaiaphas does not become purposeless (as in the traditional order).

to suspect that the similar order in Syr-Sin was due to harmonising tendencies. [See C. H. Turner in *JTS*, 1900, num. 5.]

21.—An appendix, added to the gospel (which naturally closes with $20^{30.\,31}$). Either John himself added the passage as a deliberate finale (Westcott, Lightfoot, Plummer, Godet, Luthardt, Schanz, and Salmon), or the author of the gospel thus incorporated fresh materials in a work which he had already finished (Renan, Hilgenfeld, Thoma, Jacobsen, Abbott, Jülicher, Harnack[1] (*Chron.* pp. 676, 677), Wendt, *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 228–233), or a pupil[2] of the Johannine school wrote it (Chastand, Weiss, Eberhardt, Reuss, etc.) as an epilogue for the work of his dead master. It is only a variation of the last-named hypothesis when the fourth gospel, as a whole, is regarded as a posthumous work edited by the author's friends. The piece implies (*a*) the death of Peter, his mission to the Gentiles, and a certain traditional dignity assigned to him in the Christian circles of Asia Minor; (*b*) a prevalent belief with regard to John, which the writer is anxious to prove is a misunderstanding; (*c*) an attempt to conform the fourth gospel and the synoptists upon the Resurrection appearances. The date of the passage —if appreciably different from that of the gospel – must have been early enough to allow of its incorporation into the archetype of all existing texts. Several of those who insist that it formed an integral part[3] of the gospel, however, use this conclusion in order to bring the whole work down pretty far into the second century (particularly Thoma and Jacobsen), and Keim dates its composition *c.* 160 A.D., previous to 2 P 1^{14}, in the age when the cult of John was rising in Asia Minor. But probably it is to be dated not long after the fourth gospel itself, in the first quarter of the second century. Although composed in fairly Johannine style, and obviously intended to supplement the gospel and certify it as Johannine, it has features that mark it off with a certain distinctiveness. The disciples are mentioned with quite a unique definiteness (the sons of Zebedee, Peter as a fisherman); the miracle attaches itself rather to the synoptic tradition, the fourth gospel having its own cycle of seven signs; the appearance of Jesus in Galilee contrasts strangely with chap. 20, which is unconscious of any appearances save those in Jerusalem; while the objective standpoint of vers. 24, 25 in reference

[1] Except ver. 24, a marginal gloss which "painfully imitates" the style of the evangelist. Loofs also (*Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, p. 31 f.) detaches this chapter from the gospel; but he takes the first part (vers. 1–14) as based originally on a pre-Resurrection story, that has been misplaced and combined with a post-Resurrection appearance of Jesus to Peter (vers. 15–19), which had no connection with Galilee in the tradition. This theory forms part of the defence which he offers for the historicity of the Resurrection-appearances in Jerusalem, as these are narrated in the third and fourth gospels (cp. Resch, *TU*, x. 4, pp. 47 f., 195 f.).

[2] Zahn (in an exhaustive discussion, *Einl.* ii. pp. 483–498) holds that the post-script was written after Peter's death but during John's lifetime, not by the apostle himself, but by some of his circle and disciples who completed the gospel with his sanction and from information supplied by him. One can readily accept, at least, his proof that the chapter was not written by John the apostle, or by the author of the gospel (1–20). After 20^{29} any further incident like that described in chap. 21 would be superfluous, and would break the symmetry which is so distinctive a feature of the whole work.

[3] Especially when its contents are interpreted allegorically as representations of the latter church and its experiences, as *e.g.* by Keim (vi. pp. 313–318) and Pfleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 741, 742). Chastand (*L'Apôtre Jean*, pp. 98–104) regards it as the work of a later hand, but a fruit of the apostle's oral teaching: "Nous en faisons comme le codicille que accompagne le testament de l'apôtre." Its total historicity is defended in Eberhardt's monograph, *Ev. Joh. Cap.* 21 (1897).

to the writer, and the obvious motive of authentication (for though the ταῦτα includes, it is not exhausted by, the incidents of chap. 21), are both alien to the spirit of chaps. 1–20. In fact, on the presupposition that chap. 21 is a unity, to make it an integral part of the gospel seriously discredits the Johannine authorship, and necessitates a somewhat advanced date for the whole book. An escape from this is generally sought on the line of vers. 24, 25, or on a quasi-collective [1] theory of chap. 21 as a whole. The latter has some basis in tradition, and it would ease many difficulties if the fourth gospel and the so-called first epistle of John could be regarded as manifestoes of a school, the collective utterances of men [2] who shared the same tradition and trend of thought. The "begetter" of the tradition would then be the apostle John, whose authority is naturally claimed for the writings. This seems to give a feasible solution of the dilemma with which modern criticism is confronted over this book; only, it is becoming more and more impossible to believe that John the apostle actually composed it, and less possible than ever to deny that he had some connection with its inception or ideas.

The particular ideas underlying the appendix are the unity, the universality, and the mission of the church, all of which are pictorially expressed in a vivid and impressive manner (cp. Klöpper's study, *ZwTh*, 1899, pp. 337–381), together with the rehabilitation of Peter.

$21^{24.\ 25}$.—These are often taken to be separate notes added by an editor, less probably by the Ephesian elders, as a sort of ecclesiastical stamp or imprimatur. A later generation vouches for the authenticity not for the authorship of the gospel, upholds the truth of the writer's treatment (Baldensperger, *Prolog.* pp. 110–112), and emphasises the largeness of his subject. Thus Weizsäcker, though from a different standpoint (*AA*, ii. pp. 209, 210), treats these verses as the work of one who was a critical successor of the fourth evangelist, and to whom 19^{35} is probably [3] due as

[1] Zahn's theory (reproduced in part by Bartlet, *AA*, p. 437 f.) that some friend or friends of the apostle wrote it during his lifetime and with his knowledge and approval, is incredibly stiff. It clears the apostle, indeed, from the charge of self-praise to which he is liable as he drops the veil of anonymity and more clearly indicates his personality. But why could he not have spoken for himself? Why adopt this round-about, allusive method? Surely this tender and delicate experience would be best told by the man himself, especially as speech about oneself and one's religious feelings is not necessarily incompatible with genuine modesty. "What need of an editor" or of a coterie "to formulate and accredit his own deepest personal experiences?" (Martineau). Besides, if this co-operative principle be admitted into chap. 21, it is impossible to exclude it from the preceding chapters. In this case, it might be fairly extended to cover the composition of the work even after the apostle's death by one who believed he was reproducing his master's spirit and memories, so that the substance of what is historical would then be traced back to a Johannine source and circle, while the general shape and colour remained the work of the unknown genius who composed the whole (cp. M. Arnold, *God and the Bible*, chap. v.).

[2] The final redaction must have been the work of a single author, possibly, as M. Arnold suggests (*God and the Bible*, pp. 145–147), a Greek Christian of Ephesus who possessed literary talent, and was accustomed to theological teaching, "an earlier and a nameless Origen," but "not a consummate artist." It is tempting to think that the author of chap. 21 had some connection with one (Hausrath, 1 John) or more of the Johannine epistles, particularly II., III., or that he preserves in some form the lost ending of Mark's gospel (Rohrbach).

[3] Blass (*PG*, p. 225 f.) also regards this verse as an interpolation in the gospel, the comment of a later disciple. Not only, however, does this necessitate the change of γαρ into δε in ver. 36, but it leaves unexplained the writer's motive for inserting the gloss at this particular point. Besides, the authority of Nonnus (!!), upon which Blass relies, can hardly be taken with much seriousness on a matter of this kind.

well. Their atmosphere appears to be the local patriotism and reverence felt by the Asia Minor communities for the memory of their apostolic head. (Ver. 25 "seems an inflated version of 20^{30}": Dods, *ExGT*, i. p. 867. The same idea is more moderately put in 1 Macc 9^{22}). An instance of this habit of adding notes to a volume is afforded by Eccles $13^{9(13)\text{-}14}$, although the spirit of that epilogue is corrective rather than confirmatory. Thoma, who attributes $21^{1\text{-}23}$ to the author of the gospel (*i.e.* the Presbyter, of 2, 3 John), gives $21^{24.\ 25}$ to the author of 1 John as being a later insertion; while Chastand attributes chap. 21, like 7^{53}–8^{11} $1^{1\text{-}5.\ 13\text{-}18}$, to a pupil of John who wrote after his death.

But when the whole chapter is taken as a unity, it falls into the age and spirit (Klöpper) of vers. 24, 25, so that there is hardly any need of separating these. The gospel could not have ended with 21^{23}, and consequently it seems rather artificial to take vers. 24, 25 as notes added before publication (O. Holtzmann). Wetzel (*Echtheit u. Glaubwürdigkeit des Ev. Joh.* p. 15 f.) keeps 24^{a} for John, but even he has to relegate 24^{b} to another hand. At the same time, it must be allowed that ver. 25 stands on a slightly separate footing, owing to its omission in ℵ*. Against Tischendorf's consequent rejection of the verse, cp., however, Zahn, *Einl.* ii. pp. 495, 496.[1] A few MSS contain a scholion upon it, according to which it was inserted (*προσθήκη*) by *τινὸς τῶν φιλοπόνων* upon the margin, and afterwards brought into the text by ignorance and accident (*ἀγνοίᾳ τυχόν*). The appendix may have probably ended with ver. 24, to which ver. 25 was added as a natural and somewhat rhetorical flourish, in keeping not merely with the close of this gospel, but with its position at the close of the four gospels. How apt a remark for a scribe or editor to make as the finale of a volume containing the evangelic narratives!

Apart from these more or less obvious interpolations (to which Scholten adds $2^{21.\ 22}$ 7^{39} 12^{33} 18^{9} 21^{19}, as added by the author of the epistles), the book appears to be essentially and thoroughly of one piece, narratives and discourses inseparably woven together, the style fairly homogeneous, form and substance equally pointing to a compact unity. Practically this has been and remains a postulate of the best Johannine criticism. By liberal and conservative scholars alike, up till lately, it has been almost unfalteringly held that the fourth gospel, whatever be its date, character, and author, is an organic whole (the few and uninfluential exceptions are noted by Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 435, 437; Watkins, *Bampton Lectures* (1890), pp. 246 f.; and Weiss, *INT*, ii. pp. 396–398).

Two recent theories, however, fall to be seriously noticed. Both use the partition-method in order to reach back to the document of an original eye-witness, pretty much as Matthew and Luke go back to the Logia, and both favour the excision of the Galilean episodes. One is Wendt's, explained in his *Die Lehre Jesu* (1886), i. p. 215 f.; ii. (Eng. tr. i.)

[1] On its textual authenticity cp. *WH*, ii. pp. 90, 91, also Weiss (-Meyer) *ad loc.* Both verses, 19^{35} and 20^{24}, are explicit instances, with many others throughout the gospel, that the writer expected a not unnatural scepticism in regard to his conception of Jesus. These verses really indicate and anticipate a charge of novelty and untrustworthiness, which would arise from the Christian consciousness having been hitherto nourished mainly upon the synoptic tradition; hence author and editors alike do their best to remove the grounds for this opposition. But it is a sign of late development. Mark, *e.g.*, does not insist that his picture of Jesus is lifelike. He lets it speak for itself. Its humanity constitutes its evidence of genuineness, and forms its appeal to the conscience and mind. The fourth evangelist asserts, and the very assertion speaks of a later and more complex situation.

pp. 22–28, and, with a detailed account, in his *Joh. Evglm.* (1900); cp. reviews by Holtzmann (*ThLz*, 1886, pp. 197–200), Haupt (*SK*, 1893, II. pp. 217–250), Beyschlag (*GGA*, 1886, 15), Iverach (*Exp.*[4] iv. pp. 161–178). The other is by Dr. H. Delff in *Das vierte Evangelium* (1890), *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. vierten Evangelium* (1890), and *SK* (1892), I. pp. 72–104, "Noch einmal das vierte Evangelium und seine Authenticitat," although Wendt prefers to class this and the earlier attempt by Schweizer as theories of interpolation rather than as source-hypotheses. Cp. reviews of Delff by Sanday in his series of articles on "The Present Position of the Johannine Question" (*Exp.*[4] iv. v., especially iv., p. 328 f., v. 375 f.), A. Meyer (*TR*, 1899, pp. 255 f., 295 f., 333 f.), in his similar survey, Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1893, pp. 503–506; also *ThLz*, 1890, pp. 588 f.), and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 482, 483).

Wendt's aim (anticipated a century ago by C. R. Eckermann) is to disentangle a written source, from the same apostolic hand as the first epistle of John. This, he considers, is often interrupted (*e.g.* 1^{15} $13^{18.\ 19}$) in its flow of discourses, and consequently points to another series of narrative-interpolations apparently introduced to provide a setting for the dialogues and discourses of Jesus. Remove these intrusive additions, and then materials are presented for discovering genuine Logia of Jesus, especially as they now are seen to fall naturally at the close of Christ's life and into his Judaean ministry. By the sacrifice of some of the historical interludes and connections, Wendt thus finds himself free to seek valuable apostolic tradition for the teaching of Jesus in the Johannine discourses. These even in their extant form, however, have been worked over by the author: they demand sifting and rearrangement in order that their witness to the mind of Christ may be accurately ascertained, and their implicit harmony with the synoptic type of tradition unfolded. While the fourth gospel thus is a post-apostolic composition, especially in its historical framework, upon the other hand it contains an apostolic tradition of Jesus which represents with essential trustworthiness the spirit and substance of his teaching. These Johannine "logia" are related to the extant gospel of John somewhat as the Aramaic logia of Matthew to the (canonical) first gospel. The two main clues followed with much ingenuity by Wendt in his work of disentangling the sources are (*a*) the interruptions and lack of connection at various points, *e.g.* $13^{18.\ 19}$; and (*b*) the existence side by side of different conceptions of Christ's work and person, *e.g.* the prominence of ἔργα (synonymous with ῥήματα) in the discourses, and of σημεῖα (= miraculous acts) in the narratives; also the idea of faith in the former as the practical confession of Christ the divine Saviour, in the latter as the theoretical conviction produced by Christ who is the divine worker of miracles (*Lehre Jesu*, i. pp. 215–342; *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1900, p. 54 f.). See Bahnsen's review, *PM.* (1900), pp. 377–382.

Delff with papal confidence ("Meine Auffassung ist also keine Hypothese . . . sondern ein historischer Fund") attributes the gospel to a Jewish-Christian author, "the high priest John" (*HE*, v. 24, iii. 31, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς), afterwards known as "the presbyter."[1]

[1] Bousset (-Meyer, *Offenbar. Joh.* pp. 41–48; *TR*, 1897, p. 12 f.) similarly conjectures that the disciple whom Jesus loved was not the son of Zebedee, but the presbyter John, a member of the inner circle of Christ's adherents at Jerusalem, who was of priestly lineage, and who preserved a particular tradition of the Master's work and experiences in the capital. Founding on not very stable evidence from Philippus Sidetes († 430) and Georgios Hamartolos, a chronicler of the ninth century, he further

[*Continued on page* 699.

Chiefly narratives interpolated.	Wendt.	The Discourses, containing a written, apostolic, source—the Johannine Logia—redacted by the author of the gospel.
	Chap.	
6-8, *15*, 19-34 (witness of John), 35-52	i.	1-5 (prologue), 9-14 (*ibid.*), 16-18 (*ibid.*).
1-12 (miracle at Kana), 17, 21 (comment)	ii.	13-16 (substance), 18-20 (Jesus in Jerusalem).
2[b] (οὐδείς . . . αὐτοῦ) *5* (ὕδατος καὶ) 22-36 (witness of John)	iii.	1-2[a], 3-21 (Jesus and Nikodemus).
1-3 (John's ministry), *10*, *11*, 15-18, (25), 26, 27[b]-30, 35[b], 39-42, 43-54	iv.	4-9, 12-14, 19-25 (Jesus and Samaritan woman), 27[a], 31-35[a], 36-38.
1-16 (modified from original and Mk 2[10 f.]), 28, 29 (resurrection of body), 33, 34[b] (embassy to John)	v.	17-27, 30-32, 34[a], 35-47 (discourse on work and witness of Son), 1-3 and 5-7 (substance).
1-26 (miracle of loaves), 39, 40, 44, 54 (ἀναστήσω . . ἡμέρᾳ), 59 (Kapharnahum), 62 (ascension), 64[b], 70, 71 (Judas)	vi.	27-69 (discourse on bread of life, etc.) [except passages noted on other side].
8-14 [expanded], 20, 21[a], 30-32, 35-37[a], 39, 44-52, 53	vii.	1, 2 (?), 3-7, 15-19, 21[b]-29, 33-34, 35 (?), 37[b]-38, 40-43.
1-11 (pericopê), 20[b] 30-31[a] (belief of Jews)	viii.	12-20[a] (discourse), 21-29, 31[b]-59 (discourse).
2, 3, 6-38 (narrative of blind man)	ix.	1, 4-5, 39-41.
21[b]-22, 39-42 (paragraph on John)	x.	1-18 (discourse), 19-21[a] (substance), 23, 24-38 (discourse), 40 (substance).
1-7[a], 11-15, 17-20, 24, 28-46 (narrative of Lazarus), 47-57 (plot of Pharisees, etc.)	xi.	7[b]-10, 16, 21-23, 25-27 (1, 3, 5, 6, substance).
1-19 (Bethany, entry into Jerusalem), 28[b]-30 (heavenly voice), 33, 37, 39-43, 47[b], 48 (ἐν τ. ε. ἡμ.)	xii.	20-28[a] (visit of Greeks), 31-36, 44-47[a], 48, 49, 50.
11, 18, 19, 21-31[a] (narrative of Judas) 36	xiii.	1-10, 12-17, 20, 31[b]-35, 37-38.
	xiv.	whole.
	xv.	whole.
13 (καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν)	xvi.	whole.
	xvii.	whole.
whole	xviii.	33-38[a] (the King and the kingdom).
whole	xix.	9-11 (Pilate and Jesus).
whole	xx.	
	xxi.	

Interpolated and later passages.	Delff.	The original and earlier gospel.
1–5 (prologue on Logos), 9–18 .	Chap. i.	6–8, 19–end.
1–11 (miracle at Kana), 17, 21, 22 (comments)	ii.	12–16, 18–20, 23–25.
	iii.	whole.
44, 46–54 (miracle at Kana) . .	iv.	1–43, 45.
(4) 17–29 (judgment and resurrection)	v.	1–16, 30–47.
1–29 (miracle of loaves), 37–40 (judgment and resurrection), 44, 54 (ἀναστήσω . . . ἡμέρᾳ), 59 (Kapharnahum)	vi.	30–36, 41–58, 60–71.
39 (comment), 53 .	vii.	whole.
1–11 (pericopê)	viii.	12–end.
	ix.	whole.
	x.	whole.
	xi.	whole.
16 (comment), 25–30 (heavenly voice), 33 (comment), 38–41 (Isaianic prophecy)	xii.	1–15, 17–24, 31, 32, 34–37, 42–50.
20	xiii.	1–19, 21–38.
	xiv.	whole.
	xv.	whole.
	xvi.	whole.
	xvii.	whole.
19?	xviii.	whole.
(20), 35–38	xix.	1–34, 39–end.
9–10, 11–18 (Mary at grave) . .	xx.	1–8, 19–end.
whole	xxi.	

This connection with the ecclesiastical society of the capital illustrates passages like $3^{1\,f.}$ $7^{45\text{-}52}$ $11^{47\text{-}53}$ $12^{42.\,43}$ 18^{15} $19^{39\,f.}$, but necessitates—upon

presupposes (like Réville, I. 394, II. 147) that both the sons of Zebedee suffered a martyr's death in Palestine (Mk 10^{39}, Mt 20^{23}). Consequently the only John in Asia Minor at the beginning of the second century was John the Presbyter. However, even though the fourth gospel were given up as anonymous, no reasonable objection could be taken to the critical position. The anonymity of treatises so different and weighty as Matthew and Hebrews helps materially to illustrate the possibility that a writer of such genius in the philosophy of religion as the fourth evangelist might have passed away without leaving any trace of his name or of his character.

Delff's hypothesis, partially followed by Fries [1]—the excision of a series of passages (including those upon the Logos, the Galilean ministry, and the eschatology) which were interpolated ("by Cerinthus," Fries) in the original document, in order to harmonise it with the Alexandrian philosophy of religion, the prevailing synoptic tradition, and the chiliastic tendencies current toward the close of the first century. The original document itself was written by a Jewish Christian named John, for the benefit of Jewish priests; its locus was Jerusalem, its date the years immediately preceding 70 A.D.

The Pastoral Epistles.—It has been already pointed out that the most reasonable criticism assigns these writings to a post-Pauline date, and at the same time recognises that a genuine element of the apostle's mind and spirit exists in their pages. The solution of the problem offered by this dual characteristic is probably [2] to be found in a modified application of the interpolation- and compilation- theories. The author, a devoted Paulinist, not only possessed some knowledge of the apostle's life and ideas, but also in all likelihood notes from his hand or fragments of his letters. These had been originally addressed to Timotheus and Titus. Subsequently they came to be incorporated in the substance of the extant pastorals, and attempts have been made by several critics to extricate them from their matrix. This may no longer be possible, with any degree of certainty. But the abrupt connections and apparent inconsistencies give some aid; and it is interesting to notice that the various attempts agree in one or two passages at least with a fair measure of unanimity. The following sections may be taken, roughly speaking, as containing considerable Pauline fragments according to the interpolation-theories: they are to be classified as (*c*) certain, and (*p*) probable.

(*c*) 2 Ti 1^{15-18} $4^{6(9)-22}$ (practically the whole, except vers. 3, 4, and minor additions).
Tit $3^{12.\ 13(15)}$

(*p*) 2 Ti 2^{1-13} 3^{10-12}
Tit 1^{1-6}
(1 Ti 1^{12-17}).

Special examples of this criticism are appended, chiefly as they bear upon the question of the date at which either the fragments or the main writings were composed. The composite character, especially of 2 Timotheus, and partly even of Titus, is widely felt, but the schemes of reconstruction vary in many details.

Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1897, pp. 1–86), *e.g.*, working along the line of Hesse, detects in 1 Timotheus a coherent letter, "Eine wohl zusammenhängende und abgeschlossene Empfehlung der neuen Gestaltung christlicher Ge-

[1] *Det fjärde Evangelict och Hebreerevangelict* (Stockholm, 1898).

[2] So Renan, Sabatier, Ménégoz, Beyschlag, Spitta, Réville, Krüger, and, besides Clemen (*Einheit*. 1894, pp. 142–175), who subjects the letters to a detailed discussion, McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 404–413). Holtzmann (*Past.* pp. 119–126) rigorously objects to all such analyses, and O. Holtzmann also treats this line of criticism too unfavourably (in a review of Lemme's work, *ZwTh*, 1883, pp. 45–72). The chief special works are by Lemme (*Das echte Ermahnungschreiben des Apostels Paulus an Timotheus*, 1882), Hesse (*Die Entstehung der neutestamentlichen Hirtenbriefe*, 1889), and Knoke (*Praktisch-theologischer Commentar zu den Pastoralbriefe*). The last-named finds Titus genuine, except $1^{7-9.\ 12.\ 13}$. In 1 Timotheus he disentangles a Pauline letter (παραγγελία) to Timotheus, dating from Corinth = $1^{3.\ 4.\ 18-20}$ 2^{1-10} 4^{12} $5^{1-6.\ 11-15.\ 19-23}$; another, written from his imprisonment in Caesarea = 1^{12-17} 3^{14-16} $4^{1-11.\ 13-16}$ 2^{12-15} $5^{7.\ 8}$ 6^{17-19} 1^{5-11} 6^{2-16}; and finally another church-document written in the Pauline spirit, $3^{1-10.\ 12.\ 13}$ 2^{11} $5^{9.\ 10.\ 16.\ 17}$ $6^{1.\ 2}$. All compiled by a later editor!

meindeverfassung, deren Kern der monarchische Episkopat mit dem zu ihm gehörenden Diakonate, die Zurücksetzung des Presbyteriums als der leitenden Behörde ist." This consists of $1^{1.\ 2.\ 12\text{-}17}$ $2^{1\text{-}6a.\ 8\text{-}15}$ $3^{1\text{-}16}$ $4^{9\text{-}11}$ 4^{12}–5^{18a} $5^{19\text{-}22.\ 24.\ 25}$. The rest of the canonical epistle consists of additions made by another editor (p. 32 f.) who had a slightly different conception of Paul, and who (after 136 A.D.) may have changed an original *βασιλέως* (2^2) into *βασιλέων* (!). Titus has been only slightly re-edited ($1^{1.\ 2.\ 12.\ 13a}$ 2^{13} $3^{10.\ 11}$ in parts), under a similar tendency to emphasise soundness and sureness of doctrine. 2 Timotheus again represents an interpolated letter, in which the respective limits of the original and the additions are worked out in most elaborate and unconvincing detail, the redactor, according to Hilgenfeld, being responsible for passages reflecting the view that the battle of the faith is against erroneous doctrine, not (as in the original) against the heathen world: "Der Bearbeiter steht in der Hitze der gnostischen Bewegung und kämpft namentlich gegen jene Antithese des Christentums und der alttestamentlichen Religion, welche Marcion vertrat." See below, p. 708, for Prof. Bacon's reconstrustion.

[Reuss (pp. 120–129) dates 2 Tim wholly from the Roman imprisonment.]

2 Ti 1^{15} $4^{13\text{-}17}$ $4^{20\text{-}22a}$.—A genuine letter of Paul, written in 58 A.D. from Caesarea (Hitzig, *Ueber Joh. Marcus*, 1843, p. 154 f.). At any rate, as 4^{20} stands in its extant setting, it is very plainly an isolated fragment of alien origin.

$4^{6\text{-}12}$ 4^{19} $1^{16\text{-}18}$ 4^{22b}.—Another genuine letter, written from Rome in 63 A.D. (Hitzig). As 4^{11a} contradicts 4^{21}, and $4^{20.\ 21}$ is apparently a doublet of $4^{9\text{-}13}$, Jülicher (*Einl.* p. 127) also suggests that in this chapter passages from two separate letters to Timothy have been combined, which the editor only possessed in fragmentary shape. This is at least better than Holtzmann's solution of "tendenziöse Wiederholung."

Krenkel (*Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus*, 1890, pp. 395–468) finds genuinely Pauline fragments in three letters:—

Tit 3^{12}, **2 Ti** 4^{20}, **Tit** 3^{13}.—(*a*) Written during Paul's second journey (Ac $20^{1\text{-}3}$) to Corinth (from Illyricum?); addressed to Titus at Crete.

[Reuss (pp. 80, 81) with great hesitation suggests that the whole epistle to Titus may have been written at Corinth, 57–59 A.D., and then taken by Apollos to Crete. This hazardous scheme he regards as the only possible alternative to abandoning the epistle as non-genuine. Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 182 f.) also fixes it in 59 (60), addressed to Titus, whom Paul had left at Lasea (Ac 27^8).]

2 Ti $4^{9\text{-}18}$.—(*b*) Written during his Caesarean captivity, later than Coloss-Philemon; addressed to Timothy at Troas.

2 Ti 4^{19} $1^{16\text{-}17}$ 1^{18b} 4^{21}.—(*c*) Written from Rome during his imprisonment; addressed to Ephesus.

[Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 192 f., 198 f.) places 2 Ti $4^{9\text{-}13.\ 21.\ 22a}$ between Col-Eph and Philippians, and the rest of 2 Timothy later than Philippians, as Paul's very last word; while Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 39–46) labours hard to prove that 2 Ti $4^{16\text{-}18}$ cannot spring from the first imprisonment of the apostle.]

2 Ti $1^{12\text{-}14}$.—Later than Paul, with 6^{b}.

2^{14}–3^{17}, etc.—Most un-Pauline part of the epistle, in great part from another hand.

$4^{3\text{-}4}$ . . .—An interpolation.

McGiffert (*AA*, p. 404 f.); though "it is impossible to decide with any degree of accuracy." Lemme also takes 2^{11}–4^5 as an insertion, 1^1–2^{10} $4^{6\text{-}8}$ as interpolations.

1^{15-18}.—An original Pauline fragment.

4 represents or contains a Pauline fragment. [Hase, verses 6–22; Ewald, 9–15, 19–22; Pfleiderer, 9–18; Immer, 9–21; Lemme, 9–22.]

Hausrath and Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 822 n.). Clemen dates it 61, from Rome; McGiffert (adding 1^{9-11}), at the close of Paul's Roman imprisonment. Similarly von Soden (*ad loc.*) dates 1^{15-18} 4^{9-22} shortly after Philippians, and (like that epistle) written from Rome, except 20–21ª, which are unauthentic. Clemen puts 4^{19-21} into *c.* 56 A.D., before Paul's imprisonment in Jerusalem; 4^{9-18} he regards as composed a year or two later.

2 Ti 1^{1-12} 2^{1-13} $4^{1-2.\ 5-8.\ 16-19.\ 21b.\ 10}$ 1^{15-18}.—A letter written from Rome to Timotheus after the extant epistles, as the apostle's dying testament (McGiffert).

Hausrath's (iv. pp. 160–163) letter to Timotheus, which he discovers in the extant 2 Timotheus, is composed of $1^{1.\ 2.\ 15-18}$ 4^{9-18}.

$4^{9.\ 11-18.\ 20-21a}$.—Another note written shortly before 2 Corinthians (McGiffert); in response to it, Timotheus joined him soon (2 Co 1^{1}).

For an elaborate note on 2 Ti 4^{13} and the papyrus-rolls of Paul, cp. Zahn, *GK*, ii. pp. 938–942.

Tit 1^{7-9} . . . 1^{10-16} mostly, 2 mostly, $3^{8-11.\ 14}$ unauthentic (McGiffert). 1^{7-9} is clearly an interpolation interrupting the thought . . . ἢ ἀνυπότακτα (6) . . . εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀνυπότακτοι (10), and partly a reproduction of 6^{a} (Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 710, 711).

$3^{1-7.\ 12-13}$.—Undoubtedly Pauline (McGiffert); a note written to Titus, before Paul wintered for three months at Corinth (Ac 20^{3}).

3^{12-15}.—Genuine Pauline fragment.

Weisse (*Philos. Dogmatik*, i. p. 146) (adding 2 Ti 4^{9-22}). Cp. Jülicher (p. 127). Clemen dates 3^{12-14} in 52, 53 A.D., during Paul's winter residence at Nikopolis; while von Soden (*EBi*, i. p. 812) admits that this "undoubtedly authentic" note (3^{12-14}) may have been addressed to Titus about the year 54 (58), although the plan was not carried out.

1 Ti 3^{1-13} 5^{17-20}, with **Tit** 1^{7-9}, later fragments added after 138 A.D. (Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 482–484), betraying their origin in the regulations for ecclesiastical offices and the quotation of an evangelic word as γραφή. Indeed, the whole passage 5^{1-22a} is out of connection (*ibid.* pp. 710, 711) with the context, which reads much more smoothly when it is omitted. [Reuss, pp. 82–85, again, conjectures that 1 Tim as a whole may have arisen out of the same situation as that which gave rise to Titus; and Bartlet (*AA*, p. 180 f.) fixes it in 55 (56), written on board ship by Paul after leaving Miletus. But how could Paul hope to rejoin Timotheus at Ephesus (1 Ti 3^{14} 4^{12}) in face of what he had just told the Ephesians (Ac $20^{25.\ 38}$)? The same critic finds in 2 Ti 4^{20} a private postscript originally attached to this epistle.]

6^{17-21}.—The references to riches, as in Hermas and James, in vers. 17–19,

and to heresies in vers. 20–21 (Marcion's *ἀντιθέσεις*), standing at the close and out of connection (von Soden) with the rest of a letter which ends naturally with ver. 16, suggest to Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 481 f., 711) a date for this passage not earlier than the fifth decade of the second century (*HD*, i. p. 270 n.). On the other hand, Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 139 f.) finds that the Marcionite reference of the *ἀντιθέσεις* is "merely a seductive verbal coincidence," and interprets the word as an allusion to frivolous and casuistical discussions which correspond to the Halacha as do *μῦθοι* and *γενεαλογίαι* to the Haggada.

Harnack sums up the postulates of criticism upon the pastorals in four points—(1) They contain a genuinely Pauline element; (2) as they stand, they cannot have been written by Paul; (3) the substantial part of them was known to Polykarp (*c.* 115 A.D.); (4) the letters reveal one or two sections which can hardly have been written before the middle of the second century. Upon the first two of these points there is practical unanimity, and (3) is largely accepted. On the other hand, (4) is less certain. If admitted, it either contradicts (3) or else involves the application of the interpolation-theory (as with Harnack).[1] Certainly, when each is taken as a literary whole, the three documents lie close together. They cannot be separated, as they stand, by any considerable length of time—a fact which, together with the utterly different tone of 2 Corinthians and Romans, wrecks any attempt to convey them back into the apostle's life previous to 60 A.D.

In the printed text, clarendon type indicates those passages which appear to the present editor to rest upon genuinely Pauline tradition, although in their extant form they must have been edited with more or less freedom. 2 Ti 1^{15-18} parts easily from its context, but neither in the earlier part of this chapter nor in the second is it possible to distinguish with any literary precision the Pauline and sub-Pauline strata. In the fourth chapter, vers. 9–22^{a} reproduce with great exactness personal details and motives of the apostle which point to their authenticity (as against Holtzmann, "In Wahrheit ist gerade hier Alles Copie"); but the section is not homogeneous, and must include notes of various dates and moods. In Tit 1^{1-6} a Pauline note has been embedded, but the clearest fragment occurs in $3^{12.\ 13\ (14.\ 15)}$. Upon the other hand, whatever sources may have been still at the disposal of the author in 1 Ti have been used in such a free fashion that their original form cannot be made out. Hesse's analysis is by far the most plausible, but the details cannot be pressed.

As to the dates of the above pieces, one can only offer a conjecture, partly owing to the fragmentary condition in which they have been preserved, partly owing to the inadequate information which we possess upon large spaces of Paul's life (*e.g.* 2 Co $11^{23\ f.}$). But 2 Ti 1^{15-18}

[1] Dr. Hort's remark that "the theory of large early interpolations does not work out at all well in detail" (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 130), sounds like a colloquial expression of opinion rather than a conclusion based upon investigation of the facts in question; at any rate, it represents an attitude prior to recent movements of thought upon the whole subject. It is surprising, however, to find this *obiter dictum* echoed by writers upon all sides, as if its repetition absolved them from any fresh investigation into the evidence upon which it rests.

Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 511–515), who follows Zahn in the main, candidly admits, however, that a large Pauline basis, consisting of all the personal matter and much else, underlies the epistles; he also agrees that the possibility of interpolation "is a real one with letters so inorganic as those made up of counsels and exhortations. Such may easily grow by an almost insensible process of accretion."

$4^{6\text{-}12.\ 16\text{-}19}$ are probably from a late note, written after Philippians, when Tychicus had gone (Eph 6^{21}) to Asia Minor. Timotheus, who had been with him at an earlier stage (Col 1^{1}, Ph 1^{1}), is now absent, and Demas has relapsed. The sky is overcast and threatening; and Paul in loneliness wearies for his younger comrade. So much is clear. 2 Ti $4^{13\text{-}15.\ 21.\ 22a}$ again are earlier, and cannot be dated very much later than Paul's journey from Troas. They may have been written from Caesarea during his imprisonment. 4^{20} cannot (Ac 21^{29}) belong to this period, as Trophimus seems to have accompanied Paul to Jerusalem; its origin therefore must be earlier, possibly in the period Ac $18^{18\ f.}$). Of these passages at least one may say with Mr. G. A. Simcox (*Exp. Ti.* x. p. 431), "all these commissions and cautions are unlike a dying man; the writer is in a hurry for Timothy to come, simply because he is old and lonely." Finally, the fragment Tit $3^{12.\ 13}$ falls somewhere in Paul's second mission-tour, written from Corinth or on his way to that city (Ac $20^{1\ f.}$). The plan of wintering at Nikopolis seems to have been abandoned, but Titus afterwards (2 Ti 4^{10}) appears in connection with the neighbouring district.

This attempt at reconstruction, however, is quite provisional and hypothetic, for it is easier to feel the presence of Pauline fragments than to trace them to their birth and native soil. But no analytic theory of this kind works out so badly in details, or inflicts such a strain upon the general evidence, as the traditional hypothesis which compresses the three letters, as they stand, into the lifetime of the apostle Paul.

James.—An attempt to find a pre-Christian origin for James has been independently made by Spitta (*Urc.* ii. pp. 1–239) and M. L. Massebieau ("L'épître de Jacques, est-elle l'oeuvre d'un Chrétien?" *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1896, pp. 249–283). On this theory[1] James becomes almost like the Test. XII Patr., 4th Esdras, or the Didachê, an originally Jewish work written by a Jewish scholar and then revised by a Christian editor, who made certain additions in order to adopt the book to his later audience. The strength of this hypothesis lies in the obviously meagre Christianity of James, as well as in the rich series of parallels between it and the older Jewish literature of the day.[2] These, it is held, point to a purely Jewish environment for the author and his readers. The interpolations necessitated by this theory are as follows:—

1^{1}.—καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Spitta)
2^{1}.—ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

} interpolations by a Christian, in a writing, originally Jewish, which became a favourite with the early Christian writers of the NT.

But, even apart from the absence of allusions, natural in Jewish writing, to ritual or legal usages, the genuinely Christian elements elsewhere (1^{27} πατρί, 2^{7} 3^{9}, perhaps 1^{18}), the resemblance to the gospels, and the

[1] Spitta goes on to apply it also to Hermas (*Urc.* ii. pp. 240–347), where, however, he had been anticipated (as Krüger points out) by Schwegler (*Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, i. p. 333 f.). Massebieau finds its origin in Essene influences (*op. cit.* p. 270 f.): "l'auteur de l'épître est un juif helléniste, lettré, atteint par la philosophie grecque, universaliste, connaissant le milieu théologique de la Dispersion." Admittedly the letter often seems a Jewish island in the Christian stream.

[2] But this dependence upon the Wisdom-conceptions and the Wisdom-literature had always been marked in early Christianity. Apart from the epistle to the Hebrews and Paul's letters, the synoptic gospels occasionally use the Wisdom-idea to present the very tradition of Jesus himself (*e.g.* Mt $11^{19\cdot\ 26\text{-}30}$, Lk 7^{35} 11^{49}, Oxyrhynchite Logia, No. 3).

un-Jewish ideas of the writing (*e.g.* πίστις in 1^3, the βλασφημεῖν $2^{6.7}$, and the passage $5^{7\,ff.}$), it may be argued that the attempt to transform a Judaistic writing into a Christian document would certainly have gone further. The two phrases[1] do not suffice even yet to give a distinctive, specific, Christian character to the book (in Luther's phrase, it does not preach and urge Christ), and, as McGiffert urges, it is hard to understand how the editor could have contented himself with their addition, instead of inserting further references to Christ's life and death (p. 583 n.). The latter course would have been perfectly easy and—from a modern standpoint—natural. Besides, as Zahn hints, the cases adduced by Spitta—Sibyllines, etc.—are no true parallels, for in these cases interpolations were made, not to give the writings a Christian appearance and colour, but to transpose them into prophecies or corroborations of Christian truth. For these and other reasons, Spitta's view is rejected by Mayor (*Exp.*[5] vi. pp. 1–14, 321–338, and in 2nd ed. of his *James*, pp. cliv–clxxviii), Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 489, 490 n.), Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 101 f., 107 f.), von Soden (*HC*, *ad loc.* 3rd ed. 1899; also in *ThLz*, 1897, pp. 581–584), Adeney (*CR*, 1896, pp. 277–283), Wrede (*LC*, 1896, pp. 450, 451), and by Haupt in an appreciative but adverse review (*SK*, 1896, iv. pp. 747–777). The last-named attaches cardinal importance to the linguistic features of the epistle, its Grecisms, use of the LXX, etc. These suggest to him a Christian author, familiar with the older Jewish literature, and resident in the Diaspora.

Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 485–491) once threw out the suggestion that "James," like 2 Clem, consisted originally of a collection of anonymous addresses by some early Christian prophet, afterwards published under the name and title of "James" (*TU*, II. ii. pp. 106–109; above, pp. 618 f.). Following out this suggestion, McGiffert regards it as possible that Ἰάκωβος Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1^1) were added in the second century to an anonymous epistle composed by some Hellenistic Jew before the close of the first century. The argument is ingenious but of very moderate size. Upon Harnack's hypothesis, the χαίρειν and χαρὰν of vers. 1 and 2 would be torn apart, whereas they are evidently linked together. Besides, if, as is urged, the general contents of the epistle have no affinity to the character and position of James, it is not easy to imagine how his name should have been affixed at all to this particular document, which fails to correspond with his traditional portrait. Here, as in the case of 1 Peter, the address seems isolated; in fact, it may be fairly held that, were it removed, the contents of neither writing would suggest James or Peter respectively as their authors. But the argument cuts both ways, and makes it improbable that any scribe or later editor would add so incongruous a title. Deissmann (*Bibel-Studien*, pp. 245–247) explains the lack of personal touches throughout the epistle by emphasising its oecumenical character. It is a letter only in form, he thinks: "Aber so wenig *Diaspora* ein geographischer Einzelbegriff ist, so wenig schreibt 'Jacobus' einen Brief. . . . In der Jakobusepistel redet weniger ein bedeutender Mann als eine bedeutende Sache, mehr das Christentum als ein Christenmensch." This ideal and general character of the epistle, he argues, is preferable to the conception (Feine,[2] *Der Jacobusbrief untersucht*) of a

[1] As Zahn correctly points out, the very difficulty of 2^1 is a proof of its originality. An interpolator would have taken pains to make his meaning clear and distinct.

[2] Who regards the homily as originally addressed to the Palestinian church, and afterwards issued in letter-form to Christian Jews of the Dispersion (pp. 68–100). This is a plausible theory, but it becomes unnecessary so soon as the early date is abandoned. Bacon (*Journ. Bibl. Lit.*, 1900, p. 12 f.) dates it 75–95 A.D., not later.

homily. But the writing is more than formally a letter. It presupposes some personal acquaintance on the author's part with some circle which he is primarily addressing. The loose connection of the various paragraphs, which often resemble groups of aphorisms with as little cohesion as a handful of pearls, is due here as in the Wisdom of Solomon to the writer's gnomic style,[1] although at the same time it must be admitted that the cognate and much more elaborate "Shepherd" of Hermas bears, in its extant form, some traces of having been put together from previous fly-leaves of prophetic addresses. The analogous abruptness with which Ecclus ($51^{29.\ 30}$) and Wisd Sol (19^{22}) close, is rather unfavourable to the allied conjecture that the original conclusion of James has been lost; especially as the letter itself gives but little evidence of close or continuous intercourse between the writer and his readers at the time of writing.

At the same time, while unable to accept Spitta's theory in its entirety, I strongly suspect that in 2^{1} the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ represent a gloss originally written on the margin by a later editor or copyist, and subsequently incorporated in the text. The grammatical explanations of the text as it stands (for which cp. Mayor and Beyschlag) are more or less strained: τῆς δόξης does not go satisfactorily with either πίστιν or κυρίου, and the most simple view, which regards it as in apposition to 'I. X., has little in its favour. On the other hand, ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης is not merely a phrase for God in Enoch (cp. Spitta, pp. iv, 4, 60 f.), but applied by Paul to Christ (1 Co 2^{8}, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν). Whether the author of James intended it for God (as[2] 1^{27} 2^{5} suggest) or Christ, it is hardly possible to determine. But as the book came to be used, it would be natural for some editor or reader, who had 1 Pet 1^{17-21} before him, to append the gloss ἡμ. 'I. X., either to explain the ambiguous phrase or to definitely bring it into line with 1 Co 2^{8}.

The linguistic coincidences between Judas and 2 Peter cannot, any more than those between Colossians and Ephesians, be indicated in print. But a tabular résumé,[3] such as is given *e.g.* by Spitta, brings out with sufficient clearness the fact that the similarities of expression in the two writings are not coincidences, nor due to the use of a common source, but reminiscences and adaptations. One writing depends upon the other. Now this involves undoubtedly the priority of Judas, chiefly on the following grounds. (*a*) The style of Judas is pregnant, original, and energetic;

[1] Like Wordsworth's poems of 1831, the various paragraphs of James are semi-detached and end abruptly; yet they too

> "Have moved in order, to each other bound
> By a continuous and acknowledged tie,
> Though unapparent."

It is not, as I think, necessary to regard even the comparatively isolated passages 4^{1-10} and 5^{1-6} as interpolated fragments of polemic against the unbelieving Jews (Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, pp. 170 f.). In this class of literature a certain detachment inevitably belongs to many sections. The Wisdom of Seirach is an example itself, though there also compilation and interpolation have been occasionally suggested.

[2] The parallel in Ecclus 35^{12-15} is most remarkable: there, however, as in Ps 81^{1-3} (ὁ Θεὸς ἐν συναγωγῇ) the order is reversed; charity to widows and the fatherless is a proof of genuine religion, but it follows the conception of God's impartiality. The writer's devotion to the Wisdom-literature and the OT generally, carries him past not only Jesus (Heb 12^{1-3}) but Paul, in his search for examples of ὑπομονή ($5^{10\ f.}$), although even Clem. Rom. (5) had already found an illustration of that virtue in the apostle of the Gentiles (Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέδειξεν . . . εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός).

[3] Had Judas used 2 Peter, it is incredible that he should have selected one or two passages—and these not the most characteristic—besides passing over much of equal

that of 2 Peter is looser in expression, and occasionally indistinct for all its diffuseness. 2 Peter has "echoes" in it. The special and concrete examples of Judas are present to the writer, but are sometimes dropped, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes flattened out into fairly general descriptions. The words of Judas become now and again consciously modified (*σπιλάδες, σπίλοι, e.g.*): his threefold rhythm is lost; his images are used for different ends. (*b*) Judas, too, is a unity; from first to last it throbs with a single spirit. On the other hand, the section in 2 Peter which incorporates it stands in a peculiar relation to the calmer and less passionate portions of the epistle; here the polemic is more of an interlude. (*c*) Further, the author of 2 Peter has borrowed and used his materials in such a way that the later reproduction would be in parts almost unintelligible, unless the original were extant (*e.g.* 2 P 2^{17} = Jud $^{12.\,13}$, 2 P 2^{11} = Jud ^{9}, 2 P 2^{4} = Jud ^{6}). Features like these point to one conclusion, that the more compact and original writing has been obviously worked over by another writer, who has in the process toned down, omitted, and expanded: no other theory does anything like justice to the literary characteristics of both letters. It is of course no objection to this position that 2 Peter speaks of the errorists in the future tense, while in Judas they are present actually to the writer. Judas is thus true to the immediate situation, while the author of 2 Peter, though living in a similar set of conditions, desires to represent his polemic as a prophecy of Peter, and consequently speaks of the libertines as a future danger—though even this attitude is not kept up consistently (*e.g.* $2^{18\,f.}$ 2^{22}). While the data thus prove the priority of Judas, and indirectly the pseudonymity of the later epistle,[1] they do not, however, afford any reliable clue to the interval which elapsed between the former's composition and its subsequent use by the author of 2 Peter.

Judas [1]. *ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου*, an interpolation inserted during the second century before 170 A.D., by an editor who supposed the author to be a brother of the great James. So McGiffert (p. 588), along with Harnack (*Chron.* p. 465 f.), who suggests that the whole phrase, *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου* was added between 150 and 180 A.D., for the sake of increasing its authority.

2 Peter.—Grotius, besides attributing the epistle to Symeon, the successor of James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, held the composite[2] nature of the writing; chaps. 1, 2, and 3 being different letters by the same author. Doubts upon the second chapter as an integral part of the writing have been more than once expressed, but without leading to any decisive conclusions (Bertholdt, Lange, and Kübel).[3] Matthew Arnold (*God*

weight. Also, if he had intended to remind the reader of 2 Peter, it is strange how he never alludes explicitly to it or to its writer.

[1] As Prof. Adeney insists, comparing 1 Peter and 2 Peter on the score of literary dependence, "it is one thing to lean upon Paul and even James, and another thing to absorb and utilise virtually the whole of the short epistle of so obscure a writer as Jude" (*BI*, p. 449).

[2] He finally conjectured that *Πέτρος καὶ . . ἀπόστολος* (1^{1}). *ὁ ἀγαπ. ἡμῶν ἀδελφός* (3^{15}), and 1^{17} were interpolations. Bartlet (*AJ.I*, pp. 518–521) similarly tries to detach 2^{1}–3^{7}(^{13}) as an apocalyptic section added to an originally Petrine note of 62–63 A.D.

[3] In this way, if 1^{20}–3^{3} could be taken as an interpolation, some part of the epistle might be saved as genuinely Petrine. But the hypothesis is an untenable compromise, and has rightly met with scant acceptance (cp. Usteri's ed. of 1 *Peter*, p. 315 f.), though Gess (*Das Apost. Zeugniss von Christi Person*, II. 2. p. 414 f.) holds that 1^{20b}–3^{3a} certainly forms an unauthentic insertion.

and the Bible, pp. 227, 228) suggested that phrases like 1^{10} (*σπουδάσατε βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι*) and $3^{8\text{-}13}$ may have really been Petrine phrases which survived and floated in men's memories, though the context had been lost. But this is highly improbable. The phrases are perfectly natural and can be paralleled elsewhere; the words of $2^{1\text{ f.}}$ follow 1^{21} without serious jolting; and a pseudonymous writer required no hint or occasion, beyond the existence of a genuine 1 Peter and a Petrine tradition, to speak in the apostle's name. Besides, as Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 814 f.) shows, the coincidences with Apoc. Pet. extend over chap. 1 as well as over chap. 2. Kühl (-Meyer), however, still holds to his hypothesis that a genuine Petrine letter is preserved in this epistle, less 2^{1}–3^{2} which represents a later interpolation.

N.B.—In connection with the survey of constructions and analyses on pp. 700–704, it ought to have been observed that Professor B. W. Bacon, in his acute and trustworthy summary of Pauline chronology (*Exp.*[5] x. pp. 351 f., 412–430), already referred to on page 133, approximates in part to Dr. McGiffert, regarding 2 Tim $4^{9.\ 11\text{-}18.\ 20.\ 21\ a(?)}$, with fragments of 1 Tim as genuinely Pauline material which dated from the period of 2 Corinthians (end of 54 A.D.) and originated in Macedonia; the rest of 2 Tim (less $1^{13.\ 14}$ 2^{14}–3^{17} $4^{3\text{-}4}$, which are interpolations) must fall into the period of Philippians, which is the latest of the Captivity-epistles. Fragments from Titus are to be placed, with some hesitation, along with 2 Co 10^{1}–13^{10}, which Professor Bacon identifies with the intermediate letter to Corinth (as above, p. 177), written in 54 A.D., perhaps after a visit to Crete (?), but certainly subsequent to the fragment 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1} (as above, pp. 628, 629). On this scheme Galatians is also placed, as in the present edition, between Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians. In regard to the general chronology, however, Professor Bacon proceeds upon rather an independent road (*vide* above, pp. 134–136). He fixes the conversion of Paul, 31 (34 ?) A.D.; his first visit to Jerusalem, 33 (36 ?); his first mission tour, 44–46; his arrival at Corinth, 50 (early spring); his flight from Ephesus, 54 (July–Aug.); his arrest in Jerusalem, 55 (May); his arrival at Rome, 58 (February); and his defence before Nero, 60. Such an outline of events obviously involves some important modifications of the "new" chronology as well as of the traditional scheme.

ADDENDA

PAGE 28 n.—On the relation of this colophon in Matthew to the work of Papias, which also had a five-fold division (*συγγράμματα πέντε*, Euseb. *HE*, III. 38), see Nestle, *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 252-254.

Page 44 n.—An excellent popular statement of this familiar law may be found in Dr. E. B. Tylor's *Anthropology*, chap. xv. ("History and Mythology"). As he correctly points out, "it is often possible to satisfy oneself that some story is not really history, by knowing the causes which led to its being invented." This principle, of course, is the supreme organon of tendency-criticism.

Page 51 n. 1.—Was the public for which the early Christian literature was intended, exclusively Christian? Or did it embrace an audience such as that contemplated by the author of 2 Macc ($2^{24.\ 25}$), numbering some who were merely interested, possibly sympathetic—like the father of Maitland of Lethington, "civil, albeit not persuaded in religion"? This legitimate question has been recently raised in several quarters; by J. Weiss (*Ueber die Absicht der Apgeschichte*, p. 56), *à propos* of Acts and Romans; by Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 359 f.), who conjectures that Theophilus was a pagan, first converted by reading the third gospel; and by Wernle (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 42-65), who brings out a distinct "apologetic" element in the composition of all the gospels. With the scanty data at our command, it is not easy to determine whether such an outside reference existed in all or any of these cases, and if so, to what extent. Early Christianity, as a whole, was neither the life of a sequestered ghetto nor a crusade appealing to the public mind.

Page 242.—In the recently discovered (Greek) fragment of the *Ascensio Isaiae*, the death of Peter is connected closely with the Neronic persecution. As restored by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, the passage runs: *ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν φυτείαν ἣν φυτεύσουσιν οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ διώξει, καὶ τῶν δώδεκα εἷς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται* (*Amherst Papyri*, pt. I. 1900). For a discussion of this, and of the conjectural Testament embedded in the larger document, see Dr. R. H. Charles' new edition (*The Ascension of Isaiah*), which supersedes most previous work upon the subject.

Page 258.—It was no imaginary danger which the rise of evangelic stories averted from the Christian consciousness, from *c.* 60 A.D. and onwards. In the flush and rush of spiritual phenomena there was always an ecstatic enthusiasm which tended to swamp the historical tradition of Jesus. "That the church surmounted this peril is one of the great deeds of the Providence of God. And what saved the church? Not spiritual speculation like that of Paul, which could not afford any guarantee that it would keep by the track of the gospel as given in history. It was simply owing to the infinite impression made by the historical Jesus, that the historical character of Christianity did not suffer loss. In this respect, the memory of Jesus paralysed the spiritual phenomena of the apostolic age and survived them for more than a thousand years" (Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus*,[2] p. 56).

Page 260 f.—A similar practical motive for authorship is plainly avowed in the well-known prologue to Ecclesiasticus (also 2 Esdras 14^{22}–15^{2}, Baruch 1^{14}).

Page 268.—"Non fuit Matthaeo curae historiam ut gesta erat texere sed Christi doctrinam exprimere" (Maldonatus, a Jesuit of the sixteenth century, quoted by Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, i. p. 3).

Page 273.—Baljon, in his recent edition (*Commentaar op het Evangelie van Matthaeus*, 1900), places Matthew's gospel shortly after 70 A.D., written by a Jew of the Dispersion, who naturally inclined to semi-Jewish forms in exhibiting the gospel-story.

Page 416.—In an elaborate textual study (*Der abendländische Text der Apgeschichte u. die Wir-Quelle*, 1900), A. Pott attributes Acts to an editor who worked up, with other materials, a Lucan account of Paul which included the we-journal. Much of the Western text he explains as due to glosses, existing in two separate textual forms.

Page 416 n. 1.—It is not improbable, as Mr. Cross suggests, that similarities such as those referred to on p. 272 are due to the fact that these writers all followed a conventional literary form in composing their prefaces and dedications.

Pages 143, 461.—Willrich does his best to fill up these years after 30 A.D. by assigning to them quite a number of Alexandrian Jewish productions, chiefly pseudepigrapha; he puts Jason of Cyrene not earlier than the reign of Claudius, and 2 Maccabees actually after 70 A.D. (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 40–130).

Page 463.—I am glad to find these two points (the dual authorship of the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel, and the literary function of the early Christian prophets) now thrown into sharp relief by Dr. E. C. Selwyn in his stimulating study of *The Christian Prophets* (1900).

Pages 132, 559.—A diverting example of reconstruction in this department is furnished by Lisco in his new volume (*Vincula Sanctorum*, "Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Ap. Paulus," 1900). For reasons as precarious in exegesis as in tradition, he places the prison-epistles in an Ephesian crisis and captivity of Paul; after 2 Co A (see page 178, above), Titus and Col-Ephes come, previous to the trial; thereafter 2 Tim and Philippians, followed by BC (with 1 Co 15) written after his release.

Page 606.—Recently, in his latest volume *Clue* (1900), Dr. E. A. Abbott attempts to exhibit a biblical Hebrew original underlying portions of the synoptic gospels.

Pages 145, 626.—The partition-theories applied, especially by Spitta, to 2 Thessalonians are reviewed by Professor G. G. Findlay in *Exp.*^{6} (October 1900), pp. 251–261.

Pages 259, 645.—This slowness and reluctance to adopt writing for religious purposes may be illustrated by the remarkable legend of Numa's burial (Plutarch, *Vit. Num.* 22). Of the two stone coffins, one contained the Emperor's sacred books, which were composed by him and then buried at his request, in order that the sacred mysteries might duly be preserved in their proper home, *i.e.* in the minds of living men, not in books without a soul. He had already taught their contents to the priests as an oral tradition.

Page 691 f.—Another rearrangement (10^{22} before 8^{12}) in *JTS* (1900), v.

Pages 30, 694, 695.—The "I" and "we" of authorship actually occur in the gospel of Peter, where they are plainly introduced to heighten the claim to apostolic authorship and dignity.

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[1] To facilitate reference, these passages are printed here in the same order as that in which the respective books and chapters occur in the ordinary English Bible.

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